1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

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QUEEN CHARLOTTE OF TONGA

[introductory p. i]

TONGAN SOCIETY

BY

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

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Tongan Society

By

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The bulk of the material presented in this paper was recorded in 1920- 101
1921 during my sojourn of nine months in Tonga as a member of the 114
Bayard Dominick Expedition of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

This paper does not attempt a complete incorporation of all previously 114
published Tongan data but only such materials as seem pertinent to the [128]
discussion in hand. To some extent, therefore, the reader who desires detail will find it necessary to consult other publications. Of published works Mariner's Tonga Islands (40)[1] is by far the most extensive and possesses the merit of great accuracy and understanding on the part of its author. Doubtless Mariner's work is to be regarded as the standard by which modern work is to be checked. A comparison of Mariner's records with mine near the completion of my sojourn in Tonga revealed a surprising similarity in the two sets of data recorded more than a century apart. Judged by this standard the data recorded in this paper have a relatively high degree of accuracy in spite of 75 years of Christianity in Tonga.

I express my gratitude to the numerous Tongans and Caucasians, all 127
resident in Tonga, whose names appear in various places throughout this 124
work. A considerable number of people kindly put at my disposal manuscripts recorded by themselves, by their forefathers, or by their predecessors in office. Special mention should be made of the archives of the Methodist and Catholic churches, of the Tamaha's genealogies, which were kindly put at my disposal by Her Majesty, the Queen of Tonga, of a manuscript by the matapule Elia Malupo which was loaned me by the Prince Consort Tungi, and of the manuscript materials put at my disposal by the late J. P. Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu Island. By far my greatest debt of gratitude is owing to the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the Methodist church, who most unselfishly put at my disposal a considerable quantity of ethnological material which he had personally recorded with the idea of ultimately publishing.

The future progress of research in the development of Tongan culture 000
lies largely in the hands of the Tongan rulers. When they allow the

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[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the list of Literature Cited (p. 351).

[p. 3]

[pp. 1-2 are blank]

systematic excavation of the great series of royal tombs a vast store of 000
archaeological data will be forthcoming. This splendid series, the sequence [172]
of which is known in part, constitutes no doubt the most important
archaeological field in Polynesia.

For the location of places mentioned in this paper refer to Tongan 113
Place Names (25).[A]

POPULATION

CENSUS DATA

The census for the year 1921 taken by the Tongan police in the month 161
of April, lists 23,759 Tongans, 571 Caucasians, 235 half-castes, 235 individuals 162
from other Pacific islands, and 135 miscellaneous non-Caucasian foreigners.

Intermarriage of Caucasians and full-blooded Tongans is less frequent 563
to-day than formerly, although at no time was such intermarriage common.
To all appearances the Tongan population bids fair to maintain itself in [144]
strength of numbers and purity of blood indefinitely. This situation seems [671]
insured by the fact that ownership of land by foreigners is effectually pro- [423]
hibited by law.

It is the opinion of the late Reverend J. B. Watkin, formerly Presi- 161
dent of the Free Church of Tonga, and a man who could speak with authority
because of his long residence in Tonga, that the population of the three main
island groups of Tonga—Tongatabu, Haapai, and Vavau—has never ex-
ceeded 25,000; an opinion with which I have reason to concur.

The estimate of the Wesleyan missionaries in 1840, cited by Commodore Wilkes (63, vol. 3, p. 29) allows only 18,500 for the population of the whole archipelago, including the outlying Niuatoputapu and Niuafoou islands. It is possible that this is an underestimate, though it must be remembered that the country was still suffering from the internecine wars which began about the end of the eighteenth century. In Table 1, Wilkes' figures for 1840 are given with those for other years up to 1921. For 1922 no detailed figures have been obtained, but according to Stronge (52, pp. 6-7) the excess of births over deaths for that year was 359, which would make the total Tongan population more than 24,000.

ANCIENT DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

Tradition speaks of a time when it was possible to communicate from 161
one end of Tongatabu to the other by calling from one farm to another, a 162
state of affairs described as *fanongonongo tokoto* (making proclamation 203
when reclining). Some writers have inferred from this tradition that the 173
population must have been much denser than that of to-day. The area of 000

[A] /See 4: Gifford for this source -- Analyst/

The area of
Tongatabu, however, probably does not exceed 150 square miles, which on 161
the basis of full-blooded Tongan population, in 1921, gives the average of 65 162
individuals to the square mile, a number probably sufficient for communica- [131]
tion in the traditional way, if the bulk of the population fringed the ancient [491]
highway which ran from end to end of the island. It should be borne in [361]
mind that the ancient population lived largely on farms rather than in villages. [764]
Ancient burials are to-day found in the bush where farms once flourished.

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 297) mentions an assemblage at an entertainment 175
on Tongatabu Island, concerning which "some of us computed, that, at this 161
time, there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people, in our neigh- 162
borhood; that is, within the compass of a quarter of a mile; drawn together, for the most part, by mere curiosity." Providing the total is not overestimated, this statement would seem at first glance to indicate a larger population for Tongatabu Island than that of the present day. But many people from neighboring islands of Tongatabu and from Haapai and Vavau were doubtless present. In reference to the population of the islands near Tongatabu in 1797 the following quotation from Wilson (65, p. 95) is pertinent: "Passing to the northward of Eoo-âije, we steered W.S.W. to the entrance, then W. by S. and W. up the harbour, followed by the above canoe and several others, which put off from the eastern part of the main island and the islets that lie scattered upon the reef."

The statement of Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 246) that "at least three thousand people" assembled at the entertainments on Lifuka Island indicates a population in 1777 no greater than in 1909 when Lifuka and the neighboring islands Foa and Haano had a population of 3,565. With the rest of Haapai to draw upon as well, a crowd of three thousand people might be assembled readily enough. Cook's description of the island of Mango suggests that the population in 1777 did not much exceed the population of 42 individuals in 1906 and it is of interest to note that he found Uoleva Island, just south of Lifuka, as destitute of inhabitants as it is to-day.

The grouping of people in villages and the consequent desertion of farms 175
as residences has taken place probably since 1773, when Cook (18, vol. 1, 162
p. 213) described the country as follows: 361

> The produce and cultivation of this isle [Eua] is the same as at Amsterdam [311]
> [Tongatabu]; with this difference, that a part only of the former is cultivated, whereas
> the whole of the latter is. The lanes or roads necessary for travelling, are laid out [491]
> in so judicious a manner, as to open a free and easy communication from one part
> of the island to the other. Here are no towns or villages; most of the houses are
> built in the plantations, with no other order than what conveniency requires; they
> are neatly constructed, but do not exceed those in the other isles. The materials of 342
> which they are built, are the same; and some little variation in the disposition of the 175
> framing is all the difference in their construction. The floor is a little raised, and
> covered with thick strong mats; the same sort of matting serves to inclose them on [352]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 7]

TABLE 1. POPULATION OF TONGA 1840-1921 BY PRINCIPAL ISLANDS AND ISLAND GROUPS

	1840	1900[a]	1902	1905	1906	1909	1911	1915	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
Eua	200	423	453	427	402	428	363	426	412	398	386	384	387
Tongatabu	8,000	7,243	8,098	8,350	8,473	8,580	8,550	8,876	10,155	9,688	9,264	9,228	9,740
Haapai	4,000	5,243	5,236	5,466	5,460	5,649	5,803	5,823	5,980	6,160	5,894	6,108	5,976
Vavau	4,000	4,614	4,869	4,816	4,887	5,075	5,161	5,548	5,779	5,643	5,345	5,546	5,787
Niuatoputapu	1,000	716	755	771	767	728	705	761	810	832	732	734	761
Niuafoou	1,300	1,080	1,183	1,273	1,243	1,235	1,130	1,156	1,109	1,121	1,068	1,128	1,108
Total	18,500	20,019	20,694	21,103	21,232	21,695	21,712	22,590	24,245	23,842	22,689	23,128	23,759

---

[a] The statistics for 1900 and after include full-blooded Tongans only.

161
162

> the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, 175
> which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrancy 342
> perfumes the very air in which they breathe. [352] [351]

Again, in 1777, Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 314) describes Tongatabu, as he saw
it on "an excursion into the country," in the following words: 175
361

> We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with 311
> various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced around.
> Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow;
> and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and,
> yet, even those were useful, in affording them timber, as they were generally covered [643]
> with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which, we were told,
> belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance [491]
> of foot-paths leading to every part of the island. [487]

The nearest approach to a village, observed by Cook was the capital Mua 175
(the modern villages of Lapaha and Tatakamotonga), where the principal 361
chiefs of Tongatabu dwelt, especially when attending the court of the
Tui Tonga.

A map of Tongatabu Island, published in 1810 by Vason (60), although 491
doubtless inaccurate as to details, shows the great road traversing the length
of Tongatabu and the numerous lanes separating the farms.

La Perouse (47, vol. 2, pp. 171, 172) describes the south coast of Tonga- 175
tabu as follows:

> As the wind was to the north, I steered towards the south coast of the island, 175
> which is very free from danger, and may be approached within three musket-shots. 133
> The sea broke furiously all along the coast; but the breakers were upon the shore;
> and beyond them we perceived the most luxuriant orchards. All the island appeared 175
> to be cultivated; the fields, which were beautifully green, were bordered with trees 311
> . . . The huts of the islanders were not collected together in villages, but dispersed 361
> over the fields, like the farm-houses in our best cultivated plains.

In 1793 conditions seemed to be unchanged, for Labillardière (37, vol. 2, pp. 135, 136, 153) says:

> In advancing to the westward, we went over a vast enclosure formed by palisades, [417]
> the stakes of which, placed obliquely, were pretty close to each other, and in the
> middle of which grew the bread-fruit tree, the plantain-tree, the fan palm, *corypha* [245]
> *umbraculifera*, &c. Farther on, we found, within a fence not near so extensive, a [417]
> small hut, of a conical form, in which we learnt were deposited the remains of a chief
> lately dead; and we were also informed that it was forbidden to enter it. [764]
>
> We then walked, for near a quarter of an hour, along a narrow road lined with [622]
> palisades on both sides: we followed it as far as a very large lawn, where King [491]
> Tooboo was shortly to make his appearance. . . .
>
> We soon after entered the fields, where we saw each individual's ground divided into small plots, surrounded by palisades, and in a high state of cultivation.

The missionaries who took up their residence in 1797 speak of certain 175
places as the residences of chiefs—for example, Haateiho and Mua (spelled 361
797

Ardeo and Mooa by Wilson). The map published by one of these mis- 175
sionaries (60) is innocent of villages. As to the cultivation of the country 361
they say: "At Tongataboo the country is flat and enclosed, and, though little [797]
cultivated, very productive" (65, p. 385). [311]

By Mariner's time the complete breakdown of the central authority and [712]
the internecine wars had forced people to take refuge in fortresses (*kolo*) [721]
from time to time. This seems to be the origin of the modern Tongan vil-
lages, all of which to-day are designated by the word *kolo*, though none are
fortified. The ruins of old fortifications are numerous. [172]

Although the necessity of living together for protection disappeared com- 361
pletely with the destruction of the fortress of Pea in 1852, villages neverthe-
less persist in Tonga and appear to have come to stay. Christianity and the [795]
copra trade are factors that contribute to the maintenance of village life. [439]

MODERN VILLAGE POPULATION

The large modern villages, such as Nukualofa-Maufanga on Tongatabu, [162]
Neiafu on Vavau, and Pangai-Hihifo on Lifuka Island, represent the acme
of development in village growth and consequently the greatest departure
from the rural distribution of population observed by Captain Cook. These 361
large villages are composed of an assemblage of unrelated family groups. 621
Thus, Hihifo, is said by one informant to comprise three groups of kindred
headed by the chiefs and matapule Tuita, Pouangi, and Tea. In the smaller [602]
villages, however, it seems likely that the inhabitants are bound to one an- [178]
other by blood ties and that these little communities do not depart far from
the grouping of people in ancient times. The tiny village of Siesia, Nuku-
nukumotu Island, is an example. The relationship of the 16 individuals of this
hamlet in 1920 are given below.

House 1

1. **Kula,** father of 5. A *toutai* (navigator or fisherman) and former mayor of 361
Siesia. His wife was Finau of Folaha, Tongatabu, now dead. 621
2. **Fatai,** son's son of 1, named after brother of 1. 592
3. **Maria,** wife of 2. A woman of Maufanga, Tongatabu; upon marriage came at
once to Siesia to live. 602
4. **Solomon Tanaki,** son's son of 1 and brother of 2, unmarried, named after brother
of 1, by midwife. Born at Siesia.

House 2

5. **Taani,** son of 1, and father of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, mayor of Siesia.
6. **Mary Anna,** wife of 5 and mother of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9.
7. **Mili,** daughter of 5 and 6, about 13 years old. Twin brother dead.
8. **Latu,** son of 5 and 6, about 16 years old. He and 13 call each other by brother [601]
terms. They are of course only cousins.
9. **Mary,** daughter of 5 and 6, about 9 years old.

House 3

10. Kalo, daughter of 1 and sister of 5. Latu, 8, sleeps in Kalo's house. 361
11. Husband of 10, a Vavau man named Silas. 621
12. Kitchener, son of 10 and 11. 592
13. Fine, male maternal parallel cousin of 12, 19 years old. He calls 5 "tuasina"; 5 call him "ilamutu." He moved from house 4 to house 3 on the death of his mother. He calls 10 mother (see 14) and 12 "tehina" (younger male cousin). 602 [601]

House 4

14. John Malafu, father of 13. His daughter in 1920 married and moved away, so he now lives alone. (See 13.) His wife was maternal parallel cousin of 10.

House 5

15. Louise, brother's daughter of 1. Is from Maufanga, Tongatabu; father's name was Solomon. Neither she nor 16 have land on Nukunukumotu.
16. Husband of 15, a Vavau man named Afu. The offspring of 15 and 16 live in Maufanga, Tongatabu.

The mayor of the little island of Fonoifua, Haapai, spoke of the islanders (about 40 in number) as belonging to the "family" Tave. Actually Tave is the name of the tract where the dwellings stand and the inhabitants constitute more than one family in the European sense, there being 11 households, 5 of which are perhaps unrelated to one another or to the other 6. The heads of houses in Fonoifua follow: (In this list the terms chief and matapule probably indicate approximate rank rather than titles.) 361 621 [622] [592]

1. Simione Havili, the mayor and chief (because his father was from the family of chief Malupo of Uiha. 361 621
2. Mesui Taufa, commoner, maternal parallel cousin of 1. 551
3. David Tautuaa, matapule, maternal parallel cousin of 1. [622]
4. Asui Lotulelei, brother of 1.
5. Ueleni Taufa, commoner, maternal cousin of 1. (2, 3, and 5 are brothers, their father Tuulau from family of the chief Maafu of Vaini, Tongatabu, their mother a commoner).
6. William Foliaki, chief, related to chief Malupo of Uiha, sister's son of 1.
7. John Kaisala, matapule, unrelated to 1.
8. John Langi, matapule, unrelated to 1.
9. Benjamin Taufa, matapule, unrelated to 1.
10. Benjamin Tui Pulotu, matapule, paternal parallel cousin of 1.
11. Mauseini, a widow, of matapule rank, unrelated to 1.

The modern village of Lotofoa, Foa Island, Haapai, is composed of people from four earlier settlements in the vicinity of Lotofoa: Failoto (just north of Lotofoa), Faletapu (just south of Lotofoa), Ano (just south of Faletapu), and Felelei which centered at the *malae* in the present Lotofoa. The people derived from each of these four earlier hamlets are spoken of as comprising a *faahinga* or "family," although they are probably not families 361 621 [602]

in a genealogical sense. The Ano people formerly had the Tui Haa Takalaua 361
as overlord, the Faletapu people the Tui Kanokupolu. The Ano people were 621
under the direct control of a matapule named Malaloi, who served the Tui [602]
Haa Takalaua and transmitted his orders. Failoto was under a chief named Lotaki. The Faletapu people had still earlier lived at the neighboring site of Pangai Foou, but moved to Faletapu just after becoming Christians. The [582]
Lotofoa informants said that marriage within or without each of the four "families" was permitted, degree of relationship being alone the determining factor.

The 85 adult male land holders of Lotofoa were distributed as: Men 162
from Felelei, 14; men from Failoto, 9; men from Faletapu, 12; men from 621
Ano, 13; men from other islands, 33 (one of these is from Faleloa, Foa Island); men of uncertain residence, 4.

For the island of Fotuhaa, Haapai, I have data which will perhaps aid in 162
forming some conception of the extent to which wives are obtained within 621
the village. Moungatonga, a man of chiefly rank, said that every native of 582
the island belongs to one of two "families," actually two districts: Hahake (East), Moungatonga's "family," and Hihifo (West), matapule Tuuheava's family. Of the 45 men holding tracts of land on Fotuhaa, 9 are unmarried. Of the remaining 36, 15 are Hihifo residents, 21 Hahake residents. Of the men from Hihifo 4 married Hihifo women, 4 married Hahake women, and 7 married women from other islands. Of the Hahake men 3 married Hahake women, 3 married Hihifo women, and 15 married women from other islands.

These figures reveal no tendency of the inhabitants of Hahake and Hihifo [616]
to form two intermarrying moieties; nor the slightest indication that the Hahake and Hihifo inhabitants constitute two endogamous moieties. The figures do reveal a slightly greater preference for wives from islands other than the home island of Fotuhaa; of 36 wives, 14 were selected in Fotuhaa. The small size of the population no doubt forces marriages with other islanders in order not to marry within prohibited degrees of relationship.

SEX AND AGE IN THE TONGAN POPULATION

In so far as statistics are available, the proportion of sexes in the Tongan 162
population of the year 1921 is shown in Table 2. Whether or not the figures reflect the relative proportions of the sexes in ancient times it is impossible to say. It may be noted that except in Eua, males outnumber females. The table shows also the age relations of the Tongan population.

The accounts of early voyagers give no information as to proportions of the sexes or the age groups in the Tongan population. The equivalent of the "fighting men" of antiquity may be considered those males included under "People in Prime" and "Young People" in the 1921 population. Table 3 is arranged on this basis.

TABLE 2. TONGAN POPULATION FOR 1921 BY SEX AND AGE

	AGED PEOPLE		PEOPLE IN PRIME		YOUNG PEOPLE		CHILDREN		TOTAL POPULATION	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Eua	4	10	23	20	99	93	67	71	193	194
Tongatabu	337	469	737	784	2,005	1,626	1,998	1,784	5,077	4,663
Haapai	133	195	628	630	1,028	951	1,284	1,127	3,073	2,903
Vavau	131	168	427	518	1,173	1,075	1,210	1,085	2,941	2,846
Niuatoputapu	20	38	42	39	154	132	182	154	398	363
Niuafoou	97	91	131	124	145	116	213	201	576	532
Total	722	971	1,978	2,115	4,604	3,993	4,954	4,422	12,258	11,501

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TABLE 3. PROPORTION OF FIGHTING MEN TO POPULATION

161
162

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Eua	122	32
Tongatabu	2742	28
Haapai	1656	28
Vavau	1600	28
Niuatoputapu	196	26
Niuafoou	266	24
All Tonga	6582	28

The only comparable material which I possess for other years is for Niuafoou Island, where in 1902 there were 334 able-bodied fighting males, who formed 28 per cent of the population.

IMMIGRATION

The Tongans have no tradition of a migration into their islands, of a 173
Havaiki homeland, or of an overrunning of their country by foreigners except 167
the coming of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga of the dynasty which ended in
1865. Tradition refers to the country as already peopled, but pictures
Ahoeitu's entry as apparently peaceful. Though there is no mention of 167
armed invasion, there are many apparently authentic instances of peaceful
penetration by foreigners. From Fiji there were two large influxes of people,
from Samoa one, and from Rotuma and Tokelau minor accretions.
This paper and other Tongan papers by me contain many references to [624]
foreign accretions to the Tongan population. Most of the first holders [44]
of the present matapule titles were foreigners. [565]

From Niue, Uvea, and Futuna there seems to be no record of immigrants in heathen times, though Christian times have seen a considerable influx of Uveans (62, p. 245). Perhaps hostilities with Niue, which are mentioned in Niuean traditions, were responsible for the absence of immigrants therefrom (55, pp. 19-21). Perhaps hostilities with Futuna may likewise have interfered with immigration from that island, though we hear of the Tui Tonga (either Takalaua or Kauulufonua I) sending a governor to Futuna as well as to Rotuma and Samoa.

Although the Tongans have no account of invasion from Uvea, the Uveans tell of an expedition against Tonga, in which 500 Uveans sailed in the fabulously large ship *Lomipeau*, under the command of the chief Tahitala. The expedition went to Mua, Tongatabu. A battle with the Tongans took place. Though none of the Uveans returned to their native land, it is not known whether the Tongans annihilated them. This Uvean tale about the *Lomipeau* differs greatly from other versions (26, p. 67), which associate the vessel with the building achievements of the Tui Tonga Ulakimata I. 167 173 [716]

The first important accretion from Fiji was led by Tui Motuliki. Motuliki (Fijian, Moturiki) is a small island off the east coast of Viti Levu. Tradition places the arrival of Tui Motuliki in the reign of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui. Tui Motuliki settled near Mt. Talau in Vavau Island and became known as the Tui Talau. Some of his followers seem to have settled in Uiha Island, Haapai, and at Niutoua, Tongatabu, where many of the inhabitants seem to have Fijian features.

The second important influx from Fiji came from the island of Lakemba, apparently in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The occasion was the marriage of Tapuosi, the Tui Lakepa (Fijian, Lakemba), to the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I. Their descendants constitute the modern lineage called Fale Fisi. According to Tongan informants, modern chiefly titles in Lakemba are Tui Tupou (Fijian, Tumbou), Tui Neau, and Uluilakepa, but not Tui Lakepa. The present Uluilakepa is called Finau. Tui Neau is the ranking chief. He is son of the preceding Tui Neau.

However, the influx of Fijians has not been limited to these important movements, for there has been a constant seeping in of immigrants. A story (26, p. 101) tells of the frightening away of a party of Fijians who were in a sailing boat of the *hamatefua* type. The following is a good example of modern Fijian emigration to Tonga:

> Moses Tama, of Hihifo, Lifuka, a man of about 70 (in 1920), was born in Lakemba. At the age of 11 he was sent by his father to Tonga with the Tongan chief Paleiono of Lifuka and has been once back to Lakemba. The father of Moses was a matapule in Lakemba, but Moses is not. Finau Uluilakeba, a chief in Lakemba, is a paternal cousin (*tokoua*) of Moses and the head of Moses' lineage, for which he knows no name. Moses' only child, a daughter, now dead, was a commoner (*matafefine*). The wife of Moses is Keasi (said to be a Samoan name). She was born in Lifuka where her parents belonged. Vuetasau, the father of Moses, had been to Tonga with King George I. He and Paleiono returned to Fiji together, then Moses was born. Moses was called *tama i Paleiono,* child of Paleiono, because his father intended to give him to Paleiono to adopt. Moses called Paleiono father. Paleiono called Moses son and gave him the tract Haa Lakovaka, in Lifuka.

George Fisilau, of Okoa, Vavau group, who acts as matapule to Afu Haa Mango, is of part Fijian ancestry, a forefather hailing from Lau, as the name implies.

The principal immigration from Samoa apparently took place just before 167
the establishment of Ngata as the first Tui Kanokupolu, probably in the latter 173
half of the sixteenth century. There have been considerable influxes of Samoans both before and since. Krämer (36) cites migrations from the time of the twelfth Tui Tonga on. (See, for instance, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 468.)

Concerning immigrants from the Cook Islands, Tongan sources are silent except for some Mangaians (25, p. 154) in Christian times. Dillon (20, vol. 1, p. 271) mentions five castaways from Aitutaki.

There is said to be a considerable number of people of Rotuman descent in Tongatabu. According to the following tale the title of Maafu Tukuiaulahi was held for a time by a Rotuman and, presumably, his descendants:

> One day Maafu of Vaini dug a big hole after a rat. As he went down he saw eight rat tails. Maafu then looked up and saw a little boy at the top of the hole. He adopted the boy and named him Ikuvalu (Eight Tails). The boy was from Rotuma. After Maafu died, the boy became Maafu. This is why the descendants of Maafu are called the Kau Lotuma. The descendants of Ikuvalu are no longer Maafu, however. The present holder is of the old Maafu line.

Even Tahitians may have been absorbed into the Tongan population, for Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 313) saw at Mua, the carved head of a Tahitian vessel which had been driven ashore.

EMIGRATION

The Tongans extended their influence to other islands. They had estab- 167
lished their sovereignty in Samoa, Futuna, Rotuma, and Uvea, for tribute 173
mainly—but many of the Tongans seem to have married Samoans, and even 175
the Tui Tonga had official residences on Upolu and Savaii. Presumably 648
no Tui Tonga resided in Samoa after the expulsion of Talakaifaiki (about
1250). However, in 1616 Schouten and Lemaire (65, p. lviii) encountered
in Futuna "a person bearing the title of Latoo, and by another styled Aree-
kee, who was probably the sovereign of all the Friendly Islands." This
person was probably the Tui Tonga's viceroy or tribute collector. As 167
late as 1824, Rotuma was still paying tribute to Tonga, for Dillon (20, vol. 173
1, p. 295) relates: 175
648
651

> On my old friend, Tuckcafinawa [Fakafanua], the high priest and chief of Mafanga, hearing mention made of Rothuma, inquired if I intended to call there: to which I replied in the affirmative. He then informed me that the priests of that island were tributary to his district, and that about three years ago he sent his eldest son with three large canoes to collect the tribute, from whence he had not since returned; that he was fearful he and his men had offended the gods and were cast away at sea, either going to or returning from Rothuma.

Modern Tongan tradition refers the origin of the name Haamoa (Samoa) to a war between Tonga and Samoa, which Tonga won. After that the name Hamoa was applied, because when asked how the war was going, the soldiers replied, "Hamoa," meaning "to kill chickens," thus derisively referring to the defeated Samoans. I regard this merely as a folk etymology. 173 648

That Niue had also come under Tongan dominion is recounted by Ella (22, p. 231), who, after referring to the Tongan defeat by the Samoans, writes:

> A similar Tongan defeat is given by the Niue Islanders, accounting for their deliverance from Tongan domination, also effected by a stratagem which issued in the destruction of the Tongans.
>
> In the Ellice and Gilbert groups there are remarkable histories of Tongan tyranny endured by those simple people. Even in Fiji the Tongan power was felt and dreaded.

A trader in the Ellice Islands, Captain Allen, informed me that the modern population of Nukufetau Island is Tongan in origin, and that Reynolds Island is Samoan. Some Ellice Island place names are Tongan, such as Nukufetau and Niutao. 167

The frequency of Tongan visits to the windward islands of Fiji and the presence of Tongan blood in the population is dwelt upon by Hocart (32).

That Tongans settled in the Cook Islands seems probable on the evidence presented by Gill (28, pp. 167, 287, 288). The inhabitants of Tikopia (Tucopia, or Barwell Island, Santa Cruz Islands) are probably the descendants of Tongan castaways, according to Rivers (51, vol. 1, pp. 298-362); and Thomson (56, p. 15) affirms that the inhabitants of Ongtong Java, are descendants of Tongans. Shipwreck is doubtless the cause of some dissemination.

THE FAMILY

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY

No undoubted word for family was obtained. The word *kainga* (relatives) seems to be the nearest approach inasmuch as it is bilateral in application. Modern Tongans use the English word "family" in the form *famili,* and sometimes the Tongan word *faahinga.* The word *fale* (house) is used of the Tui Tonga's family, including all his wives and children. As do Europeans, the Tongans conceive of a family both as a small household group and as an enlarged group comprising collateral relatives both through the father and the mother. 59

The Tongan household seems anciently to have consisted of a man, his wife, and their offspring, together with any adopted children. Through polygamy the household might be considerably augmented. The establish- 592 [595]

The establishments of chiefs as a rule boasted a considerable number of servants, usually 592
kinsmen of inferior rank, who for the most part resided in houses within [622]
the chief's enclosure. [602]

The husband is considered the head of the immediate family, even [565]
though the wife be superior in rank. In Tonga, as elsewhere, disposition naturally plays a part in the relations of husband and wife.

In many Tongan families, husband and wife are blood relatives, for 582
cross-cousin marriage was practiced, especially among people of rank. The genealogy of the Ata Islanders (p. 281) shows 10 first-cousin marriages out of 26 marriages of relatives. This probably gives a somewhat exaggerated idea of the prevalence of marriages of blood relatives in the rank and file of the Tongan population. Nevertheless, such marriages were no doubt common.

Fison's description of a nagging wife (24, p. 65) is not typical, for in 593
general, domestic quarrels are rare. Mariner (40, vol. 2, pp. 92, 169) men- 592
tions the absolute power which every man holds in his own family: 565

> . . . . for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. . . . If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and so are the children male and female; but in domestic matters she submits entirely to his arrangements; notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* before he can feed himself. If the husband and wife are both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* is dispensed with; but where there is any difference the inferior must perform this ceremony to be freed from the *tâboo*. If a woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, she always derives additional respect on that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

A man might anciently divorce his wife by merely telling her to go. 586
Young children of divorced parents go with the mother.

Married people of both sexes are referred to as *alafia* (untouchable), a 581
word used particularly by young men in reference to young married women. 192

There were no family names in the sense of European patrilineal sur- 551
names. Such surnames have been introduced, however, at the Tongan [178]
government college, where young men are registered with their fathers'
names as surnames. Tongan informants frequently give place names, but [124]
state, however, that such names changed with change of residence. Obviously, these are not family names in the true sense.

With regard to the relations of old and young, Wilson (65, pp. 348, 385) 888
compares the customs of Tongatabu with those of Tahiti: 175
171

> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the 171 175
> younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . . 888
>
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have 582
> only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, 595
> and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond 622
> of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of 684
> Tibo Moomôoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman 847
> practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at 855
> Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo 888
> and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less 291
immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more generally 276
addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava." 562

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple 592
may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo 622
(western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, 602
some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in 591
Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex 561
and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman 562
is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it fol- 593
lows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's 565
children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many 604
ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay
even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her 784
person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matri- 582
monial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her
is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman 607
has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman
herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her 602
husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious 604
practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to 264

the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner 604
of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafoou: the 602
chiefly house of Niuafoou once supplied a wife for the chief of Niuato- 264
putapu.

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is 593
eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and 784
to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps [826]
early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking [755]
the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was
believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. [178]
An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he
never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his
own son touch his.

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all 603
sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's
father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the
same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the
fono (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15,
p. 30).

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from 593
restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic
basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake
of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the 604
same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found [603]
in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father.
The child is *fahu* (above the law) to his mother's brother.

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the 593
father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect 604
to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative 565
to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These
same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are
perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings.
Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *fahu*, even
though their father is of inferior rank.

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, 593
no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation [171]
is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn
(29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather,
was subject to somebody else."

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is 593
well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are 605
561
562

cousins, Ika being the younger. Their mothers are half sisters, having had 593
one father but different mothers. Ika's mother is the superior of the two 605
sisters apparently only because she is the older. But this superiority makes 561
Ika superior to Fakatoumafi. When the two cousins bear children, it is 562
not the relative age of the children, but the rank of their mothers, that will determine the superiority or inferiority of the offspring. So even though Ika is the younger of the two cousins, her children will rank Fakatoumafi's children. The children of Ika's older sister, however, will be superior to Ika's children because their mother is the older of the two sisters. But Ika's children will be superior to her older brother's children, and in fact to all of her brothers' children, because of Ika's superiority to all of her brothers—based on the principle that sisters rank brothers. 565

Concerning rank in relation to eating, P. A. C. (46, p. xv) in substance 554
says the following: "It was forbidden to an inferior to eat or drink in the 264
presence of his superior, and no one was allowed to eat before the Tui [643]
Tonga, who himself might not eat in the presence of the elders of his
family." That this statement applies within the family as well as in society [593]
in general is obvious from the reference to the Tui Tonga and the elders of his family.

THE FAMILY, THE KEY TO TONGAN SOCIETY

Ranking of individuals within the Tongan family, termed *lahi* (abundance, 593
plenty, greatness), is the key to the organization of Tongan society 565
in every stratum. From bottom to top and from top to bottom of the 561
social ladder one general scheme of family organization prevails. As the 562
Tui Tonga is *eiki* (chief) to his younger brothers, so in every Tongan family 554
the older brother is chief to his younger brothers. As the Female Tui Tonga is superior to her brother, the Male Tui Tonga, so in every family in the land the oldest sister is superior to the oldest brother. A common man's sister's children are *fahu* to him and may exact what they wish; the Tui Tonga was often *fahu* to the Tui Kanokupolu; and the Tamaha, the highest earthly dignitary, was always *fahu* to the Tui Tonga.

Relatively speaking, in every household there are chiefs and commoners.
As in the family no two individuals are identical in rank, so in the enlarged 602
family, with its greater number of degrees and consequent widening of the 554
extremes. In reckoning the interrelationship of all the individuals descended from a common remote ancestor, the range in rank from the lowest to the highest becomes greater still, and the intermediate degrees of rank are
exceedingly numerous. The fact that the Tui Tonga and his cooks (among [643]
the lowest of commoners) were blood relatives is an illustration. In brief [565]
then, a commoner is an individual who by virtue of descent through a series

7

of younger brothers has in the course of generations become further and 602
further removed from the patriarchal head of the family, as represented 554
by a continuous line of successive eldest sons. The Prince Consort Tungi 565
emphasized that there are no commoners in the absolute sense of the word.

In Tongan society there is but one chief of a group at a time, a title 622
being held by but one individual and dual chiefs being unknown. It is 554
inconceivable that two brothers could be simultaneously chiefs of equal rank.

THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY

The head of the family is usually a man, the oldest male. The designa- 592
tion for him is *ulumotua* (ancestor), although one informant gave the word
pule (ruler). Upon his death the *ulumotua* is succeeded by his younger
brother or his oldest child (son or daughter). It is said that sometimes the
brother and oldest son cooperate in supervising the family. There seems
to have been no family council to select a new head. Everyone knew who
was next in rank and he automatically succeeded to the position upon the
death of the patriarch of the family. It was stated that the *ulumotua* might
dispose of family property or the property of individuals if he saw fit. It is
likely, too, that he held the lives of family members in his hands. The [175]
sacrifice of one of the younger sons of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui in 1797 [782]
by Tukuaho, an older son, would seem to point to this. [644]

The *ulumotua* was sometimes a woman. Thus the sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho is the head of the family of these lords of Tungua Island and of Haa Teiho in Tongatabu Island. She was *ulumotua* also during her brother's life time. Undoubtedly personality plays a prominent part in determining whether a man of his sister controls the family. The sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho impressed me forcibly as an individual of pleasing yet resourceful character. To the present Tui Haa Teiho she is *mehekitanga* (paternal aunt), and to her, therefore, he owes the greatest respect.

Upon the death of her father, this woman became *ulumotua* to her broth- 596
ers and younger sister and to her father's younger brother's children. Her
brothers' and sisters' children and grandchildren all look up to her as family
matriarch (more correctly "female patriarch"), as do also her cousins
through her father, except the children of her father's sister (*mehekitanga*)
who are her superiors in rank. The children of her mother's brothers and
sisters are also under her jurisdiction. All of these constitute the family
of which this woman is the head. Needless to say, they are not all of one [613]
lineage, for lineages in Tonga are patrilineal.

Another example came to my notice in 1920 in the island of Foa, [604]
Haapai, where a Mrs. Goedicke, Tongan wife of a Caucasian and sister
of Job Helu, mayor of the village of Lotofoa, controlled the destinies of
her brother's children by virtue of being their paternal aunt and *ulumotua*.

DAUGHTERS AND SONS

Daughters are given much attention, especially by the mother's relatives. 593
The choicest horses, pigs, and other valuables are reserved for them, particularly for an older daughter.

Because a double standard of morality prevails, girls are strictly guarded, 562
boys are given great freedom. The term *manaia* (one who is unusually suc- [622]
cessful in love affairs) is often applied to the chief's son. (See also 41, [833]
vol. 2, pp. 157.)

As heir apparent to his father's position as male head of the family, 593
the first-born son enjoys a certain prestige. On Vavau Island, two places, 428
Makave and Feletoa, are traditionally associated with first-born sons. Near 349
the village of Makave is a coral wall called Kilikilitefua, some pieces not exceeding a man's foot in size, others too heavy for two men to carry. It is now dilapidated, but originally it was 250 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 5 or 6 feet high. Its origin is generally ascribed to a custom of the parents of every first-born son in Makave to carry a stone to the pile. No clear reason for doing this could be learned, except that of emulating a parallel custom said to have been practiced at the village of Feletoa, also in Vavau
Island. At Feletoa the fathers of first-born sons struck the ground at a cer- 593
tain spot with the butt of a large stick (*tukitou*) of *tou* wood. The large [103]
depression traditionally alleged to have been caused by the poundings is called Tukitou.

BROTHER-SISTER TAPU

An outstanding feature of Tongan family life which seems to have 593
permeated society from the lowest stratum to the highest is the brother- 784
sister tapu, called by one informant *fakaapaapa*, a word with a wide appli- 605
cation, which means among other things "to reverence, to respect, to honor." The workings of this tapu are as follows.

Individuals who are brother (*tuongaane*) and sister (*tuofefine*), whether lineal or collateral, that is, whether true brother and sister or only cousins, may not be near each other in a house. If a man is talking to other women, his sister must not approach him, and if he is talking to them in a room she may not enter it. If a man were sitting in a house, his sister might enter, but might not sit near him. In the same way a man must not take a seat near his sister nor even enter the house where she is. It is improper even to mention a man to his sister. Usually brothers and sisters do not live in the same house after ten years of age; nor do they play together. If a boy approaches a house where children are playing and finds his sister there, he does not enter. Nowadays brother and sister may eat together

and may talk, but not familiarly. With aged siblings the tapu is some- 593
what relaxed. One informant said that a brother may cook food for a 605
sister, but not the sister for the brother because that would look as though 784
they were married. If a man came in from the bush very tired his sister
might procure some food for him, but she might not nurse him when he
was ill. A brother would not avenge the rape of a sister; the father or [684]
mother's brother would do that. [604]

Some curious abrogations of the brother-sister tapu came to light. In 593
one family a girl named Ika was so named by her paternal grandmother 784
after her maternal grandmother and she thereby assumed the status of the [553]
grandmother, or perhaps of a mother, to her own brother. She can approach [603]
him freely, can tend him in sickness, and generally be with him without
restriction by the usual tapu. In another family Tangakinakovi, daughter [597]
of the chief Veehala and wife of Luani, being childless, was allowed to
adopt Taliauli, her full brother, all brother-sister tapu being disregarded.

Cross-cousin marriage, which seems to have been common, is a viola- 605
tion of the brother-sister tapu. Yet a decision reached in the family councils 784
will do away with this tapu and a man and woman who could not come into 582
close proximity to each other by their own initiative may be married by the
will of those who have the ordering of them.

There are at times evasions of the tapu. Brother and sister sometimes 593
do covertly converse. It is considered very bad form for anyone to notice 605
this. During my sojourn in Tonga a man came to his *tuofefine* and asked 784
for his shirt, which in all probability she had washed for him. A Euro- 524
pean standing near overheard the man ask and jocularly remarked that the [576]
girl did not have his shirt, but had given it away. The pair fled in dismay,
for being *tuongaane* and *tuofefine* to each other, they had no right to con-
verse. The European committed a serious breach of etiquette in noting
that they were conversing.

Although the observances described are those of today, they undoubtedly 593
give a picture of the past as well. Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 147) has the 605
following to say: 784

> Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz., by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

THE FAHU

As the sister is superior in rank to the brother, so also are her children, 604
both male and female. Moreover, the sister's children are superior to the 605
brother's children. The sister's children are *fahu* (Fijian *vasu*) to their
mother's brother. They have the privilege of taking their uncle's goods, [425]

also the goods of his children, either during his life or after his death. 425 604
Even one of the uncle's wives might be appropriated. At the wedding of a 605
man's child, his sister's children may help themselves to the presents. The [837]
brother's children must show respect (*fakaapaapa*) to the sister's children. [585]
The institution of *fahu* is a one-sided, non-reciprocal affair. The victims [431]
never have a chance to retaliate, but they exercise similar privilege towards their own mother's brother and his offspring. Towards one's *fahu* only respect and acquiescence must be shown. To appropriate the property of the *fahu* would be a serious breach of custom.

One chiefly informant remarked to me that he was lucky in having no 604
closely related *fahu*, as he had no sister. He had, however, female cousins, 605
whose children were *fahu* to him to a certain extent, but not like a real [593]
or great *fahu*. One such remote *fahu* visited this chief while I was with him, his father's brother's daughter's daughter. She did not have the privilege of a near *fahu* but must ask his permission before taking his property.

Radcliffe-Brown (48, pp. 543, 553, 550) records for Tonga that 604

> . . . the sister's son is permitted to take many liberties with his mother's brother,
> and to take any of his uncle's possessions that he may desire. And there also we find [425]
> the custom that, when the uncle makes a sacrifice, the sister's son takes away the sacred portion offered to the gods, and may eat it.
>
> . . . The daughter's son must be honoured by his grandfather. He is "a chief" to 603
> him. He may take his grandfather's property, and he may take away the offering that 604
> his grandfather makes to the gods at a kava ceremony. The mother's father and the
> mother's brother are the objects of very similar behaviour patterns, of which the out- [425]
> standing feature is the indulgence on the one side and the liberty permitted on the other.

The daughter's son may intervene in the sacrificial ritual in the same way as the sister's son, the behavior between the mother's father and the daughter's son being much the same as between the mother's brother and the sister's son.

Liberties and jocular remarks may be indulged in with relatives through 604
one's mother's brother, except where the brother-sister tapu interferes. [784]
Such liberties and remarks cannot be reciprocated, for the very reason that respect towards the father and his relatives is definitely enjoined, and especially towards the father's sister (*mehekitanga*) and her offspring.

Modern Tongan dictionaries describe the *fahu* as "one that is above the law," and the verb *fakafahufahu* as "to act as an outlaw." In actual prac- [421]
tice the *fahu* (or *ilamutu*, to use the term of relationship) often did appro- [425]
priate the property of his mother's brother (*tuasina*), who as a rule did not protest. At the kava ceremony the *fahu* ate the relish presented to his
mother's brother. The grandchildren, also referred to as *fahu*, had the [603]
same privilege (15, p. 30).

All the sororal nieces and nephews of a man were *fahu* to him, although 604
not of equal rank. The oldest daughter of his oldest sister was the most privileged of the several *fahu* and was often designated as the great *fahu*.

The institution of *fahu* is established in the lower strata of society as 565
well as in the higher, but it reaches its most extravagant development among 604
the higher chiefs. Anciently it was not extensively practiced among commoners, for fear of punishment for imitating chiefs, and, perhaps also, for alienating goods that a chief might claim.

There seems to have been a limit to the exactions of the *fahu*. A high 604
chief said that if even the Tamaha, the *fahu* of the Tui Tonga, tried to exact things inordinately, she would be cried down. This same chief remarked that *fahu* does not actually elevate the *ilamutu* in rank, but does give him exceptional privileges. Moreover, he expressed the opinion that the sister is not actually higher in rank than the brother, but that, through the respect and affection shown her she merely appears to be higher. This chief's explanation of the origin of the institution of *fahu* attributes it to the affection of the *tuasina* (mother's brother) for his *ilamutu* and to the desire of the *tuasina* to let the people see what a fine fellow his *ilamutu* is. Therefore, if the *ilamutu* comes to the uncle's house, he tells his children to prepare food for him.

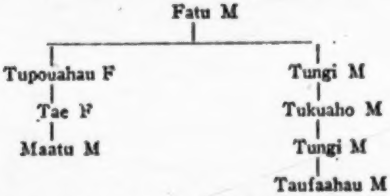
This conduct may be motivated by the factor whose operation has been set forth succinctly by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown in a letter written to me on August 21, 1923:

> The behaviour pattern of mother's brother and sister's son is determined very frequently by regarding the mother's brother as a kind of male mother. (In Tonga and here in South Africa he is actually called "male mother.") Since the mother is the person from whom care and indulgence is expected, the same may also be expected from the mother's brother by his sister's son, but in an even greater measure, since they are of the same sex. Inversely the father's sister is a sort of female father, and where, as in Polynesia and Africa the attitude to the father is one of respect and obedience, it is this same attitude that the brother's son must adopt to his father's sister, but very definitely emphasized by the difference of sex. So we get licence towards the mother's brother and excessive respect towards the father's sister associated together in Polynesia and Africa, because they are both the product of the same factors, factors that only seem to be completely active in patrilineal societies. This matter of the behaviour to the uncle and aunt is of importance in relation to cross-cousin marriage. Any family objects to the loss of its members (daughters) and this resistance is shown in many different ways in different parts of the world. It is, I think, a universal factor in primitive society. But the mother's brother, since he must indulge his nephew, will more willingly part with his daughter. There are other factors involved in the cross-cousin marriage, but this, I think is an important one.

A striking example, if true, of the attachment of a man to a rela- 173
tive who was probably his sister's son is afforded by the tradition of the 643
murder of the Tui Tonga Havea I, who reigned about 1350. Havea was 604
assassinated while bathing and his body cut in two. Only the trunk was 682

recovered. When Lufe, the chief of the dead Tui Tonga's mother's family, 173
learned of the king's death, he said: "The Tui Tonga is dead. He has died 643
a bad death, for he is cut in two. Come and kill me and join my buttocks 604
and legs to the Tui Tónga's trunk, so that the corpse may be complete." 682
His relatives obeyed him. They slew him to make the Tui Tonga's body complete and then buried the remains.

The *fahu* relation while not exclusively limited to the mother's brother 604
(*tuasina*) and his sister's children (*ilamutu*), may continue to subsequent 605
generations, as the following genealogical diagram indicates.



Maatu has the right of *fahu* to Tungi the elder, to Tukuaho, and to Tungi the younger. Maatu and Tungi the younger are cross-second-cousins. Tukuaho was Maatu's mother's mother's brother's son, while Tungi the elder was Maatu's mother's mother's brother. To Taufaahau Maatu is not *fahu* because Maatu stands in the relation of "father" to him.

Frequently the right of the *fahu* is even more extended, and may give 604
622
a chief of high rank the right to help himself to any property he wishes 425
in an entire district controlled by chiefs to whom he is *fahu*. For example,
all of the living descendants of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho, who was 604
assassinated in 1799, are said to be *fahu* to the chiefs and commoners of the 602
lineage Haa Ngata Motua of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. The reason 644
for the *fahu* relationship is that Tukuaho's mother was Lepolo, the daughter of Laakulufoohake, who was the son of Atafakahau, who in turn was the son of Kaumavae, the son of Ngata (the eponymous ancestor of the Haa Ngata Motua and the first Tui Kanokupolu, who held office in the first half of the seventeenth century. In other words, Tukuaho's mother was of the Haa Ngata Motua, and being "sister" to all of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, her son and his descendants are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and people. Thus the present Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte is *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua. The principal other living *fahu* of the Haa Ngata Motua are (a) Tungi, the prince consort, who is *fahu* through both his father and his mother, and consequently ranks highest among the *fahu;* (b) Haamea, the son of the present Ulukalala, who is *fahu* through both his father and his mother, but who is of lower rank than Tungi's mother. Tungi and his mother are also *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Tupu of Vavau.

As the lineages (*haa*) are patrilineal, a *fahu* usually does not belong to 604
the lineage in which he exercises his right. In Cook's time (1777) the 613
Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, of the Haa Fale Fisi, was *fahu* to the Tui Tonga
Pau, as was also Latunipulu's sister the Tamaha Moungalakepa. Cook 175
(19, vol. 1, p. 414) says of Latunipulu: "Latoolibooloo assumed the privilege 604
of taking anything from the people, even if it belonged to the king." 613
Speaking of Latunipulu's little son in Eua, he says: "The son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little Tammaha was."

Although the *fahu* owes his position primarily to his mother, nevertheless 604
the *fahu* whose father is a great chief wields greater influence than 593
the *fahu* whose father is a petty chief or commoner, even if the mother of 554
each *fahu* is of exalted rank.

It is quite possible that cross-cousin marriage in Tonga is genetically 604
connected with the *fahu* concept, for it is usually the mother's brother's 582
daughter whom a man marries. In other words, he may make demand in his capacity of *fahu*.

ADOPTION

Adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga. Many children 597
are adopted by near relatives who have no companion or heir, particularly 604
children are adopted by aunts. Tongan genealogies give examples of children adopted by their paternal aunt (*mehekitanga*), such a child being called *"koe tama to he mehekitanga."* (For an example see 26, p. 146.) In general, a child adopted by a woman is known as her "child to her husband."

The status of an adopted child becomes completely altered. The child 597
is no longer his father's or mother's child; he is the child of the person who 593
adopts him. However, according to one informant, the child's father is [784]
still tapu to him. If the paternal aunt adopts a child, he ceases to act towards [604]
her as toward an aunt, but as toward a mother. Elsewhere is recorded the adoption of a baby brother by his grown sister and the consequent abrogating of the brother-sister tapu.

According to the high chief Ata of Tongatabu, an adopted son may supersede a real son as heir to the father's title. Ata (who was childless) stated that if he and his wife were to adopt the wife's brother's son, that
individual would become his heir even though he had an older son. It is [553]
seldom that a child receives his father's name, but it is customary to give an adopted son the name of his adoptive father.

Adoption may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is 597
taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality. So well established [609]
is the custom that even today Europeans are adopted in much the manner

609 597 [123] as was Mariner by Mafihape, Finau's wife (41, vol. 1, p. 84). Thus, in December, 1920, the Queen of Tonga arranged for the adoption of Norman Collocott (the youngest son of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott) by the heir apparent to the throne of Tonga, who assumed the relation of father. The prince was but two years old and Norman four. The Queen bestowed upon Norman the name of Tokeimoana. About the same time a half-caste gentleman named Von Treskow adopted the heir apparent, and in consequence will furnish him henceforth with yams and other produce from his plantations.

597 From information furnished by Fison, Morgan (45, p. 574) states that a child may be adopted as a grandchild: "It should be noted that if a Tongan's grandchildren proper die out, he takes one of his father's sister's greatgrandchildren, who is then *called* his grandchild."

The present high chief Ata, whose birth name was Solomon Piutau, was adopted by Jane Lafulafu, who was sister of the *toutai* Ula, a distant relative of Ata's father. Ata was removed from his parents' home shortly after his first birthday and given the name Solomon Ula (or more fully Ulamoleka). Jane died while Ata was very small and her daughter Ana brought up Ata. Jane Lafulafu had no sons and Ana was barren. John Mohulamu, Ana's husband, was of matapule rank, but served no chief. Later, Solomon was elevated by the king to the Ata chieftainship, he being the nearest heir to the Ata chief who died.

KINSHIP TERMS

601 The Tongan system of kinship terms appears to lack true terms of affinity. Kinship terms are extended liberally to collateral relatives, though not to such a great degree as in the Hawaiian system.

In addition to being designated by one of the regular kinship, the status of a relative may be so described. Thus, the paternal grandfather who is designated by the word *kui*, the generic term for grandparent, may be described as *koe tamai a eku tamai* (the father of my father). Or again a man's father's sister's son, who is designated by one of the words for brother, may be described as *koe tama tangata oe tuofefine a eku tamai* (the child male of the sister of my father). By this scheme all relatives more than one step removed from the speaker may be described. Side by side therefore are a "classificatory" method and a "descriptive" method of designating relatives.

Terms of relationship are not used in address, but personal names are so used. Even small children address their parents by their personal names. In this regard the Tongan practice is opposite that of most North American Indians, the English practice being intermediate between these two extremes.

Among the Tongan nobility terms of relationship are used also in a largely fictitious fashion.

Although the Tongan kinship terms have been published by Morgan (45, p. 568) and by Rivers (51, vol. 1, p. 363), their exact use requires further clarification. In this list an asterisk (*) indicates the use of the term elsewhere in the system:

Parent and offspring:

***Tamai.** Father. All male and female relatives of the father and in his generation are said to be called fathers.

***Fae.** Mother. All male and female relatives of the mother and in her generation are called mothers.

***Foha.** Man's son.

***Ofefine.** Man's daughter. Rivers asserts that this term is used by a woman also, but my several informants denied this.

***Tama.** Woman's child.

Grandparents and grandchildren:

***Kui.** Grandparent. Extended to collateral and great grandparents.

***Mokopuna.** Grandchild. Extended to collateral and great grandchildren.

Siblings:

***Taokete.** Man's older brother, woman's older sister.

***Tehina.** Man's younger brother, woman's younger sister.

***Tokoua.** Man's brother, woman's sister.

***Tuongaane.** Woman's brother.

***Tuofefine.** Man's sister.

***Tautehina.** Brothers, sisters.

Uncles and aunts:

***Tamai.** Father's brother.

***Fae.** Mother's sister; also mother's brother, who is described more exactly as "fae tangata, male mother." More honorably he is designated as

Tuasina. Mother's brother. Mariner (40, vol. 2, vocabulary) defines this term as "a cousin, either male or female: also an uncle."

Mehekitanga. Father's sister.

***Foha.** Man's brother's son.

***Ofefine.** Man's brother's daughter.

***Tama.** Woman's sister's child.

Ilamutu. Man's sister's child.

Fakafotu. Woman's brother's child.

Cousins:

***Taokete.** Man's parent's older sibling's son, woman's parent's older sibling's daughter.

***Tehina.** Man's parent's younger sibling's son, woman's parent's younger sibling's daughter.

***Tuongaane.** Woman's parent's sibling's son.

***Tuofefine.** Man's parent's sibling's daughter.

***Tokoua.** Man's male cousin, woman's female cousin.

***Tautehina.** Male cousins, female cousins.

Step-relatives:

Step-relatives are designated by the terms for corresponding blood relations.

Spouses of uncles and aunts:

***Tamai.** Aunt's husband. The father's sister's husband is also called tangata eiki, chiefly man, apparently because the same deference must be paid him as is paid the father's sister.

***Fae.** Uncle's wife.
***Foha.** Wife's sibling's son.
***Ofefine.** Wife's sibling's daughter.
***Tama.** Husband's sibling's child.

Spouses:

***Unoho.** Spouse. This word means also "sexual intercourse" and has been replaced in modern Tongan by mali (marry).
***Ohoana.** Spouse (literally, partner). This term, too, has yielded to English "marry."
***Hoa.** Spouse; literally "a companion," and as a verb "to pair with."

Parents- and children-in-law:

Parents and children by marriage are designated as parents and offspring. Grandparents and grandchildren by marriage are equated to grandparents (*kui) and grandchildren (*mokopuna).

Siblings-in-law:

***Unoho, ohoana, or hoa.** Man's brother's wife, wife's sister, woman's sister's husband, husband's brother.
Matapule. Man's sister's husband, husband's sister.
Maa. Woman's brother's wife, wife's brother.

Rivers (51, vol. 1, p. 365) gives matapule for wife's brother, but Morgan (45, p. 576) says that there is no specific term for that relationship. I obtained the term *maa* for wife's brother. The term matapule is one of respect and normally denotes the ceremonial attendant of a chief. Since sisters rank brothers, a sister's husband must be treated with the same respect as the sister; hence, doubtless, arises the use of the honorary term matapule. With this inequality between the husband of a woman and her brother, I think Rivers is wrong in stating that the term matapule applies to the wife's brother. The use of the honorary term matapule for the husband's sister is also susceptible to the explanation that the husband's sister exceeds the husband in rank and therefore is also addressed by this honorary term. Woman's brother's wife and the wife's brother are inferior to the speaker on account of the superiority of sisters to brothers.

The three-step siblings-in-law (husband's brother's wife, husband's sister's husband, wife's brother's wife, and wife's sister's husband) are all denoted by sibling terms.

Like Morgan and Rivers, I recorded no term for child's parent-in-law. Relatives through the father are grouped as *fanga tamai* or *faahi tangata* (man's side), through the mother as *fanga fae* or *faahi fefine.*

THE LINEAGES

There exist today in Tonga a number of named lineages called *haa,* a 613
word which the dictionaries and most Tongans render as "tribe, class, family." Tui Vakano, the late premier of Tonga, equated *haa* with the Samoan *sa* (sacred). The high chief Ata said that *haa* is applied to blood

relatives, and to people who have some attribute in common, as *haa eiki* 613
(chiefs) and *haa matapule* (matapules or attendants).

The lineages are patrilineal. Each consists of a nucleus of related chiefs [622]
about whom are grouped inferior relatives, the lowest and most remote of [565]
whom are commoners. Some commoners are not aware of their lineage
as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live. Thus the commoners living under the chief Ata are reckoned as of his lineage, Haa Ngata Motua. The landed chiefs of today are all grouped in lineages. Modern representatives of former powerful chiefs against whom the political situation has turned, and who have sunk to the status of commoners, are as a rule unconnected with the modern lineages. In the preludes of speeches before a company of chiefs various of the lineages are enumerated.

The lineages appear as one aspect of the Polynesian interest in genealogies. The whole system of lineages may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs. Here and there a twig develops into a branch (Haa Havea); other twigs sprout forth and die, as for example the Haa Puipuifatu (descendants of the Tui Tonga Puipuifatu), the Haa Uluakimata (descendants of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II), the Haa Tatafu (descendants of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fotofili), and the Haa Laimoana (descendants of the Tui Haa Takalaua Kafoa). Or perhaps a limb becomes huge and flourishing (Haa Ngata Motua), while the trunk (Haa Takalaua)
ceases to flourish. Everything points to the necessity of a line of powerful 613
chiefs for a nucleus about which the lineage groups itself. Without such 622
chiefs it appears to wilt and die and its membership gradually aligns itself
with other rising lineages. This process of realignment naturally contra- 613
venes the rule of patrilineal descent, which theoretically, and largely in practice, determines lineage membership. Adoption into lineages is practiced. [597]

That all the modern *haa* have a chief as a nucleus, or trace their descent 613
from an ancient chief, was attested by all informants. Thus, the venerable 622
chief Tamale of Niutoua, Tongatabu, defined *haa*, as the people belonging to a great chief, all related by blood to him. Another informant (who belonged to a matapule family) said that the term would apply to the family of a chief, but not to that of a matapule or commoner (*tua*). I interpret this as meaning that today only chiefs are heads of *haa*.

The splitting of major lineages into minor ones is well illustrated by 613
the Haa Ngata Motua, by its branch the Haa Vakatolo, and by the several sub-branches of the Haa Vakatolo. In time, it is possible that these branches may grow into major lineages. On the other hand, they may die out. Various such minor groupings were noted which may prove ultimately to be incipient major lineages.

Thus, the term Haa Ata is not the name of a recognized lineage, but 613 simply designates Ata and his inferior relatives and followers. It is a good example of how a lineage name may arise. The term Haa Maufanga is 613 another term that does not designate a true lineage. It refers to a place 103 in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu, where Latukefu resided. In this connection the informant stated that in Hihifo were several tracts of lands [643] about the Tui Kanokupolu's residence which were occupied by the chiefs [644] and retainers who formed his court. The names of such places may be taken by the chiefs to villages which they form at other places with their people. The informant said that the village of Maufanga, just east of Nukualofa, was named after the Maufanga in Hihifo. Whether this is so I cannot say for certain. At any rate, the first Ulukalala was connected [643] with the Tui Kanokupolu in Hihifo and then seems to have been buried at Maufanga in Hihifo.

A recent example of a new social group arising within a community is 613 constituted by the former inhabitants of the island of Velitoa, Tongatabu, and their descendants (presumably patrilineal). The inhabitants of that small island fled during the last religious wars carried on by George I Tupou. Some fled to Mua, Tongatabu Island, the seat of the Tui Tonga and of Catholicism at that time. There they were arbitrarily classified as one family (which they probably were to a large extent) and given the name Veli, an abbreviation of the name of the island. People of that name still live at Mua and are considered blood relatives. Others of the fugitives went to Fiji where they likewise go by the name Veli.

The aged informant Tamale of Niutoua, Tongatabu, said that a man 613 moving to a new place in olden days was referred to by the most important 103 tract (*api*) name of the place from which he came. He said that the tract (*api*) Loka, near Niutoua, was in charge of his matapule *tehina* (younger brother) and that anyone belonging to that individual's "family" was spoken of as belonging to the Haa Loka. This would imply a geographic application of the term *haa* in the sense of the "people of such-and-such a place."

There was no rule against marriage within the *haa*. Close blood relationship was the only bar. 613 Patrilocal residence is said to have been the rule [582] with both chiefs and commoners, a factor which would tend to keep the [591] patrilineal *haa* localized.

Examples of modern tracing of lineage affiliation are cited:

> Toamotu, a minor chief of Koloa Island, Vavau, gave the following explanation of his membership in the Haa Takalaua: Nanasi, daughter of Fanualofanga (chief of Lofanga Island), lived with Haveapava. She bore him three children (Siulua, a girl; Malouiha, a girl; Malupo, chief of Uiha). Malouiha lived with Ngalumoetutulu (said by the informant to be a Tui Haa Takalaua sometime after Kafoa, although no one by this name is listed). Their son was the first Toamotu and a member of the Haa Takalaua, as are his descendants through males.

613 King George I belonged to the Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father; his mother was of the Haa Havea; he was adopted by the [Tui ?] Haa Teiho. William Tungi belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Taimi or Salote Toafilimoeunga belongs to the lineage of her father, the Haa Fale Fisi, her mother's lineage was the Haa Vaea. Fangupo of Vavau belongs to Haa Ngata Tupu, presumably through his father. John Tupou, of Nukualofa, belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Malakai Lavulo, of Pangai, Lifuka, belongs to the Haa Ngata Motua through his father. William Finau, to that of his father, Haa Fale Fisi, his mother's was the Haa Havea. John Nuku Finaulahi belonged to his father's Haa Ngata Motua, his father's mother was of the Haa Latu Hifo. Moungatonga of Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, belongs to Haa Takalaua. Naitoka belongs to Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father. He recognizes Ahomee of the Haa Vakatolo division of this lineage as his chief, to whom he is related. Although Naitoka was born at Nukualofa in central Tongatabu, his father was born in the Hihifo (western) district of that island, which is the stronghold of the Haa Ngata Motua.

Tracing of lineage through the mother is not considered proper and is 611
usually followed only because the connection with the mother's *haa* gives 613
greater prestige or because the father is a foreigner. If annoyed at something, a person might shift his allegiance from his father's to his mother's chief. Tamale, the aged and erudite chief of Niutoua, quoted the proverb, "He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he mahi" (The fish is hardly likely to swim backward), meaning that in *haa* reckoning a person would follow his father rather than his mother. Needless to say, where the tracing of lineage is correctly patrilinear, the mother's *haa* is remembered.

The following are examples of matrilinear reckoning of the *haa*:

Mafi, a woman, belongs to mother's lineage Haa Takalaua; mother, a woman of Lifuka Island, Haapai; father, a man of Niuatoputapu, to which place her mother was taken upon marriage. The *haa* of father not known.

Daniel Faupula, son of John Faupula, who was a Fijian of Lakemba, belongs to the Haa Fale Fisi through his mother who belonged to the Haa Ngana division of that lineage.

John Fakailoatonga belongs to Haa Takalaua through his father Tuakilotoa.

John Feiloakitau Kaho, younger brother of the late premier Tui Vakano, states that he and his brothers belong to the Haa Havea through their mother. Their father was of the Haa Toutai Fokololo.

An adopted child belongs to the *haa* of the adoptive father. 613

Gods were connected with the various lineages and incidentally sacred 597
animals in which the gods became incarnate. There is no belief in descent 776
from the sacred animal. It is said that there were no badges or tattoo pat- 825
terns to distinguish members of different lineages. 304

Agents or ambassadors (*màlanga*) of certain of the great lineages seem to have resided with neighboring great lineages and acted as intermediaries in all their transactions of importance; for example:

Vahai was originally ambassador of the Haa Latu Hifo to the Haa Ngata Motua. He was invited by the Haa Ngata Motua to become a member and he accepted. Momotu, who resides with the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs at the seat of Ata, the head of this

lineage, is the emissary of the Haa Havea to the Haa Ngata Motua and John Momotu, 613
the present *malanga*, is the "younger brother" (*tehina*) of the Haa Havea. Communi-
cations of the Haa Ngata Motua or of Ata to the Haa Havea are made through Momotu.
News of a death in either *haa* is transmitted by Momotu to the other *haa*. If a war [721]
were brewing, the Haa Ngata Motua might seek the aid of the Haa Havea through
Momotu. If trouble arises between Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Havea, Momotu tries
to settle the differences. If the Haa Ngata Motua are to make a *pongipongi* (presenta-
tion of produce to the Tui Kanokupolu) Momotu notifies the Haa Havea so they may be
present, although they do not bring gifts. Thus Momotu acts as intermediary between
the two lineages in all matters. There is said to be no Haa Ngata Motua emissary
living with the Haa Havea, as they are scattered. The principal Haa Ngata Motua [622]
chiefs all live within a mile of one another, and Ahio and Ata actually live in the same
village.

PRESENT DAY LINEAGES

Tui Tonga

The recognized lineages of to-day are 13 in number. The lands of each lineage in Tongatabu tend to form a compact area. (See fig. 4.)

The Tui Tonga's lineages are called *sinae,* not *haa,* and comprise three 613
groups: Sinae eiki (those closely related to the Tui Tonga). Sinae eiki ki 643
mua (former or earlier Sinae), and Sinae eiki ki mui (latter or present
Sinae). There are commoners belonging to the *sinae* as to the *haa.* While [565]
unable to give any literal meaning for *sinae,* informants said that it was
applied to the Tui Tonga's lineage, instead of *haa,* because of the Tui Tonga's
transcendent rank. This is doubtless only a rationalization. It is possible
that *sinae* contains the same stem as Maori *tina* (a company of travellers).
At a kava party where neither the Tamaha, the Female Tui Tonga, nor the 613
Tui Tonga were present, one of the Sinae eiki ki mua would preside. The 643
Sinae eiki ki mua consist of the chiefs Veikune, Tamale, Manumua, Lomu, 551
and Tafolo, who are said to be equal in rank. The Sinae eiki ki mui consists
of the chiefs Kavakimotu, Lutu, and Fifi, who are said to be equal in rank.
Who comprise the Sinae eiki proper I do not know, except that the Tui
Tonga was named. Kalaniuvalu and Maatu, two other Tui Tonga chiefs,
perhaps belong here also. Manumua of Eua Island was by one informant
placed in the Haa Takalaua, by two others in the Sinae. I think he belongs
with the Sinae, because it was stated that one of his forefathers was the
brother of a Tui Tonga.

Haa Talafale

Haa Talafale is the nominal lineage of the Tui Pelehake (also called Tui 613
Faleua), a title and office which is at present without a holder, but which
probably will be filled by one of the Queen's sons. The last incumbent was
Fatafehi, the paternal grandfather of the present Queen of Tonga. The
original Tui Pelehake, so mythology avers, was the celestial paternal half

brother of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga. He accompanied his brother in his 613 reputed descent from the sky to Tonga. See the story of Ahoeitu (26, pp. 25, 38).

HAA FALE FISI

The lineage of the House of Fiji has six representatives among the landed chiefs of modern Tonga. It is said also to be represented in Fiji. This lineage traces its descent to the Tui Lakepa (31, p. 44) of Vasivasi, Fiji, who married the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I. Its traditional origin therefore dates from about Tasman's time, 1643. 613 648

Tongan chiefs of this lineage are Tui Lakepa, Tui Haa Teiho, Malupo, Tui Haa Ngana, Tui Afitu, and presumably Lasike. Tui Lakepa is the head of this lineage. The first Tui Haa Teiho, Malupo, and Tui Haa Ngana are said to have been the sons of a Tui Tonga by the daughter of the Fijian chief Tui Neau of Lakemba. 613 551

HAA TAKALAUA

The legendary eponymous ancestor of Haa Takalaua was the twenty-third Tui Tonga Takalaua, who was assassinated about 1450 (26, pp. 31, 60, 62, 65).[1] Following the execution of Takalaua's assassins, his oldest son, Kauulufonua I, became Tui Tonga. His second son, Moungamotua, was appointed to the new position of Tui Haa Takalaua (Lord of the Lineage of Takalaua) and became a lieutenant and administrative agent for Kauulufonua I. This apparently marks the origin of a new lineage, which seems to have been consciously created and has continued down to the present day. 613 551 643

Similarly the Haa Uluakimata was formed after the death of the thirty-second Tui Tonga, Uluakimata II. No one was encountered who claimed membership in this lineage today, yet descendants must exist.

To the Haa Takalaua belongs the Prince Consort Tungi, who is also the premier of Tonga. He is not, however, the Tui Haa Takalaua, for that office no longer exists. It is an office which, like that of Tui Tonga, is superior to the office of Tui Kanokupolu held by the dominant political house of modern Tonga. The Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Tonga were abolished by the nineteenth Tui Kanokupolu, George I Tupou, when he became master of the entire kingdom of Tonga, following the death of the thirty-ninth Tui Tonga in 1865.

The chief Fakafanua also claims membership in this lineage, although a Vavau informant placed him in a separate *haa*, Haa Tui Faletahi (Lineage of the Lord of the Sea House), a name which refers to the functions of fisherman for the Tui Tonga which Paku, ancestor of Fakafanua, performed.

Fotofili, the chief of Niuafoou, was placed in the Haa Takalaua with 613
some hesitation by my informant. Fulivai of the Vavau group claims mem- 551
bership in this lineage, as does also Kalauta of Vavau (through his father). 643
Eua Island is a stronghold of this lineage. There the chiefs Hama and Vakauta claim membership. Anciently their forefathers sent presents to the Tui Haa Takalaua in Tongatabu.

HAA VAEA

The eponymous ancestor of Haa Vaea was Vaea, the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua. It is thus definitely linked with the Tui Haa Takalaua, just as certain important lineages of today are linked with the Tui Kanokupolu. At present the head of this *haa* is Taliauli, the adopted brother of the late Luani who was the head until his death in 1917. (Taliauli is the son of Veehala of the Haa Ngata Motua.) (See p. 22.) Another chief of the
lineage is Falekaono. One informant stated that Luani was not a member [611]
of her family although Haa Vaea was the *haa* of her mother; a bit of negative evidence which strengthens the patrilineal aspect of the *haa*.

HAA NGATA MOTUA

Haa Ngata Motua is distinct from Haa Ngata Tupu. Ngata was the 613
son of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua, Moungatonga, and was appointed to 643
the newly created office of Tui Kanokupolu by his father. The purpose in the creation of the new office seems to have been to relieve the Tui Haa Takalaua of some of his duties. In other words, the Tui Kanokupolu was appointed as a lieutenant to the Tui Haa Takalaua, just as more than a century before the Tui Haa Takalaua was appointed as a lieutenant to the Tui Tonga to relieve him of various temporal duties and to guard him against assassination.

To the Haa Ngata Motua belong the following chiefs: Ahio of Kolovai 613
who is the highest chief, Maafu-o-Tui-Tonga of Foui, Veehala of Fahefa, 551
Ata of Kolovai, Ngalungalu of Neiafu in Tongatabu, Kapukava, Ahomee of Haa Vakatolo, Vahai of Foui, and Hafoka of Eua Island. Ata is the head of the lineage, although Ahio is higher in rank, as is the Tui Kanokupolu, who is claimed by this lineage.

The title Ahomee antedates the first Tui Kanokupolu, Ngata, for we find 613
that Ngata's two wives were daughters of Ahomee. Moreover, the mother of the Tui Tonga Telea, two generations before Ngata's time, was the daughter of Ahomee's younger brother Lavaka-vao-leleva. It seems clear that the inclusion of Ahomee represents another fiction. It is possible that the title Ahomee was bestowed on one of Ngata's sons, but there is not a shred of

evidence to show that it was. It seems more likely that the title continued 613
to descend in the male line but that the holders were merged in the Haa Ngata, perhaps for political reasons.

Momotu, a chief elsewhere listed as belonging to the Haa Havea, is also claimed by Haa Ngata Motua. It is said that the present holder of the title [611]
belongs to the Haa Havea only through his mother, and that through his father he belongs to the Haa Ngata Motua. The first Momotu was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko, the putative ancestor of the Haa Havea.

Vahai, it is said, was formerly of the Haa Latu Hifo but was transferred as an agent or representative to the Haa Ngata Motua by Nuku and Niukapu, in order to be in close touch with the Tui Kanokupolu. The Haa Ngata Motua so highly prized his fighting prowess that they invited him to become a member and thus strengthen the Haa Ngata Motua.

Latukefu, another member of the Haa Ngata Motua and not originally a chief, became a member by invitation.

The Tui Kanokupolu is sometimes placed in another lineage, the Haa [643]
Maafu, of which he is head. This *haa* is also called the Haa Mounga (Mountain) or Haa Moheofo (Wife of the Tui Tonga). It is really a lineage within a lineage, a crowning subdivision of the Haa Ngata Motua. The second synonym, Haa Moheofo, refers to the fact that the later Tui Tonga selected as chief wife (*moheofo*) the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, hence the lineage of the Tui Kanokupolu has the designation of Haa Moheofo. This lineage, if it may be called such, is also designated as the Haa Tui Kanokupolu. The only chief beside the Tui Kanokupolu who belongs to it is Tupoutoa.

In the Tamaha's genealogies, the following statement is made concerning the Haa Maafu. The head of the lineage is Taliai Tupou, that is, the Tui Kanokupolu. The Haa Maafu are the true younger brothers of the Tui Kanokupolu, their children, and their grandchildren through males.

The custom of the relatives of the wife of a great chief coming to live 613
at his establishment has lead to considerable mixture of population. This 622
is especially true in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu, the seat of the power- 602
ful Haa Ngata Motua chiefs. The wives of these chiefs were derived in large measure from various other lineages.

HAA LATU HIFO

The putative ancestor of Haa Latu Hifo was the Tui Haa Takalaua 613
Moungatonga. His two "sons" (recognized also as "brothers" of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu) and their descendants constitute the lineage. To-day they are represented by the chiefs Niukapu and Nuku. Together, the Tui

Kanokupolu, Nuku, and Niukapu are called the Ulutolu (Three-heads). 613 (See p. 102.) The name Haa Latu Hifo is said to refer to the fact that the first Tui Kanokupolu and his descendants went up in rank, while his "brothers" Nuku and Niukapu and their descendants went down in rank. Literally Haa Latu Hifo means Lineage of Descending Chiefs. Nuku is the head of the Haa Latu Hifo, as he is the "older brother." The Tamaha's genealogies mention the Haa Siulangapo along with the Haa Latu Hifo and state that the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga is the ancestor of both. I learned nothing further of the former lineage.

HAA HAVEA

The ancestor of the Haa Havea was Mataeletuapiko, the third Tui Kanokupolu. The modern chiefs who belong to this lineage are Maafu Tukuiaulahi, [551] Lavaka, Fielakepa, Fohe, Tui Vakano, Vaea, and Momotu. The Maafu is [622] ranking member. Momotu is claimed also by the Haa Ngata Motua, for it is said of the present holder of the title that his father was of the Haa Ngata Motua and his mother of the Haa Havea. Although I do not know the [622] actual circumstances, it nevertheless is likely that failure of the patrilineal line forced the selection of an individual of the matrilineal line for the title: hence the conflict in the affiliations of the present holder of the title. The title anciently belonged to the Haa Havea.

HAA NGATA TUPU

The ancestor of Haa Ngata Tupu was Mataelehaamea, the fourth Tui Kanokupolu. This is the youngest of all of the great modern lineages. It embraces the Ulukalala chiefs of Vavau, of whom Mariner's patron Finau was one. Fakailoatonga also belongs to this lineage. Ulukalala is the head. Ancestors of this lineage, according to the Tamaha's genealogies are Tuituiohu (son of Mataelehaamea), Tupoutoa (son of Mataelehaamea), Tuioemoana (son of Alapuku, son of Tupoutoa), and Kapetaua (son of Tuioemoana). Tolo (whom I have not identified) is also of this lineage. [551)

The Haa Ngata Tupu did not join the kava circle, but it was their duty [276] to guard the kava making for the Tui Kanokupolu. Ulukalala was not present [574] in the kava circle at the appointment ceremony of the present Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte. [643]

HAA MALIEPO

The great matapule Lauaki heads the Haa Maliepo, which is of traditional celestial origin. The first Lauaki, or Maliepo as he was called, descended from the sky with Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga. Among his duties

was that of undertaker to the Tui Tonga. Lauaki's present position parallels 613
that of Motuapuaka, the two being the highest matapule in the kingdom and
attending the Tui Kanokupolu.

HAA MOTUAPUAKA OR HAA MOLOFAHA

The name Motuapuaka (Old Pig, or perhaps Pig Man in reference to [551]
some ceremonial function) is that of one of the two ceremonial attendants
of the Tui Kanokupolu. The highest rank attained by people of this lineage [624]
is therefore that of matapule. The reputed male ancestor of the lineage [644]
was Molofaha, a Samoan.

HAA FALEFA

Tuuhetoka, of Haafeva Island, Haapai, was reported by one informant
to be a representative of Haa Falefa. The Falefa were lordly attendants [644]
of the Tui Tonga. The four chiefs, who were assigned duties by Takalaua, [622]
the twenty-third Tui Tonga, and who appear to constitute the second Falefa,
bore the titles of Tui Loloko, Tui Matahau, Tui Talau, and Tui Amanave.
(See the discussion of the Falefa, p. 63.)

HAA TOUTAI

The lineage of Haa Toutai (Navigators) includes Tuita, Fakatulolo, and
Akauola. Tuita is described as being between a chief (*eiki*) and a cere- [622]
monial attendant in rank. Fakatulolo and also Akauola are of matapule rank. [624]
These individuals were the navigators of the Tui Tonga and to-day hold [643]
the same office for the Tui Kanokupolu.

One informant (John Feiloakitau Kaho) spoke of three Haa Toutai: Haa Toutai Ika, Haa Toutai Vaka, and Haa Toutai Fokololo. The term *ika* evidently refers to fishermen and *vaka* to navigators; while *fokololo* means "to dress with any old thing at sea or in rainy weather." Apparently all three of these alleged lineages have the one point in common that they refer to navigation of one sort or another.

DIVISIONS OF LINEAGES

Divisions of *haa* exist, called *faahinga* and *matakali*, as well as *haa*. The use of these terms is not uniform. The word *faahinga* was given as signifying family in the bilateral sense, thus embracing people of more than one *haa;* and also as "tribe," "rank in society," and "social stratum," in distinguishing chiefs, attendants, and commoners. According to Baker (2), *fakafaahinga* means "to act in tribes, to maintain the distinction of tribes." 613 Moreover the dictionaries equate the three words *haa*, *faahinga*, and *matakali*. Doubtless they are used interchangeably to-day and their former, perhaps distinct, meanings have become merged. The word *matakali* is cognate with Fijian *matanggali* (51, vol. 1, p. 264). Certainly the Fijian *matanggali* and the Tongan *haa* have much in common.

Besides being used for a division of a *haa*, the term *matakali* was used by one informant for a village as a whole. He spoke of the village of Okoa, Vavau, as forming a *matakali*. The village and island of Okoa form one of the hereditary tracts belonging to Tui Lakepa, one of the four chiefs who head divisions of the Haa Fale Fisi and it is possible that the informant was thinking of this when he said, "all of the people of Okoa form a *matakali*." Whether he included people married into the village, as well as natives, was not ascertained.

The Haa Fale Fisi is divided into four parts: Haa Ngana of which Tui Haa Ngana is chief, and of which Nganatatafu, brother of the twentieth Tui Tonga (Tatafueikimeimua) was the eponymous ancestor; Haa Teiho of which Tui Haa Teiho is chief; Haa Ngana of which Malupo is chief; and a fourth part of which Tui Lakepa is chief. Tui Lakepa is regarded as the head of the Haa Fale Fisi as a whole. Apparently the presence or absence of *haa* subdivisions depends upon the prominence of the chiefs within a *haa* and the number of their people.

Major and minor divisions of *haa* are revealed in the Haa Ngata Motua, the most powerful and numerous lineage of modern Tonga. In this lineage, the several chiefs probably head divisions of the *haa*. The chief Ahomee heads the division Haa Vakatolo which is subdivided into four parts: (a) Haa Latakofe, to which Ahomee himself belongs and of which he is the head; (b) Haa Leleka, of which Lavaka-vao-leleva is head; (c) Haa Motua, of which Napaa is head; (d) Haa Melie, of which Mahakimata is head. Lavaka-vao-leleva, Napaa, and Mahakimata are younger brothers, either lineal or collateral, of Ahomee. Ahomee applied the term *matakali* to the four subdivisions. The god of all four subdivisions of the Haa Vakatolo [776] is Tui Fisi and the *fehi* tree is sacred to him. Ahomee stated that the or- [778] ganization of the Haa Vakatolo division of the Haa Ngata Motua is a fair [824] sample of Tongan *haa* organization.

Another example of divisions of a *haa* is presented by the Haa Motuapuaka, in which the distribution of the divisions has been obviously affected by ceremonial considerations. The Haa Motuapuaka is represented in six island groups: Tongatabu, Haapai, Vavau, Niuatoputapu, Niuafoou, and Uvea (Wallis, beyond the limits of the modern kingdom of Tonga). In each of these six island groups the Haa Motuapuaka is represented by two heads of subdivisions or families (as the informant actually called them). 613 The two family heads in each group are (1) Kamoto and Uhi, in Tongatabu; (2) Kofe and Afeaki, in Haapai; (3) Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli, in Vavau; (4) Sika and Kaufanga, in Niuatoputapu; (5) Masila and Haufano, in Niuafoou; (6) and Elili and Fakahenga in Uvea. Motuapuaka, of Tongatabu is regarded as the head of the entire *haa,* in spite of the fact that Kamoto and Uhi are said to be his superiors in rank. The ascendancy of Motuapuaka himself is attributed to the influence of the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs. The relationship of the two heads in each group was not ascertained, nor was their relationship to Motuapuaka himself. The Motuapuaka who was living in 1921 was senile and useless as an informant.

The Haa Motuapuaka held the octopus (*feke*) in reverence, as the incarnation of their god. [825] All members of the Haa Motuapuaka trace their [776] descent to Molofaha, a Samoan man.

The very widespread distribution of the Haa Motuapuaka is undoubtedly deliberate. Motuapuaka is one of the two chief ceremonial attendants of the Tui Kanokupolu. The heads of families in each island group function in Motuapuaka's place when the Tui Kanokupolu visits these groups and Motuapuaka himself is not in attendance. The questions suggest themselves as to whether these men are really of the same blood as Motuapuaka, and whether, in order to meet ceremonial requirements, individuals of other blood have not been arbitrarily assigned to the Haa Motuapuaka.

LINEAGES IN SPEECH PRELUDES

Before a speaker settles down to the matter which causes him to address 195 an assemblage of chiefs he must enumerate the various great chiefs and 537 lineages, saying, "Tapu to so-and-so, and tapu to so-and-so," etc. 576 These personages are said to be mentioned in order of rank, but the recorded speeches [622] do not altogether bear this out, or perhaps the relative rank of different chiefs [613] has varied, just as the Tui Tonga and Tui Haa Takalaua have gone into total eclipse. In fact there are two great preludes (*fakataputapu*), one obsolete [643] and connected with the Tui Tonga and his kava circle, the other connected with the Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu and his kava circle. The first is called the prelude of the Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), the second is called the prelude of the Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), as these two great royal houses are metaphorically called. Nowadays it is customary to mention the Deity first, then the King and great chiefs. After completing the enumeration the speaker says, "And allow me to speak."

Two examples of preludes for speeches at the Tui Tonga's kava circle 195 were recorded. One has been published (15, p. 32), the other is given 537 574 below. These differ considerably from one another, a fact open to two in- 643 576 terpretations. Either there was considerable variation, or the recorders have erred, perhaps because of the non-use of, and lack of familiarity with, the Tui Tonga prelude. I have translated the word *hau* (literally, ruling prince) as Tui Kanokupolu in the following prelude. It applies also to the Tui Haa Takalaua.

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643 574 195 537 613 622 539 576 [643]

1.	Tapu moe Takafalu	Tapu to the Tui Tonga, literally Back of the Chief. [The back is mentioned because the king is too sacred to be named in person.]
2.	Pea tapu moe Tui Faleua	And tapu to the Tui Pelehake.
3.	Pea tapu mo Haa Takalaua	And tapu to the Tui Haa Takalaua [and presumably the chiefs of the lineage Haa Takalaua].
4.	Pea tapu mo Haa Uluakimata	And tapu to the Tamaha [according to an informant] and presumably chiefs of the Haa Uluakimata.
5.	Pea tapu moe Sinae eiki moe Sinae	And tapu to the Sinae of high rank and the other Sinae.
6.	Pea tapu mo Fale Fisi	And tapu to the chiefs of the lineage Fale Fisi.
7.	Pea tapu moe huhu Eiki	And tapu to the chiefs in general. [The informant Tapueluelu said *huhu Eiki* applied to the Tui Tonga. The word *huhu* means "the breasts" and "to suck," suggesting that women of high rank may be meant.]
8.	Pea tapu mo Faoamanafa	And tapu to Faoamanafa. [One informant suggested that this referred to a chief Faoa of Hihifo district, Tongatabu, but this seems to me to be unlikely.]
9.	Pea tapu moe alofi tapu	And tapu to the chiefs in the sacred kava circle.
10.	Pea tapu moe toua tapu	And tapu to the chiefs sitting behind the kava bowl.
11.	Pea tapu moe Vaeamatoka	And tapu to Vaeamatoka.
	Kae ata keu lea	Allow me to speak.
	Ma tafi tonga sahoeu	May the southern sky be clear.
	Pea o ua e popo uli e alo ni	And ward off filthy rottenness from the sons of chiefs [?].

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Three speech preludes for use in the kava circles of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu have been recorded. One has been published (15, p. 32). Although they differ in detail they are all alike in relegating the Tui Tonga to oblivion and his kin to subordinate rank in the list of chiefs. The published prelude mentions the Tui Haa Takalaua first, the Tui Kanokupolu (now the supreme ruler) third.

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Only matapules use the full prelude. A high chief mentions only two or three chiefs and lineages and then asks the king's matapule, Maliepo and Molofaha, to finish for him. Then he goes on with his speech. This takes place at a kava ring, as kava drinking forms a part of all meetings of chiefs, no matter what the business.

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According to the informant Tapueluelu there are certain chiefs who speak, certain who do not. Maatu, Fotofili, Vaea, Ata, Vahai, Ulukalala, Niukapu, and Nuku are chiefs who do not speak. Chiefs who speak are Tui Haa Teiho, Tui Haa Ngana, and Malupo. Tapueluelu thinks that this is a survival of old status in which the speaking chiefs were higher than those not allowed to speak.

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[276]
[576]

The following prelude was found among the papers of the late Tafolo, a chief of the Sinae ki Mua or Tui Tonga lineage.

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[613]

1.	Tapu mo hotau Eiki	Tapu to our Lord [presumably the Deity].
2.	Tapu mo hotau Ha'a Moheofo	Tapu to our Haa Moheofo [Tui Kanokupolu].
3.	Tapu mo hotau Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga	Tapu to our Tui Haa Mounga [Tui Kanokupolu].
4.	Tapu mo hotau Ha'a Ngata mo Ha'a Ngata	Tapu to our Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu.
5.	Tapu moe Sina'e ki Mua mo Sina'e ki Mui	Tapu to the first Sinae and the last Sinae.
6.	Tapu mo Ha'a Latu Hifo	Tapu to the Haa Latu Hifo.
7.	Tapu mo Ha'a Havea	Tapu to the Haa Havea.
8.	Tapu mo Ha'a Ma'afu	Tapu to the Haa Maafu.
9.	Tapu mo Ha'a Vaea	Tapu to the Haa Vaea.
10.	Tapu mo Kano Loto'a 'oe Hau (aia ko Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Teiho kae uma'a Afitu mo Lakepa).	Tapu to the chiefs who live in the enclosure of the Tui Kanokupolu (namely Tui Haa Ngana, Malupo, Tui Haa Teiho, and likewise Tui Afitu and Tui Lakepa).
11.	Tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha	Tapu to Maliepo and Molofaha [Lauaki and Motuapuaka, matapule of the king].
12.	Tapu mo Fokololo 'oe Hau	Tapu to Fokololo [navigators] of the Tui Kanokupolu.
13.	Tapu mo moha ngaahi haa fa'ahinga 'oku totonu ke kau ki ai 'ae tala 'oe fakatapu na'e fai 'ehe matua ni.	Tapu to any Haa or Faahinga which is not mentioned here but has a right to be mentioned in the prelude the forefathers gave.

Apparently the following lines were sometimes added:

1a.	Tapu mo Hou'eiki fofonga kui	Tapu to the heads of the chiefs
2a.	Tapu mo Hou'eiki houtamaki	Tapu to the imperious chiefs [refers to Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu who see to keeping order in the kava circle and whip people who do not obey]
3a.	Tapu moe Tu'i Hoi	Tapu to the Tui Hoi

The following prelude is from the manuscripts of Maatu, Lord of Niuatoputapu Island. It is modern, for the Deity is mentioned first:

1.	Tapu moe 'Afio ae Taehamai	Tapu to His Majesty the Invisible (the Deity). 195
2.	Tapu mo Haa Moheofo	Tapu to the Haa Moheofo (Tui Kanokupolu). 537 622
3.	Tapu mo Tui Haa Mo'unga 'oku afio (ai ihe me'afaka'eiki)	Tapu to the Tui Haa Mounga who is there (when a funeral is on). [Tui Haa Mounga is the Tui Kanokupolu]. 574 539 576
4.	Tapu moe feitu'u alofi moe feitu'u alofi	Tapu to all the chiefs of both sides of the kava ring.
5.	Tapu moe Fasitapu	Tapu to the bend of the kava ring [where Veehala sits].
6.	Tapu moe Tangata o Tu'i Tonga oku fio he 'alofi oe Hau	Tapu to the men of the Tui Tonga who are in the kava circle of the Tui Kanokupolu.
7.	Tapu moe tou'a Eiki	Tapu to the chiefs in the *toua* (behind the kava bowl). [Veehala, Vahai, and Ata are the only strictly Haa Ngata Motua chiefs in the *alofi* or kava circle. Vahai sits in the *alofi* as he is really from Haa Latu Hifo. In the kava circle Vahai belongs to Haa Latu Hifo, in ordinary life he counts now as Haa Ngata Motua. 7 refers to the chiefs not in the circle but in the *toua*, the space behind the bowl.]
8.	Tapu mo Fale Fisi	Tapu to the lineage Fale Fisi.
9.	Tapu moe Sina'e ki Mu'a moe Sina'e ki Mui.	Tapu to the First Sinae and Last Sinae.
10.	Tapu mo Haa Ngata mo Haa Ngata	Tapu to the Haa Ngata (Motua) and the Haa Ngata (Tupu)
11.	Tapu mo Haa Latu Hifo	Tapu to the Haa Latu Hifo
12.	Tapu mo Haa Havea Lahi	Tapu to the great Haa Havea
13.	Tapu mo Haa Ma'afu	Tapu to the Haa Ma'afu
14.	Tapu mo Haa Vaea	Tapu to the Haa Vaea
15.	Tapu moe kanoloto'a oe Hau (aia ko Haa Ngana mo Haa Ngana, Haa Teiho, kae 'uma'a 'a Afitu mo Lakepa).	Tapu to those within the enclosure of the Tui Kanokupolu (that is Tui Haa Ngana, Malupo, Tui Haa Teiho, and also Tui Afitu and Tui Lakepa). [Formerly *kanolotoa* referred to the Tui Tonga only, i. e., the chiefs enumerated lived with the Tui Tonga, not the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression is figurative in a measure and refers to their close attachment to the Tui Kanokupolu, rather than to their actually living with him.]
16.	Tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha	Tapu to Maliepo and Molofaha.
17.	Tapu mo Fokololo oe Hau	Tapu to the navigators of the Tui Kanokupolu.
18.	Tapu moe ngaahi faahinga oku kau kiai ae tala'a.	Tapu to the groups of those already enumerated.

ANCIENT LINEAGES

The fact that most of the modern lineages do not antedate 1600 in their 613
traditional origins causes speculation as to what the lineages were before 175
that date. That there were earlier lineages seems without a shadow of doubt,
for it seems inconceivable that lineages suddenly originated with the assassination of Takalaua in the fifteeenth century. Moreover, the apparently transient character of the modern lineages, which obviously depend upon the political prestige of their heads, makes it all the more apparent that there must have been similar groups before 1450. A traditionally older lineage is the Haa Talafale. Perhaps more ancient is the Haa Vaipoa, reputed to antedate the Tui Tonga's control of the Vavau group. This *haa* seems to be
without members to-day. Its god was probably Mahina, who went from [776]
Vavau to Tongatabu with water in his mouth, which he dropped at Tufumahina.

Tongan place names seem to offer a clue to the ancient lineages. Of place 103
names recorded, 284 begin with the stem *haa,* the term used in designating 613
the several great modern lineages. (See 25, pp. 77-89.) Although to-day 174
these names refer only to places and not to people, it is conceivable that they once referred to the people who lived in these places. This view is strengthened when it is noted that several of the place names refer to ancient chiefs and are thus comparable to the modern lineage names. The paternal aunt of Tui Haa Teiho stated that most of the tracts which formerly belonged to the Tui Tonga had names beginning with the stem *haa.*

Among other things, the place names refer to bodily peculiarities (Haaila, 103
family or lineage with a mark on the body; Haamotuavae, family of the 613
big toe), to occupations (Haafata, family of bearers; Haafetuku, family 174
of carriers; Haafeuni, family of weavers; Haafota, family of masseurs), and to plants and animals (Haahenga, family of the parrakeet; Haakaho, family of the reeds; Haakulu, family of the *kulu* trees; Haalai, family of
the *lai* fish.) These plant and animal names suggest a former totemism, but [825]
more likely refer to the plant or animal sacred to the god of the lineage: an [776]
assumption in accord with the modern lineages, which had patron deities and sacred animals, although there was no belief in descent from animals.

The multiplicity of these supposed lineages revealed by place names makes it likely that the ancient lineages comprised much smaller numbers of people than the few lineages to-day. On the other hand, granting that the place names do stand for ancient lineages, it is unlikely that they were all contemporaneous. Doubtless old ones died out, or were submerged by changing political fortunes, and new ones arose, just as the most powerful modern lineages have arisen within the last three centuries.

An example of what was probably an ancient lineage is represented by 613
the place name Haaloau (Haa Loau). The Loau referred to was a prominent 103
chief of the district of Haamea, Tongatabu, who is reported to have held 174
land also on Lifuka Island where a district and a cemetery are called Haaloau. In the cemetery were buried people of high rank, related to Tui Haa Teiho. The paternal aunt of Tui Haa Teiho said that Loau was the Tui Haa Loau, or lord of the people of the lineage of Loau. Loau's daughter Nua became the mother of Tuitatui, the eleventh traditional Tui Tonga. Likewise, the twenty-ninth Tui Tonga, Uluakimata I, was reputed a descendant of the famous Loau. However, all the Tui Tonga after Tuitatui must have had Loau's blood in their veins, if tradition is correct; hence the special mention of Uluakimata I is not clear. It is possible a second and much later Loau is referred to.

The western portion (Kolomotua) of the modern capital Nukualofa is 103
comprised of several tracts (*api*) which bear *haa* names. They are Haafakaafe,
Haahio, Haaloto, Haamea, Haasimi, Haatelie, Haavaka, and Haavakaotua.
The Prince Consort Tungi and his late father Tukuaho belonged [643]
to—that is, they resided in— Haavakaotua. Actually, of course, these two [613]
chiefs are members of the lineage Haa Takalaua. Yet it is modern Tongan [621]
practice to think of co-residence as constituting people into a social group.
In fact several informants gave place names for family names.

My informants also spoke of certain modern villages as comprising 361
certain named families, meaning actually that the villages comprised people 621
from certain localities, brought together by the new system of village residence. 551
It is likely that the people in each ancient locality did constitute a [596]
single family. But when the informants give the place name as the family name, the European type of family name must not be understood. It is not a surname and it changes with change of residence. For example, the mayor of Moungaone, Haapai, said that there were four families in his island: Haalolovi, Haanukuola, Haavaitongo, Haatolu. The mayor belonged to Haalolovi, the ancestor (*tefito*) of which was a man named
Kavauhi who lived on a tract of that name. It happens that I have no [613]
record of these four *haa* names as place names, so it is possibly they represent a survival of the ancient small lineages which I have postulated.

Place names beginning with the stem *haa* form 7 per cent of the total 103
number of place names in Tongatabu, 4 per cent of the total number in 613
Haapai, 3 per cent in Vavau, 3 per cent in Niuafoou, and 3 per cent in Niuatoputapu.

Of the total number of place names beginning with the stem *haa*, those
peculiar to each island group are recorded in Table 4, which shows that
Vavau has much the smallest percentage. If these names really stand for [174]

social groups, this fact would indicate that the Vavau population was linked 103
with other populations to a greater extent than the population of any one 613
of the other groups. 174

TABLE 4. HAA NAMES PECULIAR TO ISLAND GROUPS

GROUP	TOTAL NAMES	PECULIAR NAMES	PERCENTAGE PECULIAR
Tongatabu	156	117	75
Haapai	68	37	54
Vavau	42	14	33
Niuafoou	13	9	69
Niuatoputapu	5	3	60
TOTAL	284	180	

The sharing of *haa* names between the five island groups is shown in Table 5. It will be noted that Tongatabu and Vavau have nearly as many names in common as have adjacent Tongatabu and Haapai, yet Haapai has many more *haa* names than has Vavau. This apparently indicates that the influence of Tongatabu as the political center of the kingdom was far-reaching, and that Vavau borrowed more from distant Tongatabu than from nearby Haapai. If it is true that these *haa* place names really stand for ancient lineages, it would seem that Vavau and Haapai have both been largely settled by Tongatabu people or vice versa.

TABLE 5. HAA NAMES IN COMMON

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU
Tongatabu				
Haapai	26			
Vavau	24	15		
Niuafoou	4	3	3	
Niuatoputapu	2	2	1	0

Table 6 shows the percentage of names which each island group shares with every other island group. It is interesting to note that Vavau shares more than half of its place names with distant Tongatabu and only a little over a third with adjacent Haapai. Because the total number of names in Tongatabu is much greater than in Haapai, the chances of sharing more with Vavau are increased. But, operating against this is geographic remoteness and the interposition of Haapai. It would seem therefore that the large percentage of names which Vavau shares with Tongatabu is due to historic connection. So far as known, only Tongatabu has been the home of the Tui Tonga and the seat of government for the whole kingdom. [643]

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE OF HAA NAMES SHARED

103
613
174

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU	NIUATOPUTAPU
Tongatabu		17*	15	3	1
Haapai	38		22	4	3
Vavau	57	36		7	2
Niuafoou	31	23	23		0
Niuatoputapu	40	40	20	0	

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* This table is to be read horizontally, thus Tongatabu shares 17 per cent of its names with Haapai.

In an attempt to express the total interrelations of each pair of island groups by a single figure, I present in Table 7 a sort of percentage-index figure which is the average of the two percentages expressing the proportion of shared names between each two island groups. Thus, as shown, in Table 6, Tongatabu shares 17 per cent of its names with Haapai; Haapai shares 38 per cent of its names with Tongatabu. The percentage-index would then be the sum of 17 and 38, divided by 2, or 28. 103 613 174 128

TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE-INDEX OF HAA NAMES SHARED

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU
Tongatabu				
Haapai	28			
Vavau	36	29		
Niuafoou	17	14	15	
Niuatoputapu	21	22	11	0

Table 7 shows the relationship of shared haa-names to be closest between Tongatabu and Vavau (index 36); then follows Haapai and Vavau and Tongatabu and Haapai. In view of the geographic separation of Tongatabu and Vavau by the intervening Haapai group and in view of the lower index for Tongatabu and adjacent Haapai, it seems apparent that the high index figure for Tongatabu and Vavau is due to historic causes. 103 613 174

TAUVU

The Fijian term *tauvu* has been used by Thomson (56, p. 5) to express the special relationship which exists between two tribes or villages which worship the same god. 648 794

Inquiry in Tonga elicited information about *tauvu* in only two places. The people of Tungua Island, Haapai, and Moala and Ketei in the windward islands of Fiji (32) are *tauvu* to each other; that is, they have the same god and so have full right to each other's goods. [421]

Okoa Island, Vavau, which is the hereditary land of the Tui Lakepa, a chief of Fijian ancestry, is called *tauvu* to Ofu Island because smaller and dependent. Perhaps the real reason is that anciently they worshipped the same god.

THE KINGSHIP

Tui Vakano, the late premier of Tonga, briefly characterized for me the 643
three great lines of chiefs of Tonga as follows: 793

> The Tui Tonga were the spiritual rulers of the country and did not interest themselves with the ordinary government of the country. Their persons were sacred to such an extent that they were almost worshipped as gods. Only a special few and foreigners were allowed to associate with them.
>
> The Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu were from the same origin [as 643
> the Tui Tonga]. When the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua disappeared the Tui Kanokupolu became the rulers of the people and looked after the country.

Tui Vakano uses the term "spiritual" in much the same sense as many 643
Caucasians who have written on Tonga. I do not think the term is justified. 793
That the Tui Tonga was the most exalted of the male chiefs of the country there can be no doubt; that he was a spiritual ruler in the same sense as the Pope or the Dalai Lama is untrue.

Williamson (64, vol. 1, chapt. 4) discusses at length the published evi- 643
dence concerning the origin and extent of the authority exercised by the three lines of rulers: Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, and Tui Kanokupolu. That the Tui Tonga was the highest in rank cannot be doubted. That he lost in power and influence as the other lines gained is obvious from the traditional history of Tonga, as well as from the observations of voyagers.

It is not my aim to review the published materials, but rather to present what little new data I have gathered, and to clarify, with the aid of genealogies, some of the disputed points as to succession and interrelations between the three houses.

My view of the interrelations of the three ruling lines is briefly as fol- 643
lows. The Tui Tonga exercised full sovereignty until the Fifteenth Century 175
when Kauulufonua I, following the assassination of at least three kings, introduced the innovation of a subsidiary ruler, the Tui Haa Takalaua, who was to act as a buffer between the Tui Tonga and the people and to whom were delegated the more arduous duties of the kingship. Already when this innovation was made, Tongan power in western Polynesia was waning. That the Tui Haa Takalaua was expected to function principally in Tongatabu seems likely, for at the same time were appointed governors for the other parts of the kingdom who would seem to have been directly responsible to the Tui Tonga, not to the Tui Haa Takalaua.

In the early part of the Seventeenth Century the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga appointed one of his sons to the position of Tui Kanokupolu, presumably creating the position for him, just as the Tui Tonga had earlier created the position of Tui Haa Takalaua. The new line of chieftains proved a powerful one which gradually eclipsed the Tui Haa Takalaua and ultimately, in 1865, the Tui Tonga. The Tui Tonga genealogies show clearly the decline of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the rise of the Tui Kanokupolu.

From early times it evidently had been the custom for the Tui Tonga to 643
take as his principal wife the daughter of some powerful chief; thus the 195
daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua were married by a few Tui Tonga. 581
Then they drop from view and thereafter the Tui Tonga takes as his chief wife a daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, apparently thereby acknowledging the superiority of the Tui Kanokupolu over the Tui Haa Takalaua.

THE MALE TUI TONGA

SEQUENCE OF THE TUI TONGA

With the death of Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth Tui Tonga, December 175
9, 1865, the sway of the so-called "priest-kings" of Tonga came to an end. 643
No successor to Laufilitonga was appointed, but the office was absorbed by 173
the reigning Tui Kanokupolu, George I Tupou. The traditional founder of the dynasty was Ahoeitu, who probably came into power some time in the tenth century.

It should be borne in mind, however, that if tradition is to be relied upon the Ahoeitu dynasty of kings was preceded by an earlier dynasty (26, p. 38): "This world was first inhabited by the offspring of the worm, and Kohai was first made Tui Tonga of the world. And his people were dwelling there [in Tonga]."

Williamson (64, vol. 1, pp. 136-137, 139) interprets Bastian (4, p. 296) as indicating six kings preceding Ahoeitu, but if my interpretation of the Tongan is correct, Bastian lists but one, namely Kohai as may be seen from the following translation of the Tongan story referred to by Williamson.

> The first land of Tonga was Ata [island] and the first plant was a *fue* with two branches, and came down Tangaloa and tore it in two and the root of the *fue* rotted, and developed an animal, and came a plover and pecked, and arose from it a pair of men who were brothers, and a [the part] of the animal was cast off by the plover, and it became Momo, which are the three that arose from the animal, and the meaning of Momo is
>
> The crumbs [momo] of the animal
> And the first Tui Tonga was Kohai
> The man who originated from the *fue* plant.

(See also Collocott, 8, p. 237.)

The list of Tui Tonga (dynasty of Ahoeitu), given below is regarded 175
by me as correct. It is the result of the careful comparison of material from 173
six sources: (a) A list obtained from Tongavalevale and recorded by 643
Father Francis Xavier Reiter (33, vol. 5, pp. 45, 46), referred to as the 127
Catholic Mission list; (b) A manuscript written by Anthony Uhatafe of Mua, Tongatabu, a member of a family which furnished ceremonial attendants to the Tui Tonga; (c) A list published by the late King George II (35, vol. 1, No. 1, [5], p. 8); (d) A list recorded by J. E. Moulton (34)

and reproduced by Tregear (58, p. 670); (e) A list given to Shirley W. 175
Baker by King George I Tupou in 1862, and made available by Miss Beat- 643
rice Shirley Baker; (f) A partial list in the genealogical records in the 173
possession of the present ruler of Tonga, Queen Charlotte Tupou, recorded [127]
by the Tamaha Amelia in 1844.

Bastian (4, p. 296) gives a list of the Tui Tonga which ends with Telea and otherwise differs radically from all other lists. Williamson suggests that Bastian received his list from Shirley W. Baker, but the list given me by Miss Baker is quite unlike that published by Bastian. With these doubts in mind I have refrained from attempting a correlation.

List of the Tui Tonga, Dynasty of Ahoeitu

[551]

1 Ahoeitu. About 950
2 Lolofakangalo
3 Fangaoneone
4 Lihau
5 Kofutu
6 Kaloa
7 Mauhau
8 Apuanea
9 Afulunga
10 Momo
11 Tuitatui. About 1200.
12 Talatama
13 Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou
14 Talaihaapepe
15 Talakaifaiki. About 1250.
16 Talafapite
17 Tui Tonga Maakatoe
18 Tui Tonga Puipui
19 Havea I
20 Tatafueikimeimua
21 Lomiaetupua
22 Havea II
23 Takalaua. About 1450.
24 Kauulufonua I. About 1470.
25 Vakafuhu
26 Puipuifatu
27 Kauulufonua II
28 Tapuosi
29 Uluakimata I (Telea)
30 Fatafehi
31 Kauulufonua III. King in 1643.
32 Uluakimata II
33 Tui Pulotu I
34 Fakanaanaa
35 Tui Pulotu II
36 Pau. King in 1770. Died about 1784.
37 Maulupekotofa. Died in 1806.
38 Fuanunuiava. Died in 1810.
39 Laufilitonga. Died in 1865.

From Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga, to Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth Tui Tonga, was 35 generations. The succession from father to son seems to have been unbroken except at three points. Talatama, the twelfth Tui Tonga, seems to have had no son and was consequently succeeded by his brother Talaihaapepe, although only after the interposition of the dummy called Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou. Thus Tui Tonga 13 and 14 are to be reckoned as belonging to the same generation as Tui Tonga 12. Tui Tonga 26 and Tui Tonga 27 are both sons of Tui Tonga 24, possibly 25 is also. Pau, Tui Tonga 36, was succeeded by his brother Maulupekotofa probably during the minority of his son Fuanunuiava.

I have accepted the evidence of the Tamaha's genealogical records and 175
listed the thirty-first king as Kauulufonua III, instead of Tapuosi II as given 643
in the Catholic Mission and the Uhatafe lists. Tapuosi II probably was not 173
the Tui Tonga but the Fijian Tui Lakepa, who married the Female Tui 127

Tonga Sinaitakala I, the eldest sister of Fatafehi, the thirtieth king. Aside 175
from this the accepted list coincides with the Catholic Mission list. The 643
Uhatafe list differs from all of the others in placing Maulupekotofa, the 173
thirty-seventh king, in advance of Pau, the thirty-sixth king who ruled at 127
the time of Cook's visits. Maulupekotofa and Fuanunuiava are doubtless the two Tui Tonga mentioned by Mariner, Maulupekotofa dying in 1806 just before Mariner's arrival, Fuanunuiava in 1810. Mariner estimated Fuanunuiava as about forty years of age.

The George II list is identical with the Catholic Mission list, except that it unites Fatafehi (number 30) with Tapuosi II of the Catholic Mission and Uhatafe lists, thus reducing the total number of kings to 38. In the Moulton list kings 17, 18, 19 of the accepted list are united as number 17 and kings 20, 21, 22 are united as number 18. The Baker list supports the Moulton list. Uhatafe and George II lists support the Catholic Mission list, which I have followed in accepting 39 as the number of kings, instead of 34 and 32, as given by Moulton and Baker. The Tamaha list is accepted for the succession of the last 11 Tui Tonga. Partial lists in the possession of the Tui Haa Teiho, of the widow of the chief Tafolo, and of Tupoumalohi strengthen the argument for the accepted list. A list published by Collocott (13, p. 166) follows the succession as given by George II.

As to the length of the period covered by the dynasty of Ahoeitu, I con- 175
cur in general with Collocott (13, pp. 167-169). It seems likely that Ahoeitu, 173
the legendary founder of the dynasty, began reigning about 950 A.D. 643
Tuitatui, the eleventh Tui Tonga and reputed builder of the great trilithon at Tongatabu, probably reigned about 1200. Samoan references to Talakaifaiki, the fifteenth Tui Tonga, seem to place his reign about 1250. Takalaua, the twenty-third Tui Tonga, probably held sway about 1450. Thomson (54, p. 306) gives 1535 as the probable date for Takalaua, but he makes Kauulufonua I the fourth Tui Tonga instead of the seventh before the king (probably Kauulufonua III) who ruled in Tasman's time. Therefore, I regard Collocott's date of 1470 for Kauulufonua I nearer the truth than Thomson's figure of 1535.

Tasman, who visited Tongatabu in 1643, mentions an elderly chief, but that he was the Tui Tonga and not the Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu is not certain. The Tui Tonga at the time of Tasman's visit was probably Kauulufonua III and not Fatafehi as Collocott suggests (13, p. 168), for according to tradition at the time of Cook's visit to Tonga, Pau, the thirty-sixth Tui Tonga, was the fifth ruler after the king who reigned at the time of Tasman's visit. Pau was adjudged by Cook in 1777 to be about forty years of age. The three remaining kings, Maulupekotofa, Fuanunuiava, and Laufilitonga, were all known to Europeans; especially Laufilitonga, who died in 1865.

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE TUI TONGA

The following information has been obtained regarding the Tui Tonga 173 listed on page 50: 175 643

1. Ahoeitu, the legendary first Tui Tonga of the dynasty which ended on December 9, 1865, with the death of Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth ruler of the line, was the reputed son of a Tongan woman and a sky-god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua. While visiting his celestial father, Ahoeitu was killed by his half brothers. After his resurrection he was sent by his father down to Tonga to become its ruler. With him came his brothers who occupied subordinate positions. "Ahoeitu returned to earth and became Tui Tonga, the first [divine] Tui Tonga of the world. The Tui Tonga who originated from the offspring of the worm were displaced." (26, pp. 25, 38.)

The non-supernatural features of this legend suggest the beginning of a new line of rulers from the union of a woman of the earlier Tongan population with an immigrant or newly risen chief. The approximate date is believed to be 950 A. D.

The five celestial paternal half brothers, who descended from the sky with Ahoeitu, served him as subordinates in certain capacities. Three of these five are said to have representatives to-day in Tonga, not necessarily lineal descendants, for the names are really titles of offices which may be filled from collateral lines of relatives. The five half brothers of Ahoeitu and their representatives were: Talafale (Tui Faleua), represented today by Tui Pelehake; Matakehe, with no known representative; Maliepo, represented by Lauaki; Tui Loloko, represented by Tui Loloko; Tui Folaha, with no known representative.

2-9. Lolofakangalo, Fangaoneone, Lihau, Kofutu, Kaloa, Mauhau, Apuanea, Afulunga. Of the seven Tui Tonga who succeeded Ahoeitu there are known only the names and the statement that son succeeded father, until Momo, the tenth ruler of the line.

10. Momo. If the account is to be trusted, Momo chose as his chief wife Nua, the daughter of Loau, the Tui Haamea of central Tongatabu. This custom of selecting [581] a daughter of a powerful chief of Tongatabu as wife and mother of the new king prevailed thenceforth throughout the whole history of the dynasty. Within the last [581] four centuries the daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu was selected. The mythical origin of kava would seem to be connected with Momo's [276] reign, inasmuch as it is the chief Loau of Haamea who plays a leading part in the tale (26, pp. 71-75). However, as there seems to have been more than one chief with the name of Loau this is not absolutely certain.

Apparently the Loau of Momo's time bore the full name of Loau Tuputoka. A chief of that name visited Savaii Island, Samoa, in Momo's reign, at the time the carapace of the famous turtle, Sangone, was reputed to have been buried (26, pp. 49-54). To Loau Tongafisifonua of perhaps another reign is attributed the famous voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152).

The reign of Momo must have been traditionally important for a proverbial expression (*hau 'o Momo*) refers to it. In his day, and in fact down through the time of Takalaua, the Tui Tonga was the temporal ruler (*hau*), as well as the sacred ruler.

It was apparently in Momo's reign or in that of his predecessor that the royal residence was moved from central or southeastern Tongatabu to Heketa, northeastern Tongatabu.

11. King Tuitatui, who reigned about 1200 A. D., left his mark in Tongan legendary history. Even an alleged peculiarity of head form is recorded, and what was believed to be his skull was unearthed in Heketa, Tongatabu, some years ago. He [349] is the reputed builder of the Trilithon. During his reign, the capital was at Heketa, near the famous structure (26, pp. 48-49). There Tuitatui erected the two royal tombs, Langi Heketa and Langi Moungalafa, presumably for his father and himself.

Tuitatui's predilection for the fair sex is illustrated in two tales (26, pp. 46-48), one 173 concerning incest with his sister Latutama, the other with winning the maiden Nua. The recovery of the buried carapace of the famous turtle Sangone was accomplished 175 by Fasiapule, the king's maternal half brother (op. cit., pp. 49-54). Prince Tungi 643 possesses a piece of turtle-shell fishhook, reputed to be made from this carapace. Tuitatui is said to have died in the mountainous island of Eua, whence Fasiapule, his faithful half brother, transported his body to Tongatabu for burial (op. cit., p. 45). An Eua informant, Fakatene, said that the king died at Tuutuu, near Kolomaile.

One version of the story about the Tongan hero Muni states, perhaps wrongly, that Muni's mother embarked on one of the Tuitatui's vessels on the fatal voyage during which she fell a victim to the cannibal oven. (See 26, p. 120.)

Tuitatui is said to mean "king who strikes the knee," referring to the Tui Tonga's custom of hitting with a long stick the knees of his matapule when they came too close. Tuitatui is reputed to have thus established the custom of keeping the matapule [644] at a respectable distance on ceremonial occasions. His reason for this practice is said to have been the fear of assassination, because several [*sic.*] Tui Tonga had been killed at kava ceremonies by their matapule. The Falefa matapule who attended the Tui Tonga were induced by scheming great chiefs to murder them, in order that some relative of the schemers might ascend the throne. As the Falefa were foreigners (*muli*) they were not subject to the curse which would fall upon a native Tongan for touching the Tui Tonga's person. (Actually, there is no tradition of the murder of any king before the nineteenth Tui Tonga.)

12. Talatama. The twelfth king seems to have been the son of Tuitatui who with his [349] brother Talaihaapepe is said to have assisted in the erection of the great trilithon (26, pp. 30, 46). One native account says that the trilithon was made by Tuitatui's sons, Uanga (Talatama?) and Afulunga (Talaihaapepe?). While they were constructing it, Tuitatui died. After their father's death Talatama and his brother Talaihaapepe moved the capital to Lapaha where there was sheltered anchorage for their two favorite vessels (26, pp. 30, 46). Their sister Fatafehi, the Female Tui Tonga, by her silence gave consent to the removal. Another version, however, makes her the instigator of the move: Sometime after the completion of the trilithon, Fatafehi said to the new king, "Let us move from this locality, for I am tired of the noise of the surf on the rocks." So they moved and Fatafehi said, "Goodbye noisy rocks (Utulongoaa)," hence the name of the place to-day.

Concerning the reign of Talatama, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468 says: "Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass eine Verbindung mit dem 'Ali'atama in Manu'a besteht, welcher vielmehr als Karika in Rarotonga bekannt ist."

The royal residence was then erected at Lapaha. There was constructed the royal [764] tomb called Langi Leka. (See also 26, p. 49.) It was the first of the great series of royal tombs to be built at Mua. Some generations later the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I was buried there.

13. Tuitonga Nui Tamatou. Tui Tonga Talatama lacked a male heir, apparently for the first time in the history of the dynasty. Talaihaapepe did not directly succeed his brother on the throne. To meet this situation a fictitious king (Tuitonga Nui Tamatou), represented by a dummy of *ton* wood, was provided and declared to be the son of Talatama and father of Talaihaapepe (26, p. 30). McKern, who excavated the terraced tomb reputed to be the burial place of the wooden dummy, found no trace of human bones. The dummy would naturally have rotted away long since.

Krämer writes (36, vol. 1, p. 468):

"Um diese Zeit heiratete die Tochter des Tuitoga mit Namen Laufafa e Toga den Tupa'imatuna, den Sohn des Lealali (p. 84 gen 13) aus deren Ehe viele Savai'i-Familien sich herleiten. Sie wird als eine Tochter des Tuitogamanaia und der Nafanua ausgegeben (III. b. 9. gen 11 p. 96). Von ihm und Lautivunia siehe die Geschichte V. c. 4 und IV. C. c. 1. Nach Fraser No. 5 soll der Sohn des Lautivunia den Bruder seines Vaters totgeschlagen haben und selbst Tuitoga geworden sein."

My material throws no light upon the identity of the Tui Tonga Manaia, of 173
Nafanua, of Laufafa, or of Lautivunia. Possibly Manaia is a nickname for Talaihaa- 175
pepe. Elsewhere (op. cit., p. 94) Krämer speaks of a Tui Tonga Manaia as the
brother of Tui Tonga Fasiautele (Kauulufonua I). If he is the same individual, 643
there is a big discrepancy in time in the two attributions. Lautivunia is said to have been the brother of a Tui Tonga (op. cit., p. 344). The name of the Tui Tonga slain by Lautivunia's son is not known. Possibly it was Havea I, who, however, appears to have reigned somewhat later. If Havea I was the king, it seems likely that Tatafueikimeimua was his nephew, slayer, and successor.

14. **Talaihaapepe.** The brother of Talatama, twelfth Tui Tonga.

15. **Talakaifaiki.** According to Samoan tradition, Talakaifaiki was the temporary ruler of Samoa and resided at Safotu, Savaii (36, vol. 1, p. 61). He was expelled by the chiefs Tuna and Fata of the Malietoa line (22). He reigned about 1250 A. D. Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) says:

"Der Tuitoga Tạla'aifei'i, der Samoa unterjochte und durch Tuna und Fata (gen 14) vertrieben wurde (IV. B. c. 2). Nach Stuebel p. 86 wäre er der Vater des Poluleuligaga (siehe gen. 15, p. 246)."

The Tongan tale (26, pp. 45-54) about the turtle Sangone seems to indicate that 648
already the Tongan grip on Samoa was strong in the days of the tenth and eleventh Tui Tonga. Whether the relations recorded in this tale were the result of conquest or of peaceful penetration is not clear (26, pp. 45, 54). Presumably Talakaifaiki was the last of a series of rulers who had long held Samoa in vassalage.

16. **Talafapite.**

17-19. Tui Tonga Maakatoe, Tui Tonga Puipui, Havea I. Concerning the time of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and (or) nineteenth Tui Tonga, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) writes:

"Um diese Zeit wird ein Tuitoga Tuionu'ulava genannt, dessen Töchter Pate und Alainuanua nach Samoa heirateten (IV. B. b. 2. p. 246), letztere den Malietoafaigā Uilamatutū (gen 15). Ein Bruder dieser beiden hat den weiter unten des öfteren vorkommenden Namen Ulufanua (tele), der den Poluleuligaga zeugte."

The name Tui Onukulava does not occur in any Tui Tonga list with which I am familiar. It does occur much later as the name of a Tui Haa Takalaua.

Havea I. is the first identifiable king reputed to have met his death at the hands of an assassin.

20-23. Tatafueikimeimua is known chiefly through the tale of his unsuccessful wooing of a beautiful Samoan woman named Hina (26, pp. 55-60). His brother, Nganatatafu, figures in the tale as the king's successful rival. Hina bestowed upon Nganatatafu two bonitos, so that the coming of this fish to Tongan waters is attributed to Tatafueikimeimua's reign. Nganatatafu is possibly the eponymous ancestor of the Haa Ngana, a division of the Haa Fale Fisi, which to-day has its stronghold in Haano Island, Haapai, the home island of Nganatatafu. Suggesting somewhat the interference of Nganatatafu in the love affairs of his brother, is the adventure of Lautivunia, brother of a presumably earlier Tui Tonga. Lautivunia scaled the fence on the island where the Tui Tonga kept virgins destined for his harem. Two of the girls became pregnant and Lautivunia committed suicide when summoned to appear before his brother (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348).

Krämer (op. cit., p. 468), referring to the time of Tatafueikimeimua, Lomiaetupua, and (or) Havea II., says: "Um diese Zeit heiratete ein Tuitoga die Tochter des Manu'a in Safata, aus deren Nachkommen die Tuiaana—und Malietoa-Linie stammt (siehe IV, B. b. 6. p. 253)."

Havea II, like Havea I, met death at an assassin's hands. He was shot through the head by Tuluvota, a Fijian.

23. Takalaua. Tui Tonga Takalaua, who reigned about 1450 A. D., was murdered while eating food on the island of Mataaho in the lagoon at Tongatabu. His murderers are stated (26, pp. 32, 60, 65) to have been Tongans. Takalaua's sons cap-

tured the assassins in Uvea (Wallis Island) after prolonged pursuit and much fighting 173
in Tongatabu, Eua, Haapai, Vavau, Niuatoputapu, Niuafoou, Niue (55, p. 21), Samoa,
Futuna, Fiji, and lastly Uvea. Another and somewhat garbled version given me by 175
Mafifakapotu makes Futuna the place of capture of the assassins, and Fevanga and 643
Fefafa their names instead of Tamosia and Malofafa. Undoubtedly this is a mistake, for the names Fevanga and Fefafa are associated with the reign of Momo and the origin of kava. Mafifakapotu's version follows:

"Kauulufonuafekai and Moungamotua made war on Uvea. They started war because two men killed their father, the Tui Tonga Takalaua. These two men fled to Haapai. Their names were Fevanga and Fefafa. They were driven from Haapai by the two brothers and their soldiers, thence to Vavau, to Niuatoputapu, to Niuafoou, to Samoa, to Uvea, to Futuna. In Futuna the Tui Tonga (Kauulufonuafekai) caught them. . . . . In Futuna the Tui Tonga's troops started to attack the Futunans. They, however, at once brought the murderers to the Tui Tonga. He thanked them and said that they might have a present—that thenceforth all Tongan boats that came to Futuna were theirs. The two murderers were taken to Tonga and executed. The Tui Tonga and his brother buried their father upon their return. After their father was buried, Moungamotua was made temporal lord, because some of the Tui Tonga ruled only a day or two and were assassinated. Fonuamotu is the name of the residence of Moungamotua. Jioeli Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's heir, now lives there."

As Takalaua's body was not buried until the execution of the assassins, it seems [764]
likely that it was mummified, probably after the Samoan fashion. That such preservation of bodies was occasionally resorted to in Tonga is attested by other evidence.

Takalaua's marriage to the beautiful Vae, the foundling of Ata Island near Tongatabu, has been recorded in several traditions (26, pp. 31, 60, 62; 54, pp. 294-304). So smitten was his majesty with her charms that he accidentally struck his face with a drumstick which he was wielding when he first saw her.

A brief and hitherto unpublished account of Takalaua and Vae was supplied by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker from the Tongan papers of her father, Dr. Shirley W. Baker. This account which gives Vae's full name as Vaelaveana, states that she was a woman from Ata and the child of a dove (*sic.*), and that she bore the following children to Takalaua: Kauulufonuafekai (son), Moungamotua (son), Latutoevave (son), Melineatoa (daughter), and Lotau (son). Takalaua was assassinated while eating food at Mataaho, by two men, Tamosia and Malofafa from Haatafale, who smelt of the sorcery basket. His children came sailing from Nuku. They kissed the feet of Takalaua and left him unburied, while they made war on Tongatabu and conquered it. But the two assassins fled to Eua, then to Haapai, Vavau, Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, Futuna (where Kauulufonuafekai was wounded), and lastly Uvea. Kauulufonuafekai conquered all of these islands. At Uvea the assassins were caught and killed. All of the conquered islands came under the rule of the Tui Tonga.

24. Kauulufonua I. Kauulufonua I. received the additional appellation *fekai* (savage, cruel), because of his drastic punishment of his father's assassins. He succeeded his father Takalaua only after the long period spent in running down the murderers. The Tongan tale of Kauulufonua's search for the assassins received striking corroboration from a legend in Futuna Island, which tells of a Tongan invasion and of the Tongan leader, who, when wounded, shouted, "The gods are fools!" (54, p. 304, footnote). The Tongan versions (26, p. 32) state that Kauulufonua planned before the battle to determine by a test whether his prowess was his alone or whether he was assisted by a god. He planned to defend only his front in the forthcoming battle and to leave his back to the supposed divine protector. He was wounded in the back.

Following Kauulufonua's conquest of Eua, Haapai, Vavau, Niuatoputapu, Niuafoou, and Uvea, viceroys were sent to these several groups (26, pp. 62, 67). A Catholic Mission account refers to the Tui Tonga as ruler of Uvea as late as 1797.

Kauulufonua made a radical innovation in government by delegating his temporal authority to his younger brother who was given the title of Tui Haa Takalaua, Lord

of the Lineage of Takalaua. This delegation of the Tui Tonga's temporal duties 173
probably took place about 1470. It marked the beginning of the eclipse of the Tui
Tonga, an eclipse which became total with the death of Laufilitonga in 1865. The 175
Tui Tonga retained the privileges and honors of his exalted position, which gave 643
him the best that the land provided in produce and beautiful women. After Kauulufonua I, no more is heard of vigorous warrior kings. All military activity seems to have passed into the hands of the subsidiary officers, notably the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu.

Concerning the relations of Kauulufonua I to Samoa, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) says:

"In Samoa heisst er Tuitoga Faisautele (grossen Menschenfrass machend). Er heiratete die Vainu'ulasi (gen 18) und zeugte den Fa'aulufanua (IV. C. b. 5, p. 301) und den Ulualofaligā von Fagaloa (flp.). Er heiratete auch die Popoai und Taufaitoa (gen 20 in IV. C. b. 2) und zeugte den Tuiavi'i, Togialelei und Puipuifatu, wahrscheinlich die drei hier folgenden Tuitogā."

Of the three sons of Kauulufonua I mentioned by Krämer only Puipuifatu became king. He did not directly succeed Kauulufonua I, as Vakafuhu intervened. In what relation Vakafuhu stood to Kauulufonua I, I do not know; possibly he was a brother of Kauulufonua I. It is of interest to note that Puipuifatu was half Samoan, as apparently was Kauulufonua II, who according to Krämer was his half brother. Apparently Tongialelei attempted to seize the throne after slaying either his father Kauulufonua I, or his father's successor Vakafuhu. He was opposed in this by Puipuifatu (op. cit., p. 304).

25. Vakafuhu. Concerning Vakafuhu, whom Tongan lists give as the successor of Kauulufonua I, I have no data. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) has the following to say regarding the possible identification of this king in Samoan sources:

"Ein Aloiva'afulu wird in der Vaea-Geschichte (IV. B. c. 12, p. 268) genannt. Auch von Fitiuta auf Manu'a ist ein Va'afulu bekannt (p. 378 gen 18), was um so merkwürdiger ist, als es dort auch einen Tufele giebt. Ein Tofele nämlich kam von Samoa und tötete den Togialelei in Tonga (siehe die Geschichte IV. C. c. 3. p. 304)."

26. Puipuifatu. The twenty-sixth Tui Tonga perhaps married in Samoa (op. cit., p. 296) and perhaps his daughter married there also (op. cit., p. 187). Krämer's information seems to indicate Kauulufonua II, the twenty-seventh king, as also a son of Kauulufonua I, by a Samoan wife (op. cit., pp. 468-469).

27. Kauulufonua II. Krämer attributes to Kauulufonua II (Tuitogafa'aulufanua) a Samoan wife, Taupoimasina, who bore him a daughter Vaetoeifanga (op. cit., p. 86).

28. Tapuosi. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) links with either Tapuosi or Fatafehi (the thirtieth Tui Tonga), a "Tuitoga Tupoufei'a". Referring to Tapuosi, he says:

"Tuitoga Tupoufei'a? (siehe gen 24). Eine Tochter des Tuitoga mit Namen Oloitoa heiratete um diese Zeit den Tagaloafesulu (gen 22 in III. b. 4. p. 91); auch heiratete um diese Zeit ein Tuitoga die Maupenei, die Tochter des La'ulunofovaleane (III. b. 2. gen 19-20 p. 88). . . . Wahrscheinlich ist dieser [Fatafehi] oder der Tabuooi (gen 22) der Tuitoga Tupoufei'a, welcher die Sapioamoa heiratete (siehe IV. B. b. 4. gen 24 p. 249), die ja der Malietoa-Linie entstammte, an die auch der Name des folgenden Uluaki erinnert. Ulua'i ali'i ist ein in der Malietoa-und Tuiatua-linie vorkommender Name (siehe gen 23)."

The name Tupoufeia should be linked with the Tui Kanokupolu rather than the Tui Tonga, for names with the word Tupou are very common in that family.

29. Uluakimata I (Telea). The tales concerning Uluakimata I (Telea) indicate a life of voluptuous ease, in which contemplation of the beauties of the scenery
and of women seem to have been the chief pastimes (26, p. 36). It is recorded that 595
his three wives of high rank brought him, in addition to themselves, two hundred
women for his harem. The transportation of huge stone blocks from Uvea to Tonga- 764
tabu for the construction of his royal tomb is attributed to this king. The freight
vessel was the famous *Lomipeau* (Under-the-Waves) reputed to have been built in 505
Uvea, but ultimately buried at Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the rudder of the

Lomipeau was made into a kava bowl, a part of which was taken in 1918 by a 173
Catholic priest to Uvea, because there the *Lomipeau* was built. The finest terraced 175
stone tomb at Lapaha, Tongatabu, the Paepae o Telea, is the putative resting place 643
of this ruler. According to a modern informant, Telea met death by drowning at sea.

The Reverend E. E. V. Collocott supplied me with the following account of [505]
Telea's birth:

"There was a woman pregnant to the Tui Tonga [Tapuosi], and afterwards another woman, Vaenopo, the daughter of Ahomee's younger brother Lavakavaoleleva. The gods caused Vaenopo to bring forth first, although her conception was later than that of the other woman. Her child was a boy named Telea, who became the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I, whose royal tomb is in Lapaha and is called Paepae o Telea."

30. Fatafehi. Telea was followed on the throne by his son Fatafehi and his daughter the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I. Both were the offspring of a woman named Mataukipa, one of Telea's three principal wives. (For an interesting anecdote concerning the relations of these three wives, see 26, p. 36.)

31. Kauulufonua III. The son of Fatafehi, Kauulufonua III, was probably the Tui Tonga at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643.

32. Uluakimata II. King Uluakimata II had two noted sons, Tui Pulotu I (in Langi Tuofefafa), who became Tui Tonga, and Tokemoana, who was made Tui Haa Uluakimata (Lord of the Lineage of Uluakimata)—an appointment apparently patterned after that of the Tui Haa Takalaua in the reign of Kauulufonua I. The office appears to have languished; the lineage (*haa*) is not among those of modern Tonga.

33. Tui Pulotu I. Tui Pulotu I was buried in the royal tomb called Langi Tuofefafa. His body is said to be buried face downward with his brother Tokemoana, lying face downward on top of him.

34. Fakanaanaa. It is related that Fakanaanaa was the chief who was tattooed with a fruit at Moungaone Island, Haapai, and who when notified by the Falefa (the four ministers of the Tui Tonga) of his prospective elevation to the kingship, was at Ofolanga Island, Haapai. His mother was the daughter of Kava Moungaone, chief of Moungaone and Ofolanga islands—which probably accounts for his presence at Ofolanga.

35. Tui Pulotu II. After Fakanaanaa came his son Tui Pulotu II.

36. Pau. King Pau or Poulaho was ruling when Cook (1773) and Maurelle (1781) visited Tonga. He died about 1784.

37. Maulupekotofa. Pau was succeeded by his brother Maulupekotofa who died in 1806 during the troublous period of civil wars which began in 1799 (37).

38. Fuanunuiava. Pau's son Fuanunuiava succeeded to the throne shortly after his uncle's death but reigned only until 1810 when he died (op. cit., vol. 1, p. 453).

39. Laufilitonga. The son of Fuanunuiava, Laufilitonga, who was destined to become the thirty-ninth and last ruler of the line, did not assume office until 1827 (39, p. 94).

Besides Cook's vigorous portrayal of Pau, Vason and Mariner have left personal reminiscences of their acquaintance with Maulupekotofa and Fuanunuiava. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 133) gives an account of the marriage of Fuanunuiava (then about 40 years of age) to Ulukalala's daughter (presumably Popua), aged eighteen.

That the matter of succession after Pau is involved in some obscurity is shown by the conflicting accounts of Labillardière and Wilson, both eighteenth century visitors. The genealogies which I obtained seem to make it clear that Pau was followed by his brother Maulupekotofa and then by his son, Fuanunuiava. According to Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 170),

"When Poulaho [Tui Tonga Pau] died, he left a son very young, named Futtafaihe [Fuanunuiava]: the King's brother Futtafaihe, [presumably Maulupekotofa], then took the reins of government, but he died shortly after, and the sovereignty passed to Tineh, his eldest sister [presumably the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala IV., the eldest sister of Fuanunuiava, or else the Female Tui Tonga Nanasipauu, the sister of Maulupekotofa, but whose name, however, would hardly be rendered Tineh]. 173

If Maulupekotofa died before 1793, who then was the Tui Tonga who died just 175
before Mariner arrived? No list mentions any Tui Tonga between Pau and his son
Fuanunuiava except Maulupekotofa, who was Pau's brother. Wilson (66, p. liii) says 643
that "Poulaho being dead, his son Futtafaihe [presumably Fuanunuiava] succeeded him in the sovereignty". This contradicts Labillardière's statement quoted just above. Obviously one is wrong. Perhaps both are wrong. It seems to me that we are justified in believing that Maulupekotofa came to the throne after Pau's death about 1784 and reigned until 1806. At the time of Labillardière's visit he may have been away in Vavau. On the other hand, Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu, makes Fuanunuiava the Tui Tonga of 1793."

Vason (60, p. 77) writes as follows concerning the "Tui Tonga" of 1798:

"Amongst our visitors was Duatonga [Tui Tonga], or Futtafaihe [Fatafehi], who, next to Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], was the most powerful chief in the Island. He was son of Poulaho [Pau], a descendant of those, who were supposed originally to have descended from the sky. When Captain Cook was at Tongataboo, this native was eleven years of age. After the death of his Father, which happened when he was too young to have any share in the government, his Mother [Tupoumoheofo] lost the sovereignty.

"Toogahowe [Tukuaho], or Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], who was a great warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his Father Moomooe [Mumui] with it, who was the reigning chief, when we landed."

Vason's reference to the "Tui Tonga" of his time (1798) seems to indicate that the position of heir-apparent of Fatafehi Fuanunuiava had caused him to be treated with the same respect as his uncle Maulupekotofa, who must still have been reigning as he, presumably, was the Tui Tonga who died just before Mariner's arrival in Tonga in 1806. Fuanunuiava must have been thirty-one years old in 1798. Several points in Vason's statements require comment. The Fatafehi he refers to as the son of Pau could not be Maulupekotofa, because he was Pau's brother. The reference to Fatafehi's (Fuanunuiava's) mother losing the sovereignty evidently has to do with her failure to maintain herself as Tui Kanokupolu (see page 88) rather than to any attempt to hold the position of her deceased husband the Tui Tonga Pau. She is listed on page 86 as the twelfth Tui Kanokupolu, an office which she held but a short time, as she was ejected by force of arms by her cousin (her father's brother's son) Tukuaho, who then proceeded to establish his father Mumui as Tui Kanokupolu. With Mumui's death in 1797 Tukuaho became Tui Kanokupolu.

Finally, Anthony Uhatafe, bearer of the matapule title of Uhatafe, informed me that tradition reports estrangement of Pau and his son, because Fuanunuiava was "called king when born" (*fuaaihau*). For this reason Pau refused to confide the ancient lore to him.

The present line of rulers on the Tongan throne really holds the position 643
of the Tui Tonga, modified of course by European innovations. Although [178]
the father-son succession of Tui Tonga of the Ahoeitu dynasty ended with Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth of the line, the office was not really abolished, but was bestowed upon the reigning Tui Kanokupolu George I Tupou (also known as Taufaahau and Maeakafa). The bestowal of the royal honors took place after the death of Laufilitonga, at Vavau, where the principal chiefs of Tonga assembled and proclaimed George I Tupou the next Tui Tonga, vesting him with all of the dignities of the office, such as the Tui Tonga's peculiar kava ceremonial, the ceremonies connected with his food, and the special words applied to him. Thus it is quite legitimate to reckon George I Tupou as the fortieth Tui Tonga, George II Tupou

as the forty-first, and the present ruler Queen Charlotte as the forty-second. 643
Although these three rulers are from a collateral line, the genealogies show that their blood is that of the Tui Tonga and Tamaha. The three great offices of Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, and Tui Kanokupolu are now combined in a single individual. Actually the Tui Kanokupolu has absorbed the other two. By the combination of rank, military and political power, and general ability, a line of chiefs third in power has risen to be first.

The accession of King George I Tupou, the nineteenth Tui Kanokupolu, to the high office of fortieth Tui Tonga is quaintly set forth in the following account written on November 2, 1896, by Elia Malupo, a ceremonial attendant to the Tui Tonga. Malupo states that although Laufilitonga ordered that Fatafehi (the Tui Pelehake) should be the next Tui Tonga, it seems that Fatafehi was never formally confirmed in office, so that actually the next holder of the office was George I Tupou, the Tui Kanokupolu, who was formally ordained Tui Tonga by the assembly of the chiefs of the kingdom.

Pea toki folofola a Laufilitonga ke na hoko mo Fatafehi, ke ave ae naunau toputapu kotoape oe Tui Tonga, ke ai, ia Fatafehi (Tui Pelehake). Pea hili ia, oku foaki ae kava e Fatafehi kia Tupou Maeakafa uluaki; ko hono tupuanga ia oe fai oe kava, ki he Tui Kanokupolu. Pea toki fakamooni ki ai ae houeiki, i he fakataha lahi, nae fai i Vavau, ke fakaafio a Tupou uluaki, koe Tui Tonga, ke ai ae naunau oe Tui Tonga kia te ia: ae Liutaunga, moe Taumafa; moe Haele, moe Ei, he koe fakailonga ia oe eiki muomua, oe fonua, ae naunau fakatuitonga, pea kuo fai ia kia Tupou uluaki, ae naunau toputapu koia, kae koe fakasiisii Eiki, ae tae fai oe naunau koia kia Tupou. Oku tokolahi ae houeiki, moe kau matapule, oku nau tae lava ae naunau koia; koe faahinga ia oku nau hange koe fakasiisii oe muomua oe fonua, koe tae fakaapaapa akinautolu, ka koe fofonga valeape ae kau polisi.

Then Laufilitonga said for Fatafehi 643
to come after him, and for him to have 539
all the sacred ceremonies of the Tui Tonga, to Fatafehi (Tui Pelehake). And after Fatafehi they were handed over to Tupou Maeakafa I, and that originated the making of the kava (by the Tui Tonga's ceremony), to the Tui Kanokupolu. Then the chiefs affirmed it at the big meeting that was held at Vavau, to make royal Tupou I who was to be called Tui Tonga, and for him to receive the sacred ceremonies of the Tui Tonga: the Liutaunga, and Taumafa, (the food of the chief); and the use of the words Haele (to go), and Ei, which show the high rank of the chief who is first in the land, the honors of the Tui Tonga and they are given to Tupou I those sacred honors, and it is lessening the Chief's rank to omit to give these honors to Tupou. There are many chiefs, and matapule, who are not able to give (or remember the order of) these honors; those are they who lower the rank of him who comes first in the land, it is wanting in respect of them, and the police are the most ignorant.

THE GREAT ROYAL WIFE OF THE TUI TONGA

The great royal wife of each Tui Tonga, who was the mother of the 644
succeeding Tui Tonga, was called the *moheofo*. It seems reasonable to 581
suppose that the Tui Tonga habitually sought alliances by marriage with the 643

most powerful chiefs in his domain. Marriages with daughters of Samoan 644
chiefs were popular, too, and Krämer gives many examples. The daughters 581
of great chiefs who became great royal wives can hardly be designated as 643
queens in the European sense. The real queen in Tonga was the sister of [648]
the Tui Tonga, the Female Tui Tonga.

As to the exact etymology of the term *moheofo* I am uncertain: *mohe* 644 means "sleep, cohabit"; *ofo* means "surprise, marvel, wonder," also "to revive afresh, as any herb that appeared dead." Collocott obtained two meanings for *moheofo*: "to sit and give luck to a fishing expedition," "to take girls to a great chief." He speaks of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu, as having been sent to *moheofo* from the Hihifo District, Tongatabu.

The following are the great royal wives and mothers of succeeding 644
Tui Tonga: 643

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TUI TONGA	ROYAL WIFE	HER SON THE TUI TONGA
10. Momo	Nua, daughter of Loau, the Tui Haamea	11. Tuitatui
23. Takalaua	Vaelaveamata, of Ata Island	24. Kauulufonua I
24. Kauulufonua I	Taufaitoa, a Samoan	26. Puipuifatu
24. Kauulufonua I	Vainuulasi, a Samoan	27. Kauulufonua II
28. Tapuosi	Vaenopo, daughter of Ahomee's younger brother Lavakavaoleleva. Bastian [4, p. 297] says Vaenopo was the daughter of Ahomee.) The Tamaha's genealogy says Vaetapu, the daughter of Ahomee.	29. Uluakimata I
29. Uluakimata I	Mataukipa, daughter of Kauulufonuahuo	30. Fatafehi
30. Fatafehi	Kaloafutonga, daughter of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and sister of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata	31. Kauulufonua III
31. Kauulufonua III	Takala, daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua Fotofili	32. Uluakimata II
32. Uluakimata II	Toa, daughter of the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea	33. Tui Pulotu I
33. Tui Pulotu I	Manuna, daughter of Kava Moungaone, chief of Moungaone Island.	34. Fakanaanaa
34. Fakanaanaa	Tongotea, daughter of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea	35. Tui Pulotu II
35. Tui Pulotu II	Laumanukilupe, daughter of Tupoutoa (son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea)	36. Pau
35. Tui Pulotu II	Anaukihesina, daughter of the sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga	37. Maulupekotofa
36. Pau	Tupoumoheofo, daughter of the seventh Tui Kanokupolu Tupoulahi, and herself twelfth Tui Kanokupolu.	38. Fuanunuiava
38. Fuanunuiava	Tupouveiongo, daughter of the twelfth Tui Kanokupolu Mumui	39. Laufilitonga
39. Laufilitonga	Halaevalumataaho, daughter of the seventeenth Tui Kanokupolu Tupoutoa	

The mother of No. 29 was the daughter of a man who was, so far as known, of 644
no importance in Tongan affairs—the younger brother of the chief Ahomee. Similarly 643
traditional history gives us no indication of the position of the mother's father of king 581

173
175

30. With king 30 began a series of marriages with the daughters of the great houses 644
of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu. King 30 married the daughter of 643
the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua (she was also the sister of the first Tui Kanokupolu);
king 31 married the daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua; king 32 the daughter 581
of the eighth. King 33 neglected both the daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of 173
the Tui Kanokupolu and married the daughter of the chief of Moungaone Island, Haapai. 175
Kings 34 to 36, 38, and 39 each married a daughter of a Tui Kanokupolu. In addition
king 35 married a granddaughter of one; she was the mother of Pau, the Tui Tonga of
Cook's time.

It would appear that the importance of the Tui Haa Takalaua decreased
so after the eighth one that their daughters were no longer sought as great
royal wives by the Tui Tonga. Additional marriages to daughters of the 644
Tui Kanokupolu who did not become great royal wives are: Fakanaanaa to 643
Tuutongahunuhunu (daughter of Atamataila), Tui Pulotu II to Tui Loka- 581
mana (daughter of Vuna), Pau to Kongakava (daughter of Maealiuaki), [551]
Fuanunuiava to Tupoufalemei (daughter of Tui Halafatai), and Fuanunuiava to Palulongoteme (daughter of Mulikihaamea).

The harem of the Tui Tonga was extensive, for usually each regularly 595
espoused wife of high rank brought supplementary wives (*fokonofo*) or 644
concubines to her husband. Often a younger sister or other relative was a *fokonofo*.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE TUI TONGA

The successor to the Tui Tonga was his son born of the great royal wife, 643
a woman who had been properly espoused to him, and who was usually the daughter of a great chief, but not necessarily of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu. Should there be more than one wife whose children were eligible, the succession went to the first born son, and after him to his younger half brother, not to his son. The succession of Kauulufonua II after Puipuifatu and of Maulupekotofa after Pau are examples of this fraternal succession.

Although the blood of the heir-apparent preordained him as the future
ruler of the country, he did not automatically become king upon the death
of his father. The actual installation in office seems to take place upon the [577]
calling of the new title by the person officiating as announcer at the kava-drinking ceremony, a method of installation followed for all title holders in Tonga. Laufilitonga, although the legitimate heir, did not succeed to office as thirty-ninth Tui Tonga for seventeen years after the death of his father, and came to the throne only through installation at the proper assemblage of high chiefs. However, Samoan tradition says that Kauulufonua I named his son, Puipuifatu, as his successor (36, vol. 1, p. 304). Actually, though, another king, Vakafuhu intervened.

The Tui Haa Takalaua seems to have been the chief who anciently convened the assemblage for the appointment of the Tui Tonga, calling together

the Tui Kanokupolu, the *sinae* (chiefs of the Tui Tonga's family or court), 643
the other great chiefs, and the Falefa ministers. Though I was told that
if there were no heir, the Tui Haa Takalaua would be elevated to the office
of Tui Tonga and a new Tui Haa Takalaua appointed, I know of no instance
of this. The statement nevertheless bears out what was said by the Prince
Consort Tungi concerning the modern monarchy, that if heir after heir to
the throne died a new heir would continue to be sought in lower and lower
ranks, blood relationship being of course the guiding factor, until ultimately
the choice might come to a commoner. This illustrates that rank in Tonga [565]
is relative, not absolute.

Apparently the ministers of the Tui Tonga, who were called the Falefa, 643
at times had a hand in the selection of the new Tui Tonga. According to a 644
reliable Vavau informant the four Falefa went to the island of Ofolanga,
to bring back the prince Fakanaanaa and to elevate him to the kingship.
With the death of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga in 1865, the Falefa took to 643
the Tui Kanokupolu George I Tupou, at his residence, a kava root and a 276
kava bowl, and made kava ceremonially for him as the new Tui Tonga. 574 644
This simple ceremony, called *fulitaunga,* consisted of mixing the kava for 643
him with the bowl turned so that the cord for suspending it was on the 276
side towards him. (This cord hangs from a perforated projection on one 415
side of the circular kava bowl, the word *fulitaunga* referring to this feature.) 574
In making kava for the Tui Tonga or Tamaha, the bowl was always 643
put in this position, while for the Tui Kanokupolu or chiefs of lower rank 574
it was not. Hence the cord on the side of the bowl facing George I constituted
official notice of his forthcoming elevation to the kingship. This [644]
action of the Falefa was later ratified at an assembly of the chiefs of the
kingdom at Vavau.

According to the aged informant Tamale, chief of Niutoua, Tongatabu, 643
one fertile cause for the murder of the Tui Tonga was the ambition of 687
scheming great chiefs who desired the high office for themselves or relatives.
Certain of the Falefa would be induced to assassinate him. The fact that [644]
they were foreigners or descendants of foreigners, rendered them safe from
the curse which would fall upon a native Tongan for such a deed. If the 643
above information is correct it seems likely that the father-son succession 644
to the throne was interrupted more frequently than tradition indicates. The
part played by the Falefa in the succession to the throne was evidently of a
sinister nature at times. In the elevation of Fakanaanaa and George I
Tupou to the high office of Tui Tonga, the Falefa functioned in a more
beneficent light.

Cook and other writers speak of Fatafehi as the family name of the 643
Tui Tonga, but I see no similarity to our family names. The genealogies 551
reveal a very considerable number of the Tui Tonga's children who never

held office but who bore the name Fatafehi, which seems to have been applied 643
indiscriminately to males and females. I think, therefore, that it cannot be 551
regarded as a title. I learned of no god bearing the name Fatafehi, a name which means "loft or litter of *fehi* wood," and which is said to have first come into use in the reign of Tuitatui, who was the reputed first builder of a house with a loft of *fehi* wood.

Thomson suggests, and I think rightly, that the Fatafehi referred to by [114]
Edwards and Hamilton (21, p. 52, footnote) was not the Tui Tonga. "Fatafehi at this time (1791) was an ornamental personage, inferior in dignity to the Tui Tonga, and in power to Tukuaho, who wielded the authority of his father Mumui, the Tui Kanokupolu." The late Tui Pelehake bore the name of Fatafehi. It is not improbable that the Fatafehi whom Edwards met bore also the title of Tui Pelehake. It is not unlikely that the name Fatafehi is associated with the title Tui Pelehake, much as the name Tupou is associated with the title of Tui Kanokupolu. The first Tui Pelehake was reputed to be the celestial paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu.

THE COURT OF THE TUI TONGA

The Falefa (Four-houses) and their matapule comprised a sort of per- 644
manent court to the Tui Tonga, building their four houses around his home. Their duties were to superintend the work in his garden and elsewhere, to attend him in general, to serve him, and to sit with him in the shade of the toa tree on his green. The Tui Tonga maintained them in food and clothing. The Falefa evidently exercised a considerable political influence. They notified the prince Fakanaanaa of his selection for elevation to the office of Tui Tonga, and similarly the Tui Kanokupolu George I after the death of the last Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. The political influence of these four ministers is shadowed forth sinisterly in a line of the poem about the murder of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho (16, pp. 94, 96). Collocott speaks of the Falefa as the *haa* of the Halauta (Kauhalauta, or Tui Tonga's following). This apparently indicates that Falefa might be used for the Tui Tonga's entire following as well as the four ministers mentioned above, a usage which perhaps parallels Fale Fisi (House of Fiji), the name of one of the great lineages. Falevalu (Eight houses) comprised the Haapai chiefs, Taufa Tofua, Fanua Lofanga, and Kava Moungaone.

Tradition tells of two sets of Falefa ministers to the Tui Tonga and of what is apparently an imitation in the court of the Tui Kanokupolu.

The first Falefa of the Tui Tonga date traditionally from the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu. They were Tui Loloko, Maliepo, Tui Folaha, and Matakehe.

The Reverend John Havea writes of these as four "tribes," which I interpret 644
as four lineages, each with one of these functionaries as the head. Under 613
each functionary Havea lists certain matapule.

Tui Loloko (the lord of Loloko, the name of the house in which he dwelt) was the first member of Ahoeitu's Falefa. The name of the chief matapule of this lineage was Tuuhokokilangi (The-man-standing-on-the-earth-and-reaching-to-the-sky). He came from the "sky" with Ahoeitu. Malupo, the second matapule of the Tui Loloko lineage, also descended with Ahoeitu from the sky.

Maliepo was the second member of Ahoeitu's Falefa. "The matapule of Maliepo's lineage is Lauaki."

Tui Folaha was the third member of Ahoeitu's Falefa, which lineage had the task of hewing stones and preparing the tombs of the Tui Tonga and the members of his family. The first matapule of the lineage was Aholangamakahiva (The-day-when-they-cut-nine-stones). The title of the second matapule, Mailau, has reference to the dissatisfaction of the lineage with the insufficient food given by the Tui Tonga to the stonecutters.

The fourth member of the first Falefa was Matakehe whose lineage formed the guard of the Tui Tonga "and engaged in many wars with other 'tribes' [lineages ?] in which the Tui Tonga took part." This lineage has completely vanished.

Of the first Falefa there are to-day representatives of two: Tui Loloko and Maliepo. If, indeed, the origin of these titles dates from the reign of the first Tui Tonga, they probably have an antiquity of about a thousand years.

According to John Havea, "After two or three centuries the Matakehe lineage had become lost, the Tui Folaha had become engaged in hewing stones, and the Maliepo had gone from the home of the Tui Tonga to live
with the Tui Kanokupolu." Havea's period of two or three centuries must 644
be viewed askance. If it is the actual length of time between Ahoeitu and 175
the first Tui Kanokupolu, Tongan chronologies are all wrong, for Ahoeitu 613
probably reigned in the Tenth Century and the first Tui Kanokupolu early in the Seventeenth Century. On the other hand if the first Falefa lasted only two or three centuries and ended with the establishment of the Tui Kanokupolu, then the attribution of Ahoeitu's reign as the time of its origin is altogether too early. Havea's estimate of the time lapse between the inauguration of the first Falefa and the second Falefa cannot therefore be accepted. An account set down by William Tungi (deceased), paternal grandfather of the Prince Consort William Tungi, attributes the appointment or perhaps reorganization, of the second Falefa to the twenty-third Tui Tonga, Takalaua, who was assassinated about 1450. Local tradition at Niutoua, Tongatabu, where once lived the famous king Tuitatui (the eleventh Tui

Tonga), attributes the coming of part of the second Falefa to Tuitatui's 644
reign, about 1200. It is said that Tui Talau (Tui Motuliki) and his matapule 175
arrived at that period from Fiji. When the Tui Tonga gave Tui Motuliki 613
his choice of residence, he selected Talau in Vavau, hence the title Tui Talau (50, pp. 140-142). If the attribution to Tuitatui's reign is true, it sets back the origin of the second Falefa about 250 years before the time given by Tungi. But this would correspond to the lapse of two or three centuries, in Havea's account, between the first and second Falefa.

After the disposition of the lineages of Matakehe, Tui Folaha, and Maliepo, described above, the second Falefa took the place of the first, with matapule who had come from Fiji, Samoa, and Rotuma.

The first lineage of the second Falefa was that of Tui Loloko, which was the only lineage carried over from the first Falefa. The same matapule also functioned, although for Malupo in this second Falefa a Fijian origin is asserted, he having come with Tui Motuliki (Tui Talau).

The second lineage was that of the Tui Talau, which came from Fiji. 644
The matapule Faingaa, Hoakai (Soakai in Fijian), and Mapu were Fijians. 175
Faingaa's god was Kanahe. Hoakai's land allotment was at Felemea, Uiha 613
Island, Haapai. It was bestowed by the Tui Tonga. Hoakai was the matapule 648
who ate and smoked with the Tui Tonga; the privilege also being exercised 643
in recent years with the Tui Kanokupolu (15, p. 41). When the first Hoakai came from Fiji and, knowing no better, sat down to eat with the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, he was permitted because he was a foreigner
and his descendants continued to hold that special privilege. If a Tongan 643
ate the Tui Tonga's food, it was thought he would be afflicted with goiter 264
(*fua*) which only the Tui Tonga could prevent by stroking. Hoakai 644
analyzes as *hoa* (pair) and *kai* (to eat). What was left over after the Tui 753
Tonga and Hoakai had finished eating was given to Uhatafe to eat. The 755
descendants of the chief Maafu Tukuiaulahi, who was of Rotuman origin, were also privileged to eat the remains of the meals of the Tui Tonga.

McKern, who saw the present Hoakai, says that he was notably different 644
in personal appearance from the prevailing Tongan types. His lower limbs 142
were small at the knees and his ankles in proportion to their thickness elsewhere. His waist was small in proportion to the breadth of his hips. His skin was darker than that of the relatively dark skinned Tongan. His hair was decidedly curly.

Niutoua, Tongatabu, a town in the district called Hahake, Tongatabu, 361
where Tui Motuliki is reported to have landed, has a noticeably dark element 167
in its population. These dark skinned people were pointed out to McKern 144
by Tamale, of Niutoua, as the descendants of the Fijians whom Tui Motuliki brought with him to Tonga.

644 613 648 The third lineage, from Samoa, was that of the Tui Amanave. The matapule were Kavapele, Tuivai, Lehapoto, and Uhatafe. Two other versions bring Uhatafe from Rotuma instead of Samoa. Uhatafe later joined the carpenters of the Tui Tonga. The matapule Lehauli was perhaps also of this lineage.

644 613 The fourth lineage was that of the Tui Matahau. The first matapule of this lineage was Veamatahau. The Tui Tonga gave him an allotment where he became a gardener and where his descendant still lives. (Indeed, the descendants of most of these matapules still can be traced in various parts of Tonga.) The second matapule of the lineage of the Tui Matahau was Apihala who came from Rotuma. After a time Apihala became the priest of the Tui Tonga and kept a bird named Kalae, "which was a god." As its priest, he fed it. Apihala lived in a house called Rotuma. The other matapule of the Tui Matahau were from Fiji. They were Fakahafua, Alusa, and Ahio. As recounted in the story of Tui Motuliki their coming from Fiji was a momentous event (50).

A note from Collocott mentions four Falefa matapule: Faingaa, Hoakai, Inukihaangana, and Kavapele. Inukihaangana is not listed in the preceding paragraphs and his affiliation is unknown to me.

643 644 As stated above, the appointment or reorganization of the second Falefa is attributed to the twenty-third Tui Tonga, Takalaua, in a manuscript written by Tungi, paternal grandfather of the present Tungi. Takalaua's directions were as follows. (The translation is by Beatrice Shirley Baker.)

E tuku ae toko fa ke hingoa koe kau Falefa, ko hoku kainga ke nau faiteliha, i he tufa o eku mea katoa, a hoku faikava, mo eku katoanga, mo eku mea fakaeiki, mo eku putu, a eku mea katoa e tufa, ko nautolupe e fai e tufa; pea ne pehe: Koe kau tui akimoutolu oe faahinga oku ui koe kau Falefa. Koe toko ua ki toomatau: koe Tui Loloko mo Tui Matahau. Pea toko ua ki toohema: ko Tui Talau mo Tui Amanave. Pea tuku ange takitaha hono fatongia ke fai.	643 644 539 Four will be given the name of Falefa, they shall rule my relatives, in allotting all my things, my kava ring, and my feasts, and my funeral, and my burial, and anything of mine that is allotted, they will do the allotting; and it was so: They are the rulers of those things and are called the Falefa. Two to the right hand: Tui Loloko and Tui Matahau. And two to the left hand: Tui Talau and Tui Amanave. And each was given his duties to do.
Koe fatongia o Tui Loloko, koe ifi oe tolutolu, moe hiva oka fai ae vae o ha Langi, moe tuku oe utu a Loloko i ha katoanga, pe meape oku fai ae Tui Tonga; moe fakamua tufa, koe hiki ae mea oku manako ai, kae tohi fai ene tufa.	764 The duties of Tui Loloko, were (1) the blowing of the *tolutolu* (shell); (2) the singing at the funeral of the Tui Tonga; (3) the preparing of the oil for the ceremony; (4) doing the thing done only for the Tui Tonga (his funeral); and (5) before the portioning out [of food?], the selecting first of what he likes, then dividing out the portions.

Ka koe fatongia oe Tui Matahau, ae mee fakamotu Liki; moe tofi oe tee lupe;[8] oku fai ae mee, oka fai ae fakamalele o ha Langi, pe ha mea fakaeiki, pea fai ae tofi oe tee lupe, oka fai ae vae oe Langi.

Pea koe fatongia oe Tui Talau, ke ne tufa ae koloa, moe ngaue, o ha mea fakaeiki oku fakailo mai, mei ha fonua, ae vae oe Langi, pe ko ha mea fakaeiki; pea koe kamata oe tufa koia, ihe aho, nae tala mai ai, ae mea kuo fai. E ngatai he aho e fakamalele ai ae mea koia; koe fakafeangai ae haa tufunga, oku ihe tufa ae taha kehe, oku fakafeangai.

The duties of the Tui Matahau, consist of (1) the dance like they do at Liki Island; (2) the digging dance; (3) the dance at the finishing feast at the funeral of the Tui Tonga, and after the funeral of the Tui Tonga. 539 643 644 [535] [764]

The duties of Tui Talau are the allotting of goods and of work at a chief's funeral when is reported, from some island, that the funeral of the Tui Tonga, or any other chief is to take place. The commencement of the allotting begins on the day on which it is reported what has happened. Those duties will terminate at the finishing feast after the funeral; and the work of the undertakers is to be managed by someone else. 643 644 764 539

Pea koe fatongia oe Tui Amanave. Pea toki hau aipe ae kakai oe otufonua, kia teia, pea vahe ki toomatau mo toohema, pea vahe atu takitaha hono fatongia.

Koe fatongia o Lehauli, koe veka, oku pulou o ki fakaveka, moe mea e taha. Oku takitaha ilope e he faahinga a honau fatongia.

Koe fatongia o Uhatafe, koe ta nafa, moe kai oe toenga taumafa.

Koe fatongia o Lehapoto, koe fauvaka moe. . . .

Pea koe fatongia oe faahinga e taha, koe uluvali.

Pea toki tufa takitaha ae fatongia ki he kau Falefa.

The duties of the Tui Amanave. The people of the different islands shall come to him, and they will be divided some to the right and some to the left, and each shall be given his duty. 643 644 539

The duty of Lehauli [matapule to the Tui Amanave] is to imitate the rail, and he shall cover his head and cry like a rail. Each knows the duties that are his.

The duty of Uhatafe is the striking of the drum, and the eating of the remains of the Tui Tonga's food.

The duty of Lehapoto is the making of ships. . . .

The duty of some persons is to be sacrificed at the burial of the Tui Tonga. [764]

Thus were allotted the duties to the Falefa. [782]

Tungi's account then proceeds to detail the appointment of Takalaua's other officers, apart from the Falefa.

Pea toki tufa ae fatongia ki he faahinga koeni: Koe fatongia o Paku, koe pulei oe kau toutai vaka oe Tui Tonga, koe toutai Tonga ia.

Koe Tui Faletahi, oku ne pulei ae toutai vaka kotoa, moe toutai ika.

Pea koe fatongia o Hele mo Monuafe, koe kupenga ki he fuke aho.

Then the duties of the following persons were assigned: The duty of Paku is to rule the Tui Tonga's navigators, and he is called "the navigator of Tonga."

The Tui Faletahi [apparently Paku] is the one that governs all the navigators of sailing vessels and the fishermen.

And the duty of Hele and Monuafe is fishing with the net for the "opening day."

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[8] *Tee lupe* is literally "pigeon excrement." This is perhaps a euphemistic term for the ceremony of removing human excrement from the Tui Tonga's tomb, as described by Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 215-220).

Pea koe fatongia o Kula mo Lufe, mo Vailahi, koe toutai ki he Inasi.

Pea koe fatongia o Loka, mo Kavakimotu mo Lutu, koe tauhi oe fuke aho, koe fakataumafa i he aho kotoa, oe kau Afifio moe eiki; mo Manumua, oku nau toko fa ae tauhi i utani oe fuke aho. Nae i aipe ae mahina o Manumua, ka koe toko tolu nae fai i he aho kotoape.

And the duty of Kula and Lufe and Vailahi is the catching of fish for the [festival of the] Inasi. 643 644

539 And the duty of Loka and Kavakimotu and Lutu is preparing food for the "opening day," and the preparing of food for every day, for his Majesty and the chiefs; and also Manumua, there were four of them that prepared food on shore for the "opening day." There was a month given to Manumua to do his duty in, but the other three did it every day.

Then in Tungi's account follow certain appointments that are traditionally connected with the reign of the twenty-fourth Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I. 643 634 539

Pea ave a Moungamotua ki Fonuamotu ke Tui Haa Takalaua, koe tehina o Kauulufonua; pea ave mo Lauaki koe matapule, pea nae fai ki ai, ae tala tuku: Ke faiilalo kia Moungamotua, telia ae kau Afifio. Nae ikai kau a Motuapuaka, i he tufa koia, nae toki kaupe i he ave ki Kanokupolu. Pea ave ae tokotaha ki Haangahifo, ke Tui Hihifo.

Pea ave a Loau ke Tui Haamea; pea ave a Teepange ke Tui Houmangavalu; pea ave a Maumau ke Tui ki Hangahake; pea ave a kofe mo Afeaki ki Haapai; pea ave a Fotu mo Afu ki Vavau; pea ave a Sika mo Kaufanga ki Niuatoputapu; pea ave a Haufano mo Masila ki Niuafoou.

And Moungamotua was appointed Tui Haa Takalaua and went to Fonuamotu, he was the younger brother of Kauulufonua; and Lauaki was taken as his matapule and it was done as told. To attend Moungamotua because of their Majesties [Kauulufonua I and Moungamotua]. Motuapuaka was not assigned a duty in this allotting, for he was only appointed afterwards to Kanokupolu [to serve the Tui Kanokupolu]. And one was taken to Haangahifo to be Tui Hihifo. And Loau was appointed Tui Haamea; and Teepange was appointed Tui Houmangavalu; and Maumau was appointed ruler at Hangahake; and Kofe and Afeaki were sent to Haapai; and Fotu and Afu were sent to Vavau; and Sika and Kaufanga were sent to Niuatoputapu; and Haufano and Masila to Niuafoou.

Pea ave a Elili mo Fakahenga ki Uvea; pea moe tokotaha ki Lotuma; moe tokotaha ki Futuna, moe tokotaha ki Haamoa; pea osi ae tufa a Takalaua, pea fai ia.

And Elili and Fakahenga were sent to Uvea; and one was sent to Rotuma; and one was sent to Futuna; and one was sent to Samoa; and that finished the allotting by Takalaua [Kauulufonua I ?], and it was done accordingly.

Kae toki fakaosi e Loau, mo ne fakatonutonu, one pehe; oku hala ae mea niihi ka oku tonu ae mea niihi. Koe mea oku tonu, ae ave a hono alo ke Tui Haa Takalaua, pea ave mo Lauaki ko ene matapule. Ka koe mea oku hala, koe ave a Kofe, mo Afeaki ki Haapai ke na tufa ia hai? Pea ave a Fotu mo Afu ki Vavau, ke na tufa ia hai?

Then Loau finished, and he corrected everything, and said that some things were wrong and some things were right. The thing that was right was the taking of his [Takalaua's] son Moungamotua to be Tui Haa Takalaua, and the appointing of Lauaki as Moungamotua's matapule. And the thing that was wrong was the taking of Kofe and Afeaki to Haapai, for them to allot to whom? And the taking of Fotu and Afu to Vavau for them to allot to whom?

Pea ne toki ave ae kau houeiki oe otufonua, ko Matauvave ki Haapai; pea ave a . . . . ki Vavau.	Then he [Loau presumably] allotted the chiefs to the different islands, Matauvave to Haapai, and sent . . . . to Vavau.

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The series of appointments by Kauulufonua I (26, p. 62) differ somewhat from those credited above to Takalaua, and may actually be the corrections by Loau. After mentioning Moungamotua, the account says:

> Takalaua, a son of the murdered Tui Tonga Takalaua, was made governor of Eua. Haveatuli and Niutongi (or Nuitongo) were sent to Vavau to rule, while Kolomoeuto and Matauvave were made governors of Haapai. Talapalo was appointed governor of Niuatoputapu, Makauka, and Hakavalu of Niuafoou, and Elili of Uvea.

Still another version (op. cit., p. 67) mentions Fotofili as the oldest son of Kauulufonua I, and as being sent by him to Niuafoou as governor. This seems to be an error, as the Fotofili line in Niuafoou began much later.

The governor of Eua late in the eighteenth century bore the title of Tui Haa Puipuifatu, that is, Lord of the Lineage of Puipuifatu, presumably the twenty-sixth Tui Tonga, Puipuifatu. Tukuaho was appointed to this office by his father, the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui, in the last decade or two before 1800. This title of the governor of Eua would appear to confirm the approximate date of the above appointments, for Puipuifatu was the son of Kauulufonua I.

One of the changes instituted by Loau, the chief of the Haamea District, Tongatabu, namely, the sending of a new governor or steward, Matauvave, to Haapai, is elsewhere attributed to the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I. (See below.) It is possible that Tungi's account has substituted the name of Loau, so famous in Tongan traditions for that of the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I. On the other hand, it is possible that the line of chiefs with the title Loau continued as lords of Haamea (Tui Haamea) as late as 1470. Another Loau is definitely connected in tradition with the tenth king, Momo, who probably reigned before 1200. There was a Tui Haamea recognized in the seventeenth century, but his name was Aokatoa. Whether the alterations of Takalaua's arrangements were made by Loau or Kauulufonua I is perhaps of no great moment. The point of greater interest is that they were apparently made after the period of turmoil and warfare which succeeded the assassination of the king Takalaua.

The following somewhat confused account by the present Matauvave, an old man of Lifuka Island, Haapai, tells of the duties of the Tui Tonga's steward, Matauvave, in the Haapai group:

> According to tradition, the first Matauvave was appointed by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I in the Fifteenth Century. The narrator claims descent from the first Matauvave whose title he bears, although no duties or functions now attach to it.

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The first Matauvave came from Mua, Tongatabu. He was accompanied by an official 643 named Uto [probably Kolomoeuto mentioned above]. Matauvave went to live in Uoleva 634 Island. If he wanted to let the people know that he was going to give a command (*fono*) he would send someone to the north shore of Uoleva to remove his garment and ex- 173 pose his buttocks. Then the people in Lifuka would know that the governor was going [201] to give a command as to certain work to be done. If the signal were given in the afternoon, the people assembled that evening in Uoleva. When a chief's grave was 634 to be dug or a pigeon mound to be erected sufficient labor was obtained for the earth 173 to be dug and the mound formed in the night. In the morning the mound (*sia*) would 466 be already made. The only reason the informant could assign for the night work was to make the people "sorry."

Uoleva was set aside as a pigeon reserve and had only the necessary people 223 dwelling on it. The Uoleva mounds were built by the Lifuka people. The name of the first mound built on Uoleva was Finevalapililolo. The second was Siamaka. The 349 third was Siakape; the fourth was Kulufotu. Kulufotu was where the wild pigeons 173 were caught with nets set on long poles, into which they were decoyed by a captive 103 pigeon on a long cord. Tunuetefekekaekaieteika was the fifth pigeon mound built and Tulikituahaa the sixth. A seventh mound was Mamataatu. The present Matauvave said there were many others built, about thirty in all, but he knew the names of only seven. He said all were provided with ramps or steps and that some were larger than the Siamafuauta in Tongatabu. He knew of no sacrifices in connection with pigeon mound construction.

Matauvave would stand on the *sia* of Mamataatu. At dusk a flock of pigeons 223 would make a sudden appearance in Lofanga Island. Then they would come to Ma- 173 tauvave's *sia* and he would catch them. But the *lupetolo* (perhaps "pigeon spirit") died there and not one pigeon came again. Then he shifted to Muitoa in Haano and the name of the *sia* erected there by the Haano people is Toloke. It seems likely that [349] the numerous pigeon mounds on the neighboring Nukunamu Island may have been erected also under a Matauvave's directions. Pigeons migrated from Samoa to Tonga [825] in October, when it was said that anciently they came in such numbers as to look like a cloud. They were said to remain in Tonga until March. [The species is *Globicera pacifica*.]

The mound Huluipaongo on the shore of Lifuka Island, facing Uoleva, 764 is the burial place of holders of the Matauvave title, the latest one interred 634 being the mother's brother of the incumbent of 1920. This mound is said to have originated from the clay thrown ashore by people washing their heads in the sea after building pigeon mounds. The clay used occurs as [134] a subsoil in Uoleva.

The first Matauvave is reputed to have built the fortress Velata, Lifuka Island. 634 All Haapai furnished laborers for this work. 173

One Matauvave came and stayed in a place called Tokilangi, which stands in Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka. His daughter went to Uoleva and she slipped from the ford (*ahanga*) and hurt herself. That is why the place is called Kofokohaangatoma. All the people were then told to make a road connecting the two islands at low [491] tide and it was called Taaemaka. There were two roads made.

The first Matauvave who was taken to be governor of Haapai died there. He was buried on the seashore at Nuanga, Lifuka Island. His god was Aloalo. Tama- [776] tuiumee was the name of his *api* or tract of land.

Another man was appointed [Taufa Tofua] to dwell in Tofua Island and at the same time the warrior Havili was appointed to stay in Lofanga Island.

On the whole, judging from what was learned of Matauvave's duties, 634
it would seem better to regard him as a sort of steward or director of works 173
for the Tui Tonga rather than a true governor or viceroy. 643

THE LIFE OF THE TUI TONGA

The residence of the Tui Tonga was called, apparently metaphorically, 643
Olotele—a name which occurs outside of Tonga (Olotele, a mountain in 644
Tutuila, Samoa; Olokele, a mountain in Maui, Hawaii). The word Olotele embraces more than the house and house-mound of the Tui Tonga, for it was interpreted also as *malae* or green of the Tui Tonga. Various localities called Holeva are said to have been places where the Tui Tonga resided, the name being used like Pangai for the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu.

The earliest Tui Tonga had their capital in central Tongatabu, the tenth 361
and eleventh Tui Tonga at Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu. With the 643
twelfth king the capital was transferred to Lapaha on the eastern shore of 175
the great lagoon of Tongatabu. Lapaha and the adjoining village of Tatakamotonga are spoken of as Mua (First) in reference to their constituting the capital. The actual place at Lapaha at which the Tui Tonga "reigned, *afiu*," or presided ceremonially, was called Ahofakasiu.

Portable houses (*falefata*) were erected for the Tui Tonga at places 644
where he might wish to sojourn. These consisted of the various sections of 342
such parts as the roof, sides, and posts, so prepared that they could
be readily put together in a day. When the Tui Tonga's daughter became 644
sick, she was moved into a new house, built specially for the emergency, 342
and called, *faletolia* (*tolia*, satisfied in mind). Another name given to this 758
house was *falevakaipuluhi* (*fale*, house; *vakai*, to take care, vigilant; *puluhi*, sickness, referring only to the Tui Tonga and his immediate blood kin).

The earliest Tongan mention of a Tui Tonga away from his home island 643
of Tongatabu is that of Momo, the tenth ruler, whose visit to Eueiki Island, 175
nearby, is described (26, pp. 71-75). Tuitatui, his son, is also pictured as 484
fraternizing with his boatmen off the shores of Eueiki. Later he dies on Eua Island (op. cit. pp. 45-47).

Talakaifaiki (Samoan Tala'aifei'i) resided part of the time in Samoa 643
where there were dwellings constructed for him on both Upolu and Savaii. 648
He was the last Tui Tonga to reside in Samoa, for he and his officers and 175
troops were expelled by the Samoans under Tuna and Fata. The Tui Tonga 484
before him may have also resided in Samoa (36, vol. 1, p. 468).

Tatafueikimeimua made at least one visit to Samoa in seeking the hand [584]
of a beautiful woman (26, pp. 55-60). Kauulufonua I, the next king known [721]
to have travelled, is reputed to have waged war throughout the Tongan domains, in Samoa, Uvea, Futuna, and Fiji, and to have sent governors to various parts of the Tongan kingdom including Uvea. The Tui Tonga

Uluakimata I (Telea), who resided for a time on Euakafa Island, Vavau, 643
is said to have had other residences in that group (26, p. 37). In 1781 the 648
Tui Tonga Pau entertained the Spanish explorer Maurelle in the Vavau 175
group. During the troubled times of Mariner's sojourn, the Tui Tonga 484
Fuanunuiava also resided there.

The stories about the Tui Tonga Takalaua tell of him beating the drum 643
for dances which appear to have been for pleasure rather than ceremony 175
(26, p. 65). Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 285) speaks of Pau dancing, and La- 535
billardière (37, vol. 2, p. 158) mentions the participation of either Maulupekotofa or Fuanunuiava in dances, indicating that the Tui Tonga unbent more or less to their subjects.

The assassination of several Tui Tonga is said to have led ultimately 643
to the delegation of certain temporal functions by Kauulufonua I to his 687
brother Moungamotua, whom he established as Tui Haa Takalaua. However, 682
according to Samoan tradition (36, vol. 1, p. 304) either Kauulufonua I or his successor Vakafuhu was assassinated. Thereafter there is no record of assassinations.

It is made evident by many tales and by the long list of illegitimate chil- 643
dren that the Tui Tonga could command the person of any woman of 833
lower rank. [848]

Two versions of a story about a Tui Tonga and a woman named Ate are current in the island of Nomuka, Haapai—one makes Ate the Tui Tonga's wife, the other his daughter. Both versions indicate that the Tui Tonga, whoever he was, was visiting his domains beyond the bounds of Tongatabu.

One version of the story runs as follows (see page 78 for the other):

> The woman Ate was not a chief's daughter, but was the beautiful daughter of a man of Haafeva Island who was named Fauolo. Ate had already borne a child, by a man she was not living with, at the time the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka.
>
> All of the women of Nomuka came to see the Tui Tonga and, being evening, set fire to dried young coconut husks (*toume*). When the fire was lighted, the Tui Tonga fancied Ate, so he instructed the other women to extinguish the fire and depart. Normally the fire was kept burning all night when the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka. The Tui Tonga and Ate slept together. The Tui Tonga must have lived long in Nomuka for he died there and was buried in the Langi Atea. Ate was buried in a mound called Takahili Pakisi which lies in the modern village of Nomuka. She is the only person buried there, so report says.

The Tamaha genealogical records state that Ate, a Samoan woman, mar- [173]
ried Fauolo of Haafeva Island. Their daughter was Talitulelu, who married Fiunoa of Haafeva Island. Their daughter Ate became the wife of the sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga.

A Samoan tale (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348) refers to an island on which 643
an early Tui Tonga kept virgins who were destined for his harem. Two 595
examples of threatened burning alive of wives of the Tui Tonga are also 593

recorded in Samoan tales and somewhat suggest the suttee (op. cit., pp. 643
94, 344). 595
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The Tui Tonga was often borne along in a litter. If he saw a bearer 643
who was particularly zealous and went long without a change, he would 493
stop the bearers and tell the zealous one to run, and the man would be given 461
the land around which he ran without a spell. [425]

Mats and tapa upon which the Tui Tonga had rested or sat would not 643
be used again by their owners but taken to the Tui Tonga, or passed to his 425
retinue.

The power of the Tongan kings to commandeer labor is obvious from 643
the number of tombs, and from such a mighty structure as the great truncated 466
stepped pyramid of Uluakimata I, known as the Paepae o Telea. The 349
blocks of stone of which this tomb is composed are massive, some weigh- 764
ing as much as 30 tons. The quarrying and moving of these huge blocks
must have required the labor of large numbers of men.

The following anecdote refers to the hard labor imposed by the Tui Tonga upon their subjects in connection with the erection of the great royal tombs.

> One day, when the men were pulling the stone along from the quarry, they reached a place called Tongia. They had a short rest there and went and drank at a water hole called Anameana. So scant was the water that all was consumed before half of the workmen had drunk, so they started pulling again on the stone and dragged it to Mua. The people who did not get a drink at Anameana went down to the two little brooks which are called Pokitau and Malifu and drank all the water which was there, and yet they did not have enough. They went then to another brook called Fangafeatu and then they were satisfied.

According to a fanciful version, Mounu, an artificial pier of stones at
Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's seat, was built of the refuse from the great double
vessel *Lomipeau* (26, p. 68). Another version states that it was the begin-
ning of a causeway which the Tui Tonga Pau planned to span the great
lagoon of Tongatabu from Lapaha to Tukutonga on the opposite shore near
the mouth of the lagoon. Whether or not Pau really planned such a work,
it is certain that the construction of the pier represents the organized labor
of a considerable body of workmen doubtless acting under the orders of
one of the kings. The great dry moat at Lapaha is another indication of [712]
centralized control of labor.

Cook (19, vol. 1, pp. 289, 357) speaks of the Siamafuauta as a rest 643
mound (*esi*) which was the property of Pau and he mentions also such a 349
mound on the summit of Eua Island. Such rest mounds, surrounded by
shade trees, were frequently erected for kings and great chiefs (42).

If the Tui Tonga's daughter was fed so lavishly that she began to lose 643
her waistline or develop other traits of unloveliness, the servants who were 644
responsible for the overfeeding forfeited their lives at the Tui Tonga's 687
discretion.

The house servants of the Tui Tonga were the *vaoeiki* and the *tamaioeiki.* 643
The *vaociki* was a woman of the matapule class, appointed by the Tui Tonga 644
to care for his household. She had her house within the Tui Tonga's enclosure. She was the custodian of food and supplies, and general household manager, having charge of the other servants. It was her duty also to personally look after the welfare and comfort of the Tui Tonga, ministering to him when he was ill. The *tamaioeiki* were the men servants of the Tui Tonga who actually did the work in the house in which the Tui Tonga lived. The public was excluded from the house. A person coming to see the Tui Tonga sat outside and told his message to a matapule, who in turn took it to the Tui Tonga.

The salutation to the Tui Tonga was, "Malo e lakoifie ae afiona" (Being 643
well or in good health, his majesty). *"Hoo afio"* (your majesty) is em- 576
ployed to-day of the Deity. The Tui Tonga might be addressed either in 195
the second person, *hoo,* or the third person, *ae.* "The heavens are void" was the metaphorical announcement of the Tui Tonga's death.

A kind of garland, *lala heilala,* was worn only by the Tui Tonga and 643
the Tamaha. The *heilala* or wax flower, "formerly found growing only 301
upon the lands of the Tui Tonga," were strung like beads on a strand of 824
fau bark, no other blossoms being used, and the strings of blossoms were formed into a rather broad, heavy band.

The Tui Tonga's hair and beard were trimmed by singeing. The en- 643
velope (*loutoume*) of the immature coconut was burnt and a living coal 302
therefrom applied to the hair.

When the Tui Tonga drank the milk of a green coconut, at the same 643
time digging out the meat and eating it as he drank, he exclusively employed 412
for that purpose a fresh cut stick from the *toi* tree, the green twigs of which 272
have a sweet mint-like fragrance. 262

Jioeli Pangia, the man who perhaps would be Tui Tonga today if the 643
office had not been absorbed by the Tui Kanokupolu, gave the following 644
information as to the constitution of the Tui Tonga's immediate following and relatives. The classifiication is purely one based upon rank and the rank
in turn based upon relationship. All of the people mentioned were relatives 643
of the Tui Tonga, though some very distantly related. 644 602

1. Fahu. Highest in rank. The elder daughter of the elder sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tamaha. Her brothers and sisters were also fahu to the Tui Tonga. [601]
2. Kaingaofi. The Tui Tonga's immediate family including himself. Of these the elder sister of the Tui Tonga held highest rank. (By immediate family is meant full brothers and sisters.) [593]
3. Matapule. Advisers and officers executing the Tui Tonga's business.
4. Kainangafonua. Official and household servants of both sexes. These were commoners.
5. Tamai o eiki. Cooks and low people.

The Tui Tonga greeted the great *fahu* (the Tamaha) by placing her 576 643
foot on his head or by touching his nose to her foot. In the presence of 644
any of his *fahu* he must abstain from eating (65, p. li). He greeted the 604
kaingaofi with the nose kiss. The matapule kissed his foot. The *kainangafonua* 593
suffered the Tui Tonga's foot to rest on their head. This was supposed 75
to cure those of this class who were sick. The *tamaioeiki* were too 565
low to touch the Tui Tonga. If sick, they might be cured by having the
abdomen of the afflicted one rubbed with the bowl in which the Tui Tonga 75
washed his hands.

CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TUI TONGA

That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems 643
doubtful. That he was regarded as of semi-divine nature is certain, for the 776
Tongan belief is that he was of semi-celestial origin, the progenitor of his
line being the sky god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. That he was a god living
upon earth all of my informants denied. Collocott, however, records (16,
p. 79) a lament or funeral piece for a deceased Tui Tonga, in which he is
called a god.

My informants knew of no worship of the Tui Tonga after death, but 769
only of worship of the gods proper. The priest Kautai scoffed at the idea 793
of the Tui Tonga being either a priest or a god. He characterized him as
the highest male chief and hence the most sacred male of the country.

Wilson (66), however, states that on occasion, certain deities were represented 643
by certain chiefs; although the Tui Tonga is not specifically mentioned, 622
he may be referred to in connection with either the deity Pulotu Katoa 776
or the deity Fatafehi (whom I have failed to identify). The deity Taliai
Tupou was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu. Wilson's statement follows 634
(op. cit., pp. 276, 277): 776

> Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou] is the god of Aheefo [Hihifo], which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. Futtafâihe [Fatafehi] presides over Mooa [Mua] and Doobludha [Pulotu], Cartow [Katoa] over the district of Ahoge [Hahake]; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts.

Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 78, 79) states that high respect and veneration 643
for the Tui Tonga were shown by the following observances: (a) *inasi* 585
ceremony: offering to him of first fruits, about October; (b) peculiarity 764
of his marriage ceremony; (c) peculiarity of his burial ceremony; (d) peculiarity 765
of mourning for his decease; (e) non-circumcision, unless he went 304
to other islands for the operation; (f) not tattooed; (g) peculiarities of 195
speech, used in regard to the Tui Tonga.

At Lapaha was a priestess named (or entitled) Poula whom the Tui 643
Tonga consulted. She resided at the site now occupied by the dwelling 793
house of the Catholic priests. For what god she officiated, I could not learn.
She was no doubt the medium through which the Tui Tonga communicated [776]
with a patron deity, quite possibly Hikuleo.

The Tui Tonga appealed to the gods when he was ill, just like any 643
other chief. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 453) gives an account of the illness 776
of Fuanunuiava. 755

By far the most important ceremony in which the Tui Tonga functioned 643
was the great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods. The word 782
inasi, meaning to divide, to share, to apportion, is applied especially to food, [527]
and in the great *inasi* ceremony food and models of yams were brought as offerings. Although the food was brought to the Tui Tonga and the ceremony impossible without him, the appeal came from the people to the gods, the Tui Tonga evidently acting as intermediary. Or perhaps it is more correct to say that the Tui Tonga, being the most exalted of males, was needed in person at the ceremony in order to insure the favor of the gods. It is unfortunate that no further data on the *inasi* could be obtained in 1920 and 1921. However, the accounts of early voyagers refer to this ceremony.

Farmer (23, p. 129) says definitely, upon the authority of the Methodist [776]
missionary Thomas, that Hikuleo was the deity for whom the *inasi* was performed.

Perhaps the great *inasi* included offerings to the royal dead as well as to [769]
Hikuleo, the ruler of the realm of the dead, for seventeen royal tombs in Tongatabu received shares (*inasi*) of offerings during ceremonies at the sanctuary Fanakava in Lapaha, Tongatabu: Fangaloto, Folokomanu, Matamoana, Makamaka, Heketa, Moungalafa, Leka, Tofaua, Tauatonga, Taetaea, Tauhakeleva, Mau, Katoa, Paepae o Telea, Namoala, Tuofefafa, Tuoteau.

Misui Mafileo, an aged informant, described to me a *kotoni* ceremony 643
(or perhaps entertainment) which he witnessed in Lapaha in his youth and 796
at which the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga and a matapule named Toamalanga 527
presided. Laufilitonga and Toamalanga formed the *mua* (focus, center, or head) of the ceremony. Laufilitonga was seated under a *koka* tree against which he leaned. Toamalanga sat beside him. The green (*malae*) of Feingakotone was the scene of the performance. Toamalanga's family wore oiled white tapa (*vakai*) in enormous folds around the waist.

Many people ("all the people in Tonga") were present. There were 643
six or seven groups of warriors armed with clubs made from coconut fronds 796
dried two days in the sun. The club bearers formed two lines of thirty to 526
forty men each. On one side were men from Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, 527
Vavau, Haapai, Eua, Fuaamotu in Tongatabu, and all the Hahake District

of Tongatabu. On the other side were men from Vaini, Folaha, Pea, and 643
Nukualofa (all in the Loto [middle] District of Tongatabu), from Hihifo 796
District of Tongatabu, and from Fiji. These two lines of antagonists fought 526
a *falalafa* (a sham battle with coconut fronds). Apparently a blow any- 527
where was fair. The people of Eua were particularly expert at this game. Toamalanga controlled the combat. When he thought that it had progressed far enough he ordered the Hihifo party to desist: *"Loloi matanga ki Hihifo."* (Sit down all westerners.) When they had responded, he ordered the Hahake (Eastern) party down. Immediately they sat down. Then Toamalanga made a speech in which he admonished the people: "Behave well because his majesty the Tui Tonga (Afio ae Tui Tonga) is here. Do not fight and make trouble."

After Toamalanga's speech the people again stood up. The priests (*taula* 643
tevolo) of various places and (or) their representatives had brought yams 796
called *ufimahaki* (sick yam) the significance of which I could not learn. 527
The representative of the priest of Holonga brought the first yam. Two men carried a long coconut-leaf basket (*fakaloumasi*) on a pole. The basket contained only banana leaves, most of the real yams being piled up behind the assembled people. Then followed the representative of the priest of Vaini with a real yam (*kahokaho*, a kind particularly reserved for chiefs). Next followed the representatives of the priest of Houma, also with a *kahokaho* yam. Hamula was next in line[8]. In carrying the yams each of these places was represented by three men. Two men supported the ends of the pole on their shoulders, the third supported the yam with his hand. The pole was carried on the left shoulder. Each of the bearers carried a war spear of toa or *fehi* wood in his right hand, and brandished it. One man from Hamula lacked a spear but brandished his hand. In addition, the families, of the priests, both males and females, carried yams. All sang, "Nofo fei moeke nofo oua e ngaue." (We have come from work.)

As the yams were being carried past the Tui Tonga he arose to depart, the people doing the same immediately he had left. The yams were carried to the sanctuary of Fanakava and there cooked and eaten by the priests and
people present. None were taken to the Tui Tonga, for it was forbidden to (784)
take anything from the premises of a god.

To-day when food is presented to the king, no club fight or other activ- (178)
ities accompany the presentation as in the past.

TOMBS OF THE TUI TONGA

The tombs of the Tui Tonga were spoken of as langi (sky). (See 25, 643
p. 125, for list of langi.) The Tui Tonga himself was also called Langi 764
at times. The tombs are usually faced with dressed rectangular slabs of 349
stone and consist of one or more terraces, so that they are often truncated

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[8] The priest of Hamula was named Kavakimotu. A man of the same title is chief now.

stepped pyramids. Their exact details are accurately described by McKern 643
(42). I give here a list of rulers and their traditional burial places, so far 764
as known. It is Tongan custom to designate dead rulers by their tombs; 349
thus, Tui Pulotu i Langi Tuofefafa is Tui Pulotu I, Tui Pulotu i Langi
Tuoteau is Tui Pulotu II.

13. Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou, Langi Tamatou, between Makaunga and Hoi, Tongatabu 643
Island. 764
29. *Uluakimata I (Telea), Paepae o* Telea, at Lapaha, Tongatabu Island. 349
32. Uluakimata II, Langi Tui Tonga at Lapaha. 103
33. Tui Pulotu I, Langi Tuofefafa, at Lapaha.
35. Tui Pulotu II, Langi Tuoteau, at Lapaha.
36. Pau died in Vavau (50, p. 252).
39. Laufilitonga, Langi Foou, a concrete structure on top of the Langi Tuofefafa, at Lapaha.

According to a published Tongan account (33, vol. 7, pp. 81-83, 1909) 643
the earliest royal tombs are those in central and southeastern Tongatabu. 764
In the reign of Momo, or of his son Tuitatui, the capital was shifted to 361
Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu and there two royal tombs were erected.
Tuitatui's sons moved the capital to Lapaha, where most of the subsequent
tombs were erected.

Certain of the larger stones in some of the royal tombs bear special 643
names. Two stones in the Langi Tui Tonga, Lapaha, Tongatabu, are named 764
for chiefs: Tuituiohu (son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu) and Vaea (the 349
eighth Tui Haa Takalaua). These named stones further indicate that 552
the Tui Tonga buried in this royal tomb was Uluakimata II. The significance
of the stones was not ascertained.

The children of kings who themselves never became rulers were at times 644
placed in tombs which bore distinctive names. Probably this practice of 764
special burial for such individuals was far commoner than the present-day
evidence indicates. Examples of such burial are:

1. The son of a Tui Tonga by an Uvean woman is said to be the individual for whom the Langi Maluatonga, at Lapaha, was built. On account of the Uvean blood of the king's son, his tomb is not tapu and is regarded with scant respect. This is why even a commoner will say, "When I am hungry, I eat on Langi Maluatonga."

2. A mound in Nomuka village, Nomuka Island, Haapai, is said to be the tomb
of a Tui Tonga's daughter named Ate. (Ate is also the name of the present Tui
Haa Ngana's daughter.) The Tui Tonga in question having no wife, sent word that [581]
he wanted a woman from Haafeva, named Halakiumata, the daughter of Fauolo of
Haafeva. Fauolo sent his daughter and she was married to the Tui Tonga and bore [643]
him a daughter named Ate. Ate was sent to Nomuka to look after the Tui Tonga's
graveyard. She died at Ahau in Nomuka and was buried in the mound in the present
town. The royal tomb she cared for was situated in the district now called Pangai[4] on
the far side of the lake (from the present town) and was called Langiatea.

3. Talahiva, the daughter of a Tui Tonga, is buried in the cemetery Tafengatoto, near Neiafutahi (part of the town of Neiafu), Vavau Island.

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[4] See page 72 for a different version, in which Ate is the wife.

Special burial places for the umbilical cords of children of the Tui Tonga seem to have been made, as the following example indicates: 644 844

Pito o Papuni (literally, Umbilical Cord of Papuni) is a small mound on Fofoa Island, Vavau group, at the eastern point close to Hunga Island. Papuni was said to have been a Tui Tonga's son. The name of the mound indicates that it is the resting place of his umbilical cord rather than his body; in other words that it is a mound connected with his birth rather than his death.

A small mound of the same type is located at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, Tongatabu, and contains the umbilical cord of Mafitoutai, a female.

THE FEMALE TUI TONGA

The Female Tui Tonga (Tui Tonga Fefine) was usually the oldest sister of the male Tui Tonga, and if she died the next oldest. She was appointed only after the installation of the male Tui Tonga who is said to have directed the choice. However, Sinaitakala IV seems to be an exception. The Female Tui Tonga remained in office until death, even after her brother's death and during the reign of her brother's son. She ranked her brother or her brother's son. 644

The long period between the Female Tui Tonga Fatafehi and Sinaitakala I listed below, arouses the suspicion that, like the Tamaha, the office may be of late creation and that the attribution of a Female Tui Tonga to the times of Tuitatui (about 1200 A. D.) and Talaihaapepe is a modern fiction based on recent Tongan practice (26, pp. 29, 46, 48, 49.) [114]

Brown (6, p. 453), quoting Fison, writes of a Female Tui Tonga holding office in 1890, evidently referring to the person who would have held the office had it been continued. An aged Tongan informant interviewed in 1920 had seen two Tui Tonga, as he expressed it. Actually he had seen a male Tui Tonga (Laufilitonga), also a Female Tui Tonga (probably Fatafehihaapai) who had died during the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah Tupou 1826-1845.

At Lapaha (Mua), Tongatabu, Takuilau, the residence of the Female Tui Tonga, was close to that of the male Tui Tonga at the site of the present convent. The scant list of Female Tui Tonga is presented below together with the names of the brothers who were Tui Tonga. The King numbers in parentheses indicate the sequence in the dynasty:

Latutama, sister of Tuitatui (11) 643
Fatafehi, sister of Talaatama (12) and Talaihaapepe (14). Buried in Langi Heketa, near Niutoua, Tongatabu. 644
Sinaitakala I, sister of Fatafehi (30). Buried in Langi Leka, Lapaha, Tongatabu. 173
Ekutongapipiki, sister of Kauulufonua III (31). 551
Sinaitakala II, sister of Tui Pulotu I (33). Buried in Langi Lotunofo, Lapaha, Tongatabu.
Sinaitakala III, sister of Tui Pulotu II (35). Buried in Langi Fanakavakilangi Lapaha, Tongatabu.

Siumafuauta, sister of Pau (36). Buried in Siamafuauta, near Maufanga, Tongatabu. 643

Nanasipauu, sister of Maulupekotofa (37). Buried in Langi Olovehi, Lifuka Island. 644

Sinaitakala IV, sister of Fuanunuiava (38). Buried in Langi Fekitetele, Lapaha, Tongatabu. Sinaitakala IV is evidently the Tineh of 1793 portrayed by Labillardière (37), who estimated (probably overestimated) her age as fifty years, and the Female Tui Tonga mentioned by Farmer (23, p. 95) as dying in 1798. She was the first born child; Fuanunuiava, the fifth born, which would account for her greater age and earlier demise. Presumably she functioned only during the lifetime of her father's half brother, Maulupekotofa. 173 551

Fatafehihaapai, sister of Fuanunuiava (38) and Sinaitakala IV. For a poem dedicated to her see 16, p. 86. Fatafehilapaha, another sister, apparently intermediate in age between Sinaitakala IV and Fatafehihaapai was also Female Tui Tonga, according to the manuscript notes of Shirley W. Baker.

An unidentified Female Tui Tonga is buried in Langi Loamanu at Longoteme, Tongatabu.

THE TAMAHA

The Tamaha, the daughter of the Female Tui Tonga and sororal niece of the male Tui Tonga, was the person of highest rank in the kingdom. 644 The first recorded Tamaha, Fonokimoana, was the daughter of the Tui Lakepa Tapuosi of Vasivasi, Fiji, and the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I, and therefore sororal niece of the thirtieth Tui Tonga, Fatafehi, who probably reigned in the early part of the Seventeenth Century. If Fonokimoana [177] was truly the first Tamaha, then the high office which she held appeared late in Tongan history, and may be connected with and perhaps the result of the entry of her father, a Fijian chief, into the Tongan court. It is stated that the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I fancied the Tui Lakepa Tapuosi and desired to have him as a husband. A vessel was sent to fetch him and he was married to the Female Tui Tonga, all of which reads as though he had no choice but to obey orders. A son, Fonomanu, seems to have succeeded his father as Tui Lakepa (whether in Fiji, in Tonga or in both, I do not know).

Fonomanu was the father of the second Tamaha, Tuimala, for he married the next Female Tui Tonga Ekutongapipiki, his mother's brother's daughter.

The Tamaha are listed below aligned with their mothers (Female Tui Tonga) and their mothers' brothers (male Tui Tonga), to synchronize the list, since the king list is the chronometer for what little we know of early Tongan events.

Fonokimoana, daughter of Sinaitakala I and Tui Lakepa Tapuosi. Tui Tonga Fatafehi (30). 644

Tuimala, daughter of Ekutongapipiki and Tui Lakepa Fonomanu, son of Tapuosi and brother of Tamaha Fonokimoana. Tui Tonga Kauulufonua III (31). 173 551

Simuoko, daughter of Sinaitakala II and Tui Haa Teiho Tungimanaia. Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu I (33).

Moungalakepa (1773), daughter of Sinaitakala III and Tui Lakepa (?) Fehoko- 644
moelangi of Nukulau, Fiji. Probably buried in the Langi Mounga on Tungua Island, 173
Haapai. Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu II (35).

Latufuipeka, daughter of Nanasipauu and Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, brother of Ta- 551
maha Moungalakepa. Tui Tonga Pau (36).

Fakahikuouiha or Amelia (died 1852), daughter of Nanasipauu and Tui Haa Teiho Haveatungua. Buried in a langi on Tungua Island. Tui Tonga Maulupekotofa (37).

Four Tamaha had the Tui Lakepa as fathers, two had the Tui Haa Teiho. 644
It is reported that only these chiefs might beget the Tamaha. The brother of the Tamaha became the next Tui Lakepa or the next Tui Haa Teiho. Thus Takavaha, brother of Latufuipeka, became Tui Lakepa. Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha, brother of Fakahikuouiha, became Tui Haa Teiho. These titles are said to have been originally established by the Tui Tonga.

The Tamaha was the great *fahu* of the Tui Tonga. To her he made 643
obeisance, as did inferiors to him. Cook, in 1777, tells of the Tui Tonga Pau 644
and the Tamaha Moungalakepa, to whom Pau paid the same homage that 604
he received from his own subjects, embracing her feet with his hands. The [554]
Tui Tonga did not make obeisance to her brother the Tui Lakepa Latunipulu but did refrain from eating in his presence, thus paying him the respect due him as a lesser *fahu*. Cook states that the term *areekee* (*ariki*) was only applied to Pau and to Latunipulu.

To her mother (the Female Tui Tonga) and to her mother's brother ([601])
(the male Tui Tonga) the Tamaha used the term *huhu*, the royal equivalent of the ordinary Tongan term *fae* (mother). Like *fae*, which is extended to the mother's brother in the term *fae tangata* (male mother) *huhu* is extended to the mother's brother also. The reciprocal of *huhu* is said to be the ordinary term *tama* (child).

The term Tamaha seems to have been loosely applied to all of the chil- 644
dren of the Female Tui Tonga begotten by the Tui Haa Teiho or the Tui Lakepa. However, only one was appointed to the preeminent office of Tamaha and that one was always a woman. The Latunipulu whom Cook met was a male Tamaha and Tui Lakepa; in fact Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 413) speaks of four contemporary Tamaha, Latunipulu and three women.

Veasi (Veachi) of whom Wilson and Mariner speak so favorably was a Tamaha, the brother of Tamaha Fakahikuouiha (Amelia) who died in 1852. Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha, another brother, became the Tui Haa Teiho. Veasi appears not to have had a title, but in his role of unofficial male Tamaha he was exempt from tribute paying.

A reported example of a person of even more exalted rank than the [554]
Tamaha is that of Tamatauhala (name or title?) a son of a Tamaha by a Tui Tonga. It is said that there has been but one such in the history of the country. The names of his parents were not learned. The Tamaha's genealogies mention no such person.

When a Tamaha was to be appointed, the Tui Kanokupolu came and 644
prepared an oven of food and himself carried it to the Tui Haa Takalaua. 643
Together they carried the food to the Tui Tonga, probably in the fictitious
fashion described by Collocott (15, p. 43). The three chiefs then went to
the prospective Tamaha. Meanwhile all of the chiefs of the kingdom had [622]
assembled at the call of the Tui Haa Takalaua. The agreement was reached
beforehand between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua as to who
was to be the new Tamaha, although birth had largely preordained this.
As with every other bestowal of title in Tonga, the calling of the Tamaha's [574]
new title in the kava circle constituted inauguration in office. Informants
were of the opinion that the Tamaha was appointed at maturity.

The derivation of the word *tamaha* was given by one informant as *tama* 644
(child), *ha* (to appear); by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (above, in the 192
sense of rank), by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (sacred, cf. Samoan *sa*).
The Tamaha was not regarded as the incarnation of a divinity. [776]

In travelling, the Tamaha was usually carried in a palanquin; sometimes 644
she walked. When she passed, people seated themselves with folded hands [493]
and bowed head. Her uncle, the male Tui Tonga, brought his offerings and [481]
sat down before her with all humility. Sick people came to her for cure [576]
(23, p. 145). [643]

One of the chief residences of the Tamaha was the island of Tungua, [755]
Haapai. It is one of the seats of the Tui Haa Teiho. When boats passed in [576]
front of the Tamaha's house which was near the beach, the paddlers got
overboard and swam with the boat until beyond the dwelling. This custom
is analogous to the modern one of dismounting from a horse when passing
the Queen's residence.

A series of special words used for the Tamaha, the Female Tui Tonga, [128]
and the male Tui Tonga are on page 119.

THE TUI HAA TAKALAUA

The great chiefly houses of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu 613
are nothing more than collateral branches of the dynasty of Tui 643
Tonga which began with Ahoeitu. The first Tui Haa Takalaua was a younger
brother of a Tui Tonga and the first Tui Kanokupolu was a younger brother
of a Tui Haa Takalaua. Hence the stress which so many writers lay upon
the spiritual and the temporal lines of rulers in Tonga should be understood
to refer to difference of function and degree of chiefliness and sanctity only,
not difference of origin, for both lines claim the same semi-divine ancestor,
Ahoeitu. Besides this community of origin, the three great chiefly houses [581]
of Tonga were thoroughly linked by marriage.

The office of Tui Haa Takalaua is reputed to have been founded by the

Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, about 1470, after the assassination of his father, 613 the twenty-third Tui Tonga, Takalaua. The first Tui Haa Takalaua was 643 Moungamotua, the son of Takalaua and younger brother of the twenty-fourth Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, who bestowed upon Moungamotua one of his great matapule, Maliepo, of supposed celestial origin. A Tongan text says: "The Tui Tonga asked Maliepo if he wished to join the Tui Haa Takalaua. Maliepo replied in the affirmative. Then the Tui Tonga said: 'Wait until a few nights have passed and I shall then send you to him. You and Moungamotua must hold together the land.' "

Sixteen Tui Haa Takalaua are recorded, all descendants of the Tui Tonga 643 Takalaua. They are as follows: 173
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1. Moungamotua, son of Tui Tonga Takalaua.
2. Tanekitonga, son of Moungamotua. Died at Pea, Tongatabu.
3. Vaeamatoka, son of Tanekitonga.
4. Siulangapo, son of Vaeamatoka.
5. Vakalahimoheuli, son of Siulangapo.
6. Moungatonga, son of Vakalahimcheuli. Father of the first Tui Kanokupolu.
7. Fotofili, son of Moungatonga.
8. Vaea, son of Fotofili.
9. Moeakiola, son of Vaea.
10. Tatafu, son of Fotofili. Exact position not certain, but this seems most likely.
11. Kafoa, or Kafoaamotalau, son of Vaea.
12. Tui Onukulava. Son of Kafoa.
13. Silivakaifanga. Son of Tui Onukulava. Silivakaifanga was perhaps succeeded as Tui Haa Takalaua by Fuatakifolaha, who is discussed below.
14. Maealiuaki. He was also the eighth Tui Kanokupolu. Died 1777.
15. Mulikihaamea. Son of Maealiuaki. He was also the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu. He died in 1799 and seems to have been the last Tui Haa Takalaua.
16. Fuatakifolaha. Exact position uncertain, but near the end of the series.

Although the Tamaha Amelia does not give Fuatakifolaha in her Tui 643 Haa Takalaua list, he appears elsewhere in her genealogies as Tui Haa 173 Takalaua. His father was Tongakitaulupekifolaha, whose status I can not discover. His mother was Fusipala, daughter of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea. His daughter Mapatoutai became the wife of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu Mulikihaamea. It would seem that Fuatakifolaha lived about Cook's time. Perhaps the name recorded by Cook in 1773 (18, vol. 1, p. 207; 19, vol. 1, p. 258, foot note) as Kohagheetoo-Fallangou referred to this man, though the person whom Cook met was really the Tui Lakepa Latunipulu. Perhaps Fuatakifolaha was the immediate predecessor of Maealiuaki as Tui Haa Takalaua.

West (62, p. 56) refers to the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata as the grandson of Moungamotua, thus making Moungatonga (Ngata's father) the son of Moungamotua. This is assuredly a mistake, however, as four successive generations intervened between Moungamotua and Moungatonga.

643 The holding of the joint offices of Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu by Maealiuaki and Mulikihaamea seems to presage the extinction of the former offer—a condition which later was made permanent, and was carried further by the absorption of the Tui Tonga's office after Laufilitonga's death in 1865.

The Tamaha's account seems to indicate that the Tui Haa Takalaua held office until death, though it is specifically stated for but a few. The account reads literally:

> 643 173 Moungamotua was the first Tui Haa Takalaua, and he died and his son Tanekitonga succeeded him. He was succeeded by his son Vaeamatoka, and he was succeeded by his son Siulangapo, who was succeeded by his son Vakalahimoheuli, and he was succeeded by his son Moungatonga. On the death of Moungatonga, Fotofili became Tui Haa Takalaua. Fotofili died and Vaea was made Tui Haa Takalaua. And Vaea died and Moeakiola became Tui Haa Takalaua. On the death of Moeakiola, [his brother] Kafoa was next in succession. After he had been set adrift, he came and fought Tonga and won and he became Tui Haa Takalaua.

[687] Just what is meant by the words "set adrift" I am not certain. I see two possibilities. Either he was exiled or he was literally set adrift in a canoe to drown, which is one Tongan method of disposing of political enemies. If set adrift it is obvious he was rescued.

Elsewhere the Tamaha writes of a Tui Haa Takalaua Tatafu who was the half brother (probably younger) of Vaea and it is possible that it was he who tried to keep Kafoa from the office and that it was he whom Kafoa fought and overcame. As Tatafu's mother was a different woman from Vaea's mother, it is very probable that he was much younger; in fact it is not improbable that he was younger than his nephew Moeakiola (Vaea's son) who was the ninth Tui Haa Takalaua. This seems to be indicated by the fact that he married the sister's daughter of the thirty-fifth Tui Tonga.

643 669 175 Mulikihaamea, the last Tui Haa Takalaua, was slain in battle by troops of the Tui Kanokupolu on May 10, 1799. He had joined his forces with those of Finau Ulukalala against the adherents of the recently assassinated Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. He had at first pretended to espouse the cause of Tukuaho's avengers, but shortly threw off the mask and openly united with Ulukalala.

643 613 To-day there is no Tui Haa Takalaua, but there are people who claim to belong to the lineage Haa Takalaua. King George I created a new title, Tungi, which in some measure replaces that of Tui Haa Takalaua. The title, unlike that of Tui Haa Takalaua, is inferior to the title of Tui Kanokupolu, inasmuch as it was created by the Tui Kanokupolu to give a political standing to the otherwise unrecognized lords of the Haa Takalaua lineage.

The following is Shirley W. Baker's statement of the origin of the Tui Haa Takalaua:

> Kauulufonuafekai, the last Tui Tonga to rule temporarily, was so disheartened by the assassination of his father, Takalaua, that, on his return from pursuing the assassins, Tamosia and Malofafa (two men smelling of the sorcery basket), to Uvea, he resigned his temporal power to his younger brother Moungamotua, who, under the title of Tui Haa Takalaua (Haa Takalaua, a district of Tongatabu), assumed the actual rule as reigning prince (*hau*) on condition that he and his heirs engage to maintain and defend forever the Tui Tonga in his sacred state of high priest; also that the Tui Tonga in office was always to have as his wife the daughter of the reigning prince. 643 613

As a matter of fact the first recorded marriage of a Tui Tonga to a Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter was to the daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua. Presumably the blood relationship may have been regarded as too close. 643 581

The Tui Haa Takalaua was a kind of supervisor for the Tui Tonga. Among his duties was to see that the people cultivated their plantations. He was *hau* of the archipelago, serving the Tui Tonga. The Tui Kanokupolu had similar duties. The early Tui Kanokupolu were appointed by the Tui Haa Takalaua. The term *tonuahau* (the ruler's freedom from error) indicates the exalted position of the *hau* and the fact that no one dare draw attention to his errors. 643

The connection of the *hau* (a term applied to either the Tui Haa Takalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu) with the *inasi* ceremony is thus stated by Mariner (40, vol. 2, p. 208): "As soon as they [yams] have arrived at a state of maturity, the *How* [*hau*] sends a messenger to Tooitonga [Tui Tonga], stating that the yams for the *inachi* are fit to be taken up, and requesting that he would appoint a day for the ceremony. . ."

The residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua was at Fonuamotu, a place on the lagoon shore adjacent to Lapaha, near the Tui Tonga's residence. The inland location of the Tui Tonga's house and the waterside location of the Tui Haa Takalaua's residence seem to have given rise to the terms Kauhalauta (the inland side of the road) and Kauhalalalo (the shore side of the road). The Tui Kanokupolu is included in the Kauhalalalo. Distinctive kava ceremonials characterize the two.

McKern (42) lists features in the vicinity of Fonuamotu, the Tui Haa Takalaua's seat, which give some conception of the extent of his establishment.

The following are the marriages of Tui Haa Takalaua to sisters and nieces of the Tui Tonga, but not Female Tui Tonga or Tamaha: 643 581

Tui Haa Takalaua 7. Fotofili married Atalua, half sister of 31 T. T. Kauulufonua III.

Tui Haa Takalaua 11. Kafoa married Totoinukuosi, sister of 32 T. T. Uluakimata II.

Tui Haa Takalaua 10. Tatafu married Mateitala, sister's daughter of 35 T. T. Tui Pulotu II.

The Tui Haa Takalaua seem never to have married daughters of the Tui Kanokupolu, but four Tui Kanokupolu married daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

Tui Kanokupolu is the hereditary title of the present ruler of Tonga. 643
Anciently the Tui Kanokupolu was third in rank, the Tui Tonga being first, 175
the Tui Haa Takalaua second. According to the Prince Consort Tungi, younger sons of a number of Tui Haa Takalaua were sent to Hihifo District, Tongatabu, to rule. These were regularly opposed and killed until about 1610, there was sent one Ngata, half Samoan, half Tongan in parentage. According to Tongan belief, Ngata's god (probably Taliai Tupou) was stronger than the Hihifo gods and Ngata established himself as the first Tui Kanokupolu.

To-day there is no division of regal power in Tonga. The Tui Kanokupolu Taufaahau (afterwards King George I Tupou) obliterated the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua and centered all the power in the hands of himself as the Tui Kanokupolu, the office now filled by Queen Charlotte. The titles Tui Tonga and Tui Haa Takalaua are no longer employed. George I would seem to have absorbed the office of Tui Tonga, rather than to have abolished it, for he was declared Tui Tonga, but no ruler since has used the title, the present ruler and her father being Tui Kanokupolu and constitutional monarchs. 643

The list of Tui Kanokupolu is given below. It is similar to that compiled by the Tamaha Amelia and Government lists, except that Tupoumoheofo is listed before Mumui, where she unquestionably belongs, judging from Vason's testimony (60, pp. 77-78). It differs in this and other respects from the lists published by West (62, p. 56) and Collocott (13, p. 182).

1. Ngata. Son of Moungatonga, the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua. Ca. 1610. 643
2. Atamataila. Son of Ngata. 173
3. Mataeletuapiko. Son of Atamataila. 175
4. Mataelehaamea or Mataeleusitea. Son of Mataeletuapiko.
5. Vuna. Son of Mataeletuapiko. Possibly was only Tui Vavau and not Tui Kanokupolu.
6. Maafuotuitonga. Son of Mataelehaamea.
7. Tupoulahi. Son of Maafuotuitonga.
8. Maealiuaki. Son of Maafuotuitonga. Was also Tui Haa Takalaua. Died in 1777.
9. Tui Halafatai. Son of Tupoulahi. Appointed in 1777, died 1782.
10. Tupoulahisii. Son of Tui Halafatai. Appointed in 1782.
11. Mulikihaamea. Son of Maealiuaki. Was also Tui Haa Takalaua. Died in 1799, but some years after he had ceased to be Tui Kanokupolu and had become Tui Haa Takalaua.
12. Tupoumoheofo. Daughter of Tupoulahi and widow of the Tui Tonga Pau.
13. Mumui. Son of Maafuotuitonga. Appointed in 1793, died in 1797. Labillardière's Tupou of 1793 (34, vol. 2, p. 118).
14. Tukuaho. Son of Mumui. Appointed in 1797, died in 1799.
15. Maafuolimuloa. Son of Maafu Tukuiaulahi.
16. Tupoumalohi. Son of Mumui. Resigned in 1812.
17. Tupoutoa. Son of Tukuaho. Appointed in 1812, died in 1820.

18. Aleamotua, Josiah, or Tupouifaletuipapai. Son of Mumui. Appointed in 1826, died 1845. 643
19. George I Tupou, Taufaahau I, or Maeakafa. Son of Tupoutoa. Appointed December 4, 1845, died February 18, 1893. 173 175
20. George II Tupou, Taufaahau II. Son of the Tui Pelehake George Fatafehi and son's daughter's son of George I Tupou. Appointed March 17, 1893, died April 5, 1918.
21. Charlotte Mafileo. Daughter of George II Tupou. Appointed October 9, 1918.

The published works consulted indicate a hiatus between 1820 and 1826 in which there was no Tui Kanokupolu. Actually Ulakai, paternal half-brother of Tupoutoa, was appointed at the island of Uiha, following Tupoutoa's interment. He seems never to have been formally inducted into office at the sacred *koka* tree in the Hihifo District, Tongatabu, so presumably should not be counted as a Tui Kanokupolu.

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE VARIOUS TUI KANOKUPOLU

1. Ngata. The first Tui Kanokupolu, Ngata, was one of the younger sons of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua (Moungatonga). He was half Samoan, his mother being Tohuia, daughter of the chief Ama (Kama) of Safata, Upolu. He was sent by his father, so tradition goes, to Hihifo to rule over the western division of Tongatabu and assumed the title of Tui Kanokupolu. Thomson (54, p. 307) gives 1610 as the probable date for his installation, Collocott (13, p. 180) gives 1650. Probably the earlier date is more nearly correct, for both Ngata and the twenty-eighth Tui Tonga, Tapuosi, married the daughters of Ahomee, according to the Tamaha's genealogies. There is today a hamlet in Hihifo District known as Kanokupolu, the name said to mean "flesh (or heart) of Upolu," Upolu being the second largest island of the Samoan group.

The modern lineage, Haa Ngata Motua, regards Ngata as its eponymous ancestor. [613] Certain chiefs who belong to it bear as titles the names or titles first borne by Ngata's sons.

2. Atamataila. Atamataila left no particular mark upon Tongan history. It was evidently his daughter Tuutangahunuhunu who was taken to the Tui Tonga Fakanaanaa against her wishes (26, p. 69).

3. Mataeletuapiko. As the name seems to indicate, Mataeletuapiko must have been [732] deformed, for *tuapiko* means hunchback. It is related that he prevented his ambitious son Mataelehaamea from becoming Tui Haa Takalaua. Mataeletuapiko is considered [613] the ancestor of the great modern lineage of Haa Havea, certain of the chiefs of which bear the same titles as did Mataeletuapiko's sons. The people of Toku Island (now uninhabited) were of the Haa Takalaua and were descendants of political exiles from Haamea in central Tongatabu. Their flight to Toku is said to have taken place in the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko, and presumably resulted from the attempt of his son Mataelehaamea to seize the position of Tui Haa Takalaua.

4. Mataelehaamea. The fourth Tui Kanokupolu, Mataelehaamea, was the ancestor [613] of the modern lineage Haa Ngata Tupu. His nickname Mataeleusitea refers to the lack [551] of tattooing on his "backside" (buttocks?). [304]

5. Vuna. There is some doubt as to whether Vuna, listed as fifth Tui Kanokupolu, really was appointed to that office. His name is omitted from West's list. It was either he or one of his successors of the same name whom Ulukalala II overthrew when he established himself as master of Vavau. It seems unlikely that Vuna, the son of Mataeletuapiko, was the man whom Ulukalala drove from Vavau (40, vol. 1, pp. 86, 88, 160). The Vuna (op. cit. p. 410) of Mariner's time may have been the son or grandson of the fifth Tui Kanokupolu.

6. Maafuotuitonga. Nothing seems to be on record about this ruler.

7. Tupoulahi. The seventh Tui Kanokupolu, Tupoulahi, may have held office at

the time of Cook's first visit in 1773. The frequent use of the name Tupou for the Tui Kanokupolu's relatives makes identification as difficult as with the Tui Tonga's relatives with whom the name Fatafehi was equally common. 643 173 175

8. Maealiuaki. The eighth Tui Kanokupolu, Maealiuaki, who entertained Cook lavishly, was an old man in 1777, the year he died.

9. Tui Halafatai. Ninth Tui Kanokupolu. Tui Halafatai, is said by West (62, p. 56) to have been the ruler when Cook visited the islands. A note in the Tongan Government list of Tui Kanokupolu is to the same effect. The Tamaha's genealogies state that Tui Halafatai was appointed in 1777.

10. Tupoulahisii. Tupoulahisii, the tenth Tui Kanokupolu, was ruling in 1782, but the ruler mentioned by Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 118) in 1793 was Mumui who was then about sixty years old.

11. Mulikihaamea. Mulikihaamea, the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu who succeeded Tupoulahisii, gave up the office for that of Tui Haa Takalaua, an office which his father Maealiuaki had also held He was killed in battle on May 10, 1799, when hostile troops surrounded his litter.

12. Tupoumoheofo. Tupoumoheofo held office but a short time. She seized the office unlawfully after the death of her husband, the Tui Tonga Pau, and probably immediately after Mulikihaamea's elevation to the office of Tui Haa Takalaua.

The Tamaha's statement of her attempt to become Tui Kanokupolu reads in substance as follows: 644 643 173 175

> This woman, the daughter of [the Tui Kanokupolu] Tupoulahi, had no right to be queen, but during the absence of Tukuaho, the rightful heir, at Eua, where he was sent as governor, she went to Hihifo, put a *taovala* mat about her waist, and sat with her back to the *koka* tree, beneath which the installation of the Tui Kanokupolu took place. Then she came back and declared herself Tui Kanokupolu. Tukuaho, hearing this, returned from Eua, landing at Popua. Tupoumoheofo fled to Vavau, where she died and is buried at Pouono.
>
> Tukuaho had his father, Mumui, declared Tui Kanokupolu in 1793, and he ruled until 1797.

Other versions of this remarkable woman's attempt to best her powerful cousin, Tukuaho, are given by Wilson (66, pp. 104, 252, 274) and Vason (60, pp. 77-78).

Judging from Wilson's account (66, p. 104) Tupoumoheofo was still alive in 1797, although in exile in Vavau. Thomson (54, p. 321) says that she was driven to take refuge in the island of Eua. This may have been an earlier occurrence than her exile to Vavau, for Thomson speaks of this as occurring immediately after the death of the Tui Tonga Pau about 1784. It may well be that Tukuaho had more than one encounter with her. Evidently the statement of Wilson (66, p. liii) to the effect that "the influence of the royal family seems also to have been diminished by a civil war, which Toogahowe [Tukuaho] had waged with success" refers to a quarrel between this woman and Tukuaho. Thomson has quite well described the probable sequence of events. [669]

13. Mumui. Mumui was an old man when appointed in 1793. He died in 1797.

The following incidents throw light on court relations in the days of the contemporaneous Tui Kanokupolu Mumui and Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea. This account is the introduction to a poem about Mumui published by Collocott (16, p. 99): 643 173 175

> There went forth a message from the chief Mumui to a man called Uhila in Hihifo, Tongatabu, to come and plait mats of coconut leaves.
>
> As Uhila came from Hihifo, Tuakilaumea, the orator, was making a reed fence at Takoto. The orator addressed Uhila, saying: "Uhila, have you come?"

Uhila responded, saying: "I have run from Hihifo because of a message that came." 643
Tuakilaumea said: "And what is in your basket, Uhila?" 173
Uhila answered: "This basket of mine contains a present of kava."
Then suggested Tuakilaumea: "You had better leave your basket as provisions 175
for those making the fence." Uhila acceded.

Uhila went on to Mumui and Mumui greeted Uhila and said: "Uhila, have you come?"

And Uhila replied: "I have run from Hihifo because of the message that came."

Said Mumui: "I sent a message for you to come and plait my mats, because one house is very bad. And, man, have you not brought a present of kava?"

"I had some kava, but I left it with the orator (Tuakilaumea) who was building a reed fence."

Thereupon Mumui became very angry and ordered that all Nukualofa go and burn the dwelling of Tuakilaumea. They did so.

Because of this, Tuakilaumea went to Faletapu to dwell and taught there the harangue (*laulau*) about Mumui. Then went forth a message from Mulikihaamea in Mua, to bring the people who presented the harangue from Faletapu to Mua, in order that it be given in a night entertainment there. So the harangue about Mumui was performed at Mulikihaamea's entertainment.

Later Mulikihaamea went to Nukualofa and told Mumui about it, saying to him: "Tama (a familiar term for chief), you ought to hear the harangue about you, that is presented by our old man." A message was sent that the performers were to be brought to Malaealoa to present the harangue (for Mumui). It was done and Mumui was so pleased with it, that it was repeated four times. Mumui gave four fine mats to the performers as presents.

14. Tukuaho. Tukuaho, the son of Mumui, was installed as Tui Kanokupolu on 643
May 14, 1797. He was assassinated April 21, 1799. His brief reign and tyrannical 173
character have been thoroughly dealt with by other writers (40, 41, 65, 66).

A bit of additional light is thrown upon the assassination of Tukuaho by the 175
Tamaha's statement that "all the chiefs of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu had a hand in the 682
murder of Tukuaho, especially his elder brother, Tangataolakepa."

The following is a translation of a Tongan account (33) of Tukuaho's assassination at Mua:

Tupouniua and Ulukalala arrived in Tukulalo, a beach in Navutoka. They stayed there while they sent a message to Tatakamotonga in Mua, where Tukuaho stayed, to tell Falekaono [a Vavau chief] to run away for they loved him. Falekaono said to tell them he would not run away, but if they wanted to do anything to do it, and he would stay and die together with Tukuaho as payment for the food that he was eating. Tupouniua and Ulukalala said, "All right we will go ahead and he can die if he wants to, for not believing us." Falekaono said nothing to anyone, not even Tukuaho.

When night came Falekaono asked Tukuaho to share his tapa with him and to bring his bottle of oil for them both to use. Tukuaho gave him all he wanted, but wondered what was the meaning of it all. Afterwards they slept. When night was drawing to a close Tupouniua and Ulukalala came from Navutoka to Mua. When they arrived in Mua, Tukuaho was in a place called Langakali, a place for kings, and all were asleep. Ulukalala remained outside while Tupouniua went inside. He found Tukuaho asleep with his little daughter Finau by his side. Tupouniua hit Falekaono on the head with a war weapon (club?) and Tukuaho called out from the other side, "Who hits Falekaono?"

Tupouniua answered, "Wretch, my grandmother dies," and thereupon struck Tukuaho on the face and killed him. Then he went outside and departed with Ulukalala to Navutoka, whence they sailed to Haapai. Then Tupouniua went to Tongoleleka and stayed there while Ulukalala stayed in Pangai. [Both places are in Lifuka Island, Haapai.]

Tupoutoa (Tukuaho's son) was in Haapai when the news came that Tukuaho was 643
killed by Tupouniua and Ulukalala. 173

Finau, who was beside Tukuaho upon his assassination, was his daughter by Fan- 175
gafua, his cousin. [Fangafua is not given in the lists as a wife of Tukuaho.] The child
lived. When news came that Tukuaho was dead, Fangafua was carried to Pangai, 682
then to Mua, where lay Tukuaho's body. Ata Tofuaipangai, Fangafua's father, in- 768
structed that she be strangled so that she might die together with her lord, to which
Fangafua agreed. The chiefs said that she was to be buried by the side of her husband,
but Ata protested, "No, she is to be taken to Hihifo." So they started to strangle
Fangafua, Ulakai standing on the left side, Uhilamoelangi on the right. But Uhilamoe-
langi could not pull the rope, for he loved his mother. [Apparently Fangafua was not
Uhilamoelangi's natural mother. The Tamaha genealogies make him the son of
Halaevalukovi, Tukuaho's sister.] Fangafua thereupon took his side of the rope and
helped him to pull it. Then she died. Ata ordered her body to be taken to Hihifo,
where all the chiefs went. Then Ata said that after Fangafua was buried they would
make war. They arrived in Hihifo and sat up for one night with Fangafua's corpse.
When morning came she was buried. Meanwhile, Halaevalukovi (full sister of the 644
slain Tukuaho) stayed by the beach in Hihifo in a little Tongan house mourning for 643
Tukuaho. She stayed there for about a month while Hihifo was getting ready for war. 173

One morning Vahai came with some kava and stood outside Halaevalukovi's house 175
and spoke thus to her: "Why does this silly woman stay near the beach?" She did 765
not answer and he had to speak again.

Then she answered, "Why do you want to know?"

Then entering with his kava he said, "Stand up and beat the kava for me to drink and I will dry your tears."

She answered: "Who said so?"

He replied, "I said so." Then Halaevalukovi sent some girls to go and get all the [276]
necessary things for the kava. When the things were brought Halaevalukovi made the
kava and then told Vahai that it was ready. Vahai had a drink. He would not allow
anyone else to drink as he wanted it all for himself. He had a second bowl and a
third. Then he told Halaevalukovi to stand up and go outside and empty the kava out,
for he had had the three chief kavas. Then he said good-bye and went away, telling
Halaevalukovi to wait and see what happened.

When Vahai returned from Halaevalukovi he went straight to Haa Vakatolo, to the 173
house of Ahomee, and called out and asked for the men. Ahomee told him they had 175
gone to the Liku. Vahai told him to go and tell them to return. Vahai then went on 669
to Foui while Ahomee went for the men. When Vahai arrived in Foui he got all his 726
men together and told them to get ready, as they were to have war on all Tonga.
When Ahomee got all his men together they went to Foui and the war started. [For
account of the fighting, see 17, p. 140; 16, p. 90.]

After the burial of Tukuaho, Tupoutoa came to Tongatabu, from Haapai, while 644
Ulukalala went to Vavau. When Tupoutoa arrived in Tonga he got all his brothers 173
and sisters and they went to Hihifo and knelt before the sun and prayed for [their 175
father's sister] Halaevalukovi. Then they went to see her and their mother Lepolo, for 782
that was the first time they had gone to them since the death of their father Tukuaho.
They knelt before the sun with their heads bowed till afternoon. Then Ulakai came and
spoke to Halaevalukovi, "Why do you not speak to your people? They have been here
all day and you have said nothing." So Halaevalukovi went and asked them to come in.
Then she and the people of Hihifo prepared ovens of food (*feiumu*) to welcome her
people. There were many pigs killed, the reason being that in Tonga a woman [father's [562]
sister] in the family is always the highest chief. After their welcome the brothers and
sisters came to Nukualofa.

15. **Maafuolimuloa.** Maafuolimuloa, Tukuaho's successor as Tui Kanokupolu, was, 643
according to the Tamaha Amelia, not in the line of succession for the office of Tui 173
Kanokupolu. He was the great grandson of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko 175
and brother of the great chief Maafutukuiaulahi (personal name Tangatailavalu) of

Vaini, Tongatabu. Maafulimuloa's father was Mailelaumotomoto, his father's father was 643 Hafoka, and his father's father's father was the third Tui Kanokupolu. How Maafuo- 193 limuloa came to be appointed is related by the Tamaha as follows: This chief had no 175 right to be king [Tui Kanokupolu], as he was the son of Maafutukuiaulahi [of Vaini], but as all the chiefs of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu had a hand in the murder of Tukuaho, [682] especially his elder brother Tangataolakepa, the rest of the children of Mumui were too frightened to declare one of themselves king. After some planning the Haa Havea [chiefs] decided to bring a son of Maafu and appoint him to keep up this position, and Maafuolimuloa was therefore brought and made king. Later in the time of peace Tupoumalohi was made Tui Kanokupolu.

According to a Nukualofa informant Maafuolimuloa reigned for one day and was [682] assassinated.

16-21. The subsequent appointments to the office of Tui Kanokupolu are covered beyond and by the various printed sources. West (62, p. 56) and Thomson (54, p. 333) make Tupoumalohi the eldest son of Tukuaho; but Farmer (23) and the Tamaha's genealogy make him the son of Mumui and brother of Tukuaho, which I regard as correct. He resigned his office in 1812, in favor of Tupoutoa.

Tupoutoa, the seventeenth Tui Kanokupolu, was appointed in 1812 and died in 1820. Tupoutoa was buried in a tomb on Uiha, constructed by a chief named Pooi, who was later buried therein himself with the approval of Taufaahau, Tupoutoa's son. Aleamotua or Josiah Tupou or Tupou-in-Faletuipapai was appointed in 1826 and died in 1845. (The name Tupou-in-Faletuipapai refers to the cemetery in which he is buried, in consonance with the usual Tongan custom of referring to deceased rulers.)

The most famous Tui Kanokupolu of all, King George I, or Taufaahau I, or Maeakafa, was appointed in 1845 and died in 1893. (Another name, applied in infancy be- [551] cause he was "fed as a child," is Nginingini Ofolanga, by which he was known in [553] Samoa and elsewhere, the name Taufaahau was adopted after the god Taufa of Ahau "cured" him of an illness.) He was the greatest ruler in Tongan history and has been so adequately covered by a number of works that I do not feel justified in entering upon any discussion of him in this paper. He was succeeded in 1893 by his greatgrandson, George II, or Taufaahau II, who reigned until his death in 1918. George II was the son of the Tui Pelehake, George Fatafehi, who had married the son's daughter of George I, the son being David Unga who died in 1897, and the daughter of David Unga being Fusipala who died in 1888.

The reigning Tui Kanokupolu of today is Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo, who was appointed in 1918 and who is the daughter of George II.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

The first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata was appointed from above, that is by 643 his father the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. Those of later times were 622 selected by their supporting chiefs. Wilson (66, p. 249) says:

> Today [May 14, 1797] Toogahowe [Tukuaho] was vested with the name and authority of Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], in the room of his father, Moomooe [Mumui], deceased. His name was now changed from Feenou Toogahowe [Finau [551] Tukuaho] to that of Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou], the god of their family; and we [553] understand that none of his subjects must in future address him by his former name, on pain of death.

Vason (60, p. 79) writes:

> Toogahowe [Tukuaho], who by his superior prowess in the field, had awed the neighboring islands as well as Tongataboo, and had placed his father Moomooe in the post of distinction, had, ever since, strengthened his power with the chiefs by making them his companions and friends. No sooner therefore were they met, in publick

assembly, than one stepped forth from the circle, and proclaimed, "No bou Toogahowe 643
Dugonagaboola fy talliaba gee ma toolou," i. e., Toogahowe shall be the chief, and we 622
will do as we please; upon which he was unanimously elected, as none dare to oppose
him.

A prominent chief of the lineage Haa Ngata Motua (also the matapule [613]
Kama) informed me that Ata and Veehala of that lineage selected each new
Tui Kanokupolu without consultation with other chiefs. However, the following account from Koe Fafagu (33) of appointments of Tui Kanokupolu following the murder of Tukuaho indicates that Ata and Veehala did not always act independently.

Maafulimuloa was appointed Tui Kanokupolu after Mulikihaamea at the instigation of Vahai who went and spoke to Lavaka and the other Haa Havea chiefs and their people and to Ata and Veehala and told them to bring Maafulimuloa to be the Tui Kanokupolu. So Maafulimuloa was made Tui Kanokupolu and when he died there was no immediate successor. Then came to Tonga Tukuaho's brother Tupoumalohi, who lived much in Fiji. Lavaka and Maafu (probably Maafutukuiaulahi) spoke to him about the office of Tui Kanokupolu. He was appointed. After a time Tupoumalohi ceased to rule.

Then came more war. A party of people under Tupoutoa came from Haapai to fight 643
against the chief Takai of Pea. After peace was established Takai spoke to Maafu and 622
Lavaka and some others and said, "Bring Tupoutoa to be Tui Kanokupolu, so there 726
will be no more war between Haapai, Vavau, and Tongatabu." So it was done.

When Takai died, Tupoutoa threatened war against Fae (Takai's brother), saying 669
Takai was the only brave man in Tongatabu. On Fae's side were Maafu, Lavaka, Tupouleva, Fohé, Vaea, Fielakepa, Tui Vakano, Ata, Veehala, and Fatu, all chiefs who had fought to avenge Tukuaho's death. In fact the two great lineages Haa Havea and Haa Ngata Motua supported Fae. This war did not materialize and so Tupoutoa went to live at Mua as Tui Kanokupolu. There he stayed entertaining evil thoughts against these chiefs. When he died his body was taken to Uiha Island, Haapai, and buried in the great tomb there which contains the remains of the Uiha chiefs bearing the title of Malupo, as well as those of Tupoutoa and some of his relatives.

After Tupoutoa's death, Fae went to speak to Maafu, Lavaka, Vaea, and all their 643
people about appointing another Tui Kanokupolu. Fae pointed out that there were three 622
possibilities, Aleamotua, Ulakai, and Fatu. The Haa Havea and Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and some others said that Aleamotua was to be king. Others said that Ulakai should be king. The argument in favor of Aleamotua was that he was the father of Fatu and Ulakai. Lavaka, Maafu, Vaea, Ata, and Veehala agreed as to what Palenapa Lavaka had said and made Aleamotua king.

A manuscript account indicates that Ulakai, Tupoutoa's brother was 643
named as Tupoutoa's successor, being appointed at Uiha Island, Haapai, but apparently never being formally inducted into office. According to West (62, p. 57) there was no Tui Kanokupolu from the time of Tupoutoa's death in 1820 till the elevation of Aleamotua (Josiah Tupou) in 1826.

It is said that the Tui Tonga had nothing to say about the selection of the Tui Kanokupolu—a statement which probably applies only to appointments after the year 1800. When the succession was not clear the chiefs [622]
of the several lineages (Haa Ngata Motua, Haa Havea, and Fale Fisi in [613]
particular) conferred until a suitable man was selected.

643 [276] [553] [574] I have but little information as to the installation (*fakanofo*) of the Tui Kanokupolu. The place of installation (*fakanofo anga*) seems anciently to have been at Kanokupolu, Tongatabu Island, where a special tree served as the back rest of the new appointee. The crux of the appointment ceremony is the serving of the kava to the new incumbent, for it is then that his new name or title is publicly spoken. When the kava is ready the matapule Motuapuaka calls: "Omi ia ki he ni maa Tupou!" (Bring it here for Tupou!) This is unlike the procedure in the ordinary kava ceremony.

West (62, pp. 58, 59) describes the appointment of the Tui Kanokupolu George I as follows:

> [771] The day appointed was the 4th of December, 1845; and, accordingly, the chiefs from various parts of Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau, assembled in state. A few of the Tonga chiefs were still Heathens. Among these were Nuku, Maafu, Tubou-leva, Tugi, and several others; but all parties appeared to approve heartily of the measure. The company was select. None were allowed to go near, in order to stare, or to walk about. To prevent such conduct, a Fijian, dressed, and blackened, according to the custom of his country, walked to and fro as the guard of the ceremony, armed with club and spear. [See account of installation of the present Tui Kanokupolu in 1918, page 94.] The day was very fine, and the gathering of the noted politicians and warriors of the land, under the magnificent trees, which have stood for ages on the sward of Bagai, presented a most interesting sight.
>
> [574] [276] The ceremony consisted simply in publicly calling out the future official title of the king, in a *kava*-meeting; that is to say, a meeting where a preparation of kava-root is diluted and drunk by the persons assembled, according to certain well-established rules of etiquette and precedence.
>
> 643 622 Two chiefs sat, one on either side of the king elect. These were two of the *matuas*, or "fathers" of the land. Their office was to relieve the king, and to act on his behalf. The names of the officiating chiefs were Motua-buaka and Lauaki. The others ranged themselves on either side, in order of rank, and forming a large circle, outside of which, and in front of the king, the bulk of the commoners were seated. The kava being prepared, several chiefs addressed the assembly, before it was served out. Afterwards Motua-buaka delivered an oration explaining the important object of their assembling. The king then addressed them also. Immediately he had finished, his kava was poured into a dish; and then Motua-buaka proclaimed aloud that that was the kava of Taliai-Tubou Tuikanokubolu.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE PRESENT TUI KANOKUPOLU

643 [765] The present Tui Kanokupolu and the sole ruler of Tonga is Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo. She is the second woman to bear the title, the first being the luckless Tupoumoheofo. As the head of the constitutional government of Tonga, Charlotte was proclaimed queen within a few hours after the death of her father, George II, but her appointment to the office of Tui Kanokupolu did not take place until October 9, 1918, following a six months' period of mourning. The following description is abstracted from the account of an anonymous eye witness (49):

The period of mourning having elapsed preparations were made for the coronation. There were two distinct functions—one according to Tongan tradition, the other in European manner. In the Government Gazette of the 4th of October there appeared the following proclamation:

"I, Uiliami Tugi, Acting Premier, hereby publish and proclaim that it has pleased Her Majesty Queen Salote Tubou to appoint and ordain that the Tongan ceremonies in connection with Her Majesty's coronation be held at Nukualofa on Wednesday the 9th day of October, 1918, at the hour of ten o'clock in the forenoon, and, further, it is Her Majesty's wish and pleasure that the Coronation Service shall be held in the Chapel Royal, Nukualofa, on Friday, the 11th day of October, 1918, at the hour of 11 o'clock in the forenoon."

An open space adjoining the Palace grounds, and known as the malae, was chosen as the spot upon which the Tongan ceremonial would take place.

The day broke fine, and long before the time appointed for the ceremony the people assembled in great numbers and seated themselves, as is the Tongan custom, in orderly fashion under the shade of the toa trees (the ironwood of Tonga) which marked the boundaries of the malae. Near to the Palace walls there had been erected a structure some twenty feet square and about twelve feet high, and this was most effectively decorated with tropical palm growth and festooned with long lines of sisi, or garlands, made up of ribbon-like material from the bark of the fau tree and interwoven with flowers. This particular kind of decoration is used on all ceremonial occasions. Under this canopy of greenery was a raised dais covered with fine mats, and upon it was placed the Royal Chair which had been brought from the throne-room at the Palace. Whilst this piece of furniture gave a modern touch to the proceedings it was in keeping with the native ceremony, because of the fact that in the back of the chair there is inlaid in the form of a star a piece of koka wood. This "star" is of historic interest. It was taken from the trunk of a tree at Hihifo, under the shade of which in old-time many Tongan ceremonies and important functions took place. It was indeed a happy thought which made possible such an ingenious way of linking up the past with the present. The district of Hihifo, over which Ata presides as chief, was a place of much importance in bygone days, and it was therefore fitting that Ata and his people should on this great day have important duties to perform. For such was really the case, as Ata and his followers were the directors of the proceedings.

As the hour of ten struck there emerged from the Palace a dark-faced but most picturesque personage, bearing aloft two long spears to which were attached several streamers of colored material. He moved forward in a light prancing manner from side to side of the avenue of Norfolk pine trees which fronts the Palace, and at times he would halt a moment and cautiously glance from right to left; he would then make a sudden lunge forward with the spears as if seeking out a foe hidden by the wayside; thence on again, to repeat the action a few moments later. His pace was rapid, but quiet. A pleasing accompaniment to his progress along the avenue was the soft rustle of the spear-streamers as they fluttered gaily in the breeze, and the musical tinkle of many small nut-shells attached to his waist and ankles. A sturdy specimen of his race, and in such picturesque garb, he gave one some idea of the warrior of the old days. His duties were evidently those of a herald announcing the approach of an important personage, for being content, apparently, that all ahead was well, he returned to meet the Royal Party which by this time had come from within the Palace.

The Queen, who was in full native costume, came forward in a dignified manner, and in close order following was a party of about 100 female attendants who carried at its full length a very fine mat over sixty feet long. Preceded by the herald, the Royal Party made its way up the centre of the ground and approached the canopy of greenery, where seated on either side of the dais were the high chiefs of Tonga. In extended order they formed a big half-circle, and sat in their appointed places facing the open space in front of the canopy. And so they quietly awaited the approach of their young Queen. 643

Her Majesty, having seated herself on the dais, the attendants fell in behind and spread the long mat in a fan-shaped manner at the back of the Royal Chair.

For a few minutes there was a stillness over all, but presently was heard a chanting of many voices, and a large party of mat-clad natives appeared at the entrance to the ground. In four sections, and chanting the while, they came slowly towards where the Queen sat in state. Close by stood the herald in statue-like fashion, and so he remained until the whole party had paid their respects and had retired. 643 533

Then came a party with an offering in the form of a large root of kava. This, together with other gifts of food, was placed on the ground not many yards from the canopy.

Meanwhile the body of singers had retired and become seated in the centre of the ground, and preparations were made for the making of kava—the beverage peculiar to Polynesia and without which no native ceremony is complete. 643 574 276

When the whole party had become seated, there was observed sitting at the back of and at some distance from the kava party, a lonely figure—that of Uiliami Tugi, the Prince Consort. According to Tongan custom it would be wrong for such a near relation, no matter how great a chief, to be sitting in the superior circle—which is the name given to the circle of chiefs seated on either side of the Queen—and so the Prince Consort must sit alone and quite apart from the inner and outer circles. The outer circle is where the beverage is prepared. . . .

There was a great deal of formality in the matter of the distribution of the kava and much time was taken up in this direction, but after the ceremony had been fully observed, attention was given to the food offering. The herald, who up till this time had been a silent observer of the proceedings, now became a prominent figure, and with uplifted spear and with streamers flying he warily approached the line of foodstuffs and selecting a certain dainty morsel—a well-cooked young suckling pig—he made good aim and let fly the spear which hit truly the intended mark, the pig's liver. Springing forward he gently lifted on the point of the spear the offering of the day and presented it to the Queen. From thence on the food was distributed amongst the high chiefs. 643

Way was now made for the orators, and they came and delivered themselves of speeches, the keynote of which was their acknowledgment of the right of Tu'i Salote to rule over the Tongan people, and they expressed their loyalty to their ruler. Other addresses appropriate to the occasion were also delivered, and the proceedings terminated with the retirement of the Queen to the Palace. 643 537

The following notes, derived chiefly from Collocott, supplement the above account. 643

Before the appointment the candidate in the presence of the assembled chiefs was instructed by Ata and Veehala in such matters as the stewardship of the country. This was done in accordance with traditional procedure. As required by tradition the clownish herald at the *fakanofo* ceremony belonged to the family of the chief Tui Vakano of Nukunuku, Tongatabu, or to the family of Tahifisi (32). [622]

Ulukalala's seat is not in the kava ring (*alofi*); his place is behind the general assemblage (*toua*). He was not present, so his kava was poured on the ground at the spot where he should have been. See figure 1 for seating arrangement on this occasion.

For the making of the kava many people brought water in buckets, only a little in each bucket. The idea was to show the chiefly power (*faka'ei'eiki*) of the Tui Kanokupolu by the large number of the water carriers and their alacrity. 643 276 574

In dragging the kava to the *fakanofo* kava circle the Hihifo people sang the following work songs (*tauaalo*). [533] [539]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

643
574
276

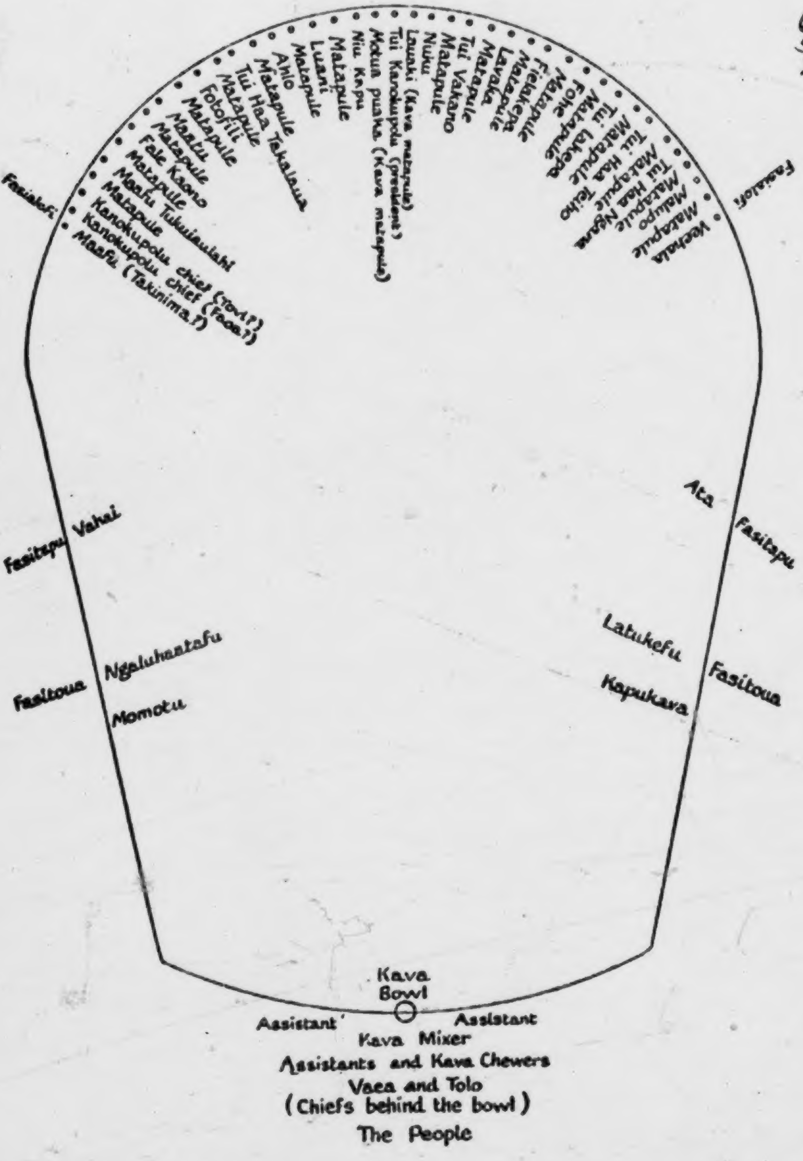
Fasialofi
Maafu (Takinima?)
Kanokupolu chief (Foaa?)
Kanokupolu chief (Tovi?)
Matapule
Maafu Tukuiaulahi
Matapule
Fale Kaono
Matapule
Maatu
Matapule
Fotofili
Matapule
Tui Haa Takalaua
Matapule
Ahio
Matapule
Luani
Matapule
Niu Kapu
Motua puaka (Kava matapule)
Tui Kanokupolu (president)
Lauaki (Kava matapule)
Nuku
Matapule
Tui Vakano
Matapule
Malaka
Lavaka
Matapule
Fielakepa
Matapule
Fohe
Matapule
Tui Iakepa
Matapule Teiho
Tui Haa
Matapule
Tui Haa Ngana
Matapule
Malupo
Matapule
Veehala
Fasialofi
Fasitapu
Vahai
Ata
Fasitapu
Fasitoua
Ngaluhaatafu
Momotu
Latukefu
Kapukava
Fasitoua
Kava Bowl
Assistant
Assistant
Kava Mixer
Assistants and Kava Chewers
Vaea and Tolo
(Chiefs behind the bowl)
The People
Ulukalala
Tungi (the Prince Consort)

FIGURE 1.—Kava circle of the Tui Kanokupolu.

Ko Hihifo kuo laka,	Hihifo has progressed, 643
Kae mahu ai Tonga.	Thereby Tonga has prospered. 276
Koe me'a pe 'e ua kuou,	I have known only two things, 533
Koe vale pe moe tu'a piko.	The fool and the humpback. 539
Ko ilo'i tu'unga koau	I am the known foundation 574
Tua liku 'o Valefanau.	From the back of weather shore of Valefanau.

The first and third songs praise the people of Hihifo and the prosperity of Tonga under the rule of the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs, whose original seat was Hihifo District of Tongatabu. The second song is said to mean that a fool experiences two things, his own foolishness and a back bent from hard work. 643 276 574 533

The families of the chiefs sat in the general assemblage (*toua*) behind the kava ring. At the end of the ceremony the grandchildren of the lords (*tui*) removed the materials used in making kava and the baskets containing the relish food (*fono*). These baskets were exceptionally large and made of specially chosen large coconut fronds. They are called *kato fakapangai* (Pangai-style baskets, that is, baskets befitting a great ruler). 643 276 574 [622]

Apparently to symbolize the allegiance of the great lineages and chiefs to the new Tui Kanokupolu was the use of the fiber kava strainers which were named for them. There were fiber strainers for the Haa Maafu, the Haa Ngata Motua (in charge of Matafahe), the Haa Havea, the Haa Ngata Tupu (in charge of Fakailoatonga), the Haa Ata (in charge of Tongatea of Haakame), the Haa Vaea (in charge of Luani of Vavau), and the Haa Maufanga (in charge of Latukefu of the Hihifo district). 643 276 574 613

While the kava was being prepared, Motuapuaka and Lauaki argued as to which was to distribute it. The origin of this traditional feature of the ceremony is said to have been a dispute between an earlier Motuapuaka and a Lauaki. Each advanced his claim to the privilege, till finally it was brought to the test of who (or whose son) slew most men in a battle. Lauaki won the precedence on this score, but later gave up the honor to Motuapuaka, who still holds it. 643 276 574

A feature of the ceremony was a series of stereotyped speeches (*malanga*) urging the people to give attention to food production in order to properly support the new ruler. Before beginning his address each speaker moved forward about two paces into the kava circle. He spoke very slowly. To speak otherwise would constitute an affront entailing the performance of the humbling ceremony (*hu*) before the ruler after the installation. 643 276 574 537

Tovi of Kanokupolu spoke first concerning the collecting of crustaceans and mollusks. Then Faoa of Kanokupolu spoke concerning reef fishing and bonito catching. Lastly Ata spoke concerning cultivation of the land.

TOVI'S SPEECH

Ka ke ka moeia ha mehingo pe pe ke ma'u ha paka pa ha tafolo pe ko ha pesiloa pe hingavele pea oua naa femuni'aki ka omi ke fau ha kato ke au ki Fonuamotu.

If you should catch a *mehingo* (a kind of oyster), crab, *tafolo* (a kind of crab), *pesiloa* (another kind of crab), or *hingavele* (a shell fish), do not keep it for yourself, but bring it in a basket and send it over to Fonuamotu (the home of Tui Haa Takalaua). 643 276 574 537 539

ATA'S SPEECH

Tapu moe Afio 'oe Hau. Koe tala 'o Pangai 'e fai atu. Ke to ae ngatae, moe kaho, to moe au, ke tauhi aki a Pangai ke tokanga ae tangata ke to ngoue'i ae kelekele ke mahu, koeuhi koe tauhi oe Hau.

Sacred to the Majesty of the Ruler. The speech of Pangai will be given. Plant the ngatae, and cane, plant also the sugar cane, for the repair of Pangai and take note that each man must cultivate the ground to produce plenty of food for the upkeep of the Ruler.

The goods (*koloa*) at the place where the new Tui Kanokupolu sat became the 643 property of Ata; the *vala* worn by the new ruler became the property of Motuapuaka and Lauaki.

Anciently, the new Tui Kanokupolu slept at Leoleo (near the *malae* in Kolovai) the night between the *fakanofo* and the *pongipongi tapu* (morning ceremony). There the Tui Kanokupolu was exhorted as to his duties by Veehala and Ata, one at a time. The next day he returned to the *malae* and held the *pongipongi tapu* (see page 106).

THE POWER OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

From the time of Ngata on the power of the Tui Kanokupolu seems to have waxed, culminating in the complete absorption of the offices of Tui Tonga and Tui Haa Takalaua by the Tui Kanokupolu George I Tupou. But not until the death of Laufilitonga, in 1865, did the reigning Tui Kanokupolu assume the prerogatives of the Tui Tonga and then only with the customary official observances that made him the legal Tui Tonga.

To what extent the Tui Kanokupolu served the interests of the Tui Tonga, their overlords, is difficult to estimate. Some names are perhaps significant—the sixth Tui Kanokupolu was Maafuotuitonga (Fire or Weapon of the King of Tonga), and the name of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata (Snake) was probably due to his success in ruling Hihifo.

It is said of Tukuaho that, though he ruled the chiefs with a high hand, he continued taking food and goods to the Tui Tonga, for he was afraid the Tui Tonga might deprive him of his position. According to an aged Tongan informant, daily offerings were carried from the Tui Kanokupolu to the Tui Tonga, and on the occasion of an important entertainment (*katoanga*) all of the Tui Kanokupolu or Kauhalalalo chiefs brought offerings for the Tui Tonga. So far as I know, there was no reciprocation by the Tui Tonga. The relation of the Tui Tonga to the Tui Kanokupolu was that [604] of *fahu*, the Tui Kanokupolu being usually his mother's brother or mother's brother's son.

The Tongan conception of the Tui Kanokupolu was a "working king," the one who supervised planting and other activities for the real king or Tui Tonga. The first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata, who was sent to Hihifo by the Tui Haa Takalaua to supervise agriculture and fishing, passed the produce to the Tui Haa Takalaua at Fonuamotu, then to the Tui Tonga.

With the seventh Tui Kanokupolu the name Tupou appears, showing a probable connection with Taliai Tupou, the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu. It is likely that this god increased in prestige as did his protegè.

The first attempt of the Tui Kanokupolu to absorb the higher office of Tui Haa Takalaua is said to have occurred while Mataeletuapiko was in office. Mataelehaamea, the son of Mataeletuapiko, sought to be appointed Tui Haa Takalaua, but was prevented by his father. He afterwards became the fourth Tui Kanokupolu. A little later the two offices were combined in the person of the Tui Kanokupolu Maealiuaki who entertained Cook. Maealiuaki's son Mulikihaamea also held the two offices, but apparently not simultaneously. 643

The relative powers of the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga at the end of the eighteenth century are well set forth by Wilson (65, p. 384): 175 643

> At Tongataboo an oligarchy seems to prevail, at the head of which is a monarch of the Futtafâihe [Fatafehi] race, to whom all pay homage; yet another person, under the title of Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], has the chief power and authority, commanding the army by sea and land: whether this office be hereditary or elective is not ascertained. Toogahôwe [Tukuaho], though not the eldest son, on the death of Tibo Moomôoe [Mumui], assumed the government; his acknowledged warlike character probably removed every competitor. Besides these, other chiefs seem possessed of great power. . . . Tongataboo resembles most the government of Japan, where the sacred majesty is a sort of state prisoner to the captain-general; but at the Friendly Islands Futtafâihe [Fatafehi] has great authority, though Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu] seems as superior in command as he acknowledges himself inferior in dignity.

In another account Wilson says (66, pp. liii, lv):

> Poulaho being dead, his son Futtafâihe succeeded him in the sovereignty; but he being a voluptuous man, the government is chiefly conducted by Fenou Toogahôue [Tukuaho], the present commander in chief, who is said to be nephew of the former. His superiority as a warrior and a man of business, gives a preponderance to his authority. The influence of the royal family seems also to have been diminished by a civil war, which Tôogahoue has waged with success. . . .
>
> The direction in which it [the Tongan archipelago] chiefly extends being north and south, renders the communication each way practicable during the trade wind; and most, if not all the islands, are regularly visited by the sovereign [Tui Tonga] or the commander in chief [Tui Kanokupolu]. [484]

With Mulikihaamea's death, 1799, the office of Tui Haa Takalaua became permanently vacant. The Tui Kanokupolu assumed the duties and evidently saw to it that no successor was appointed. It seems obvious, however, that the Tui Haa Takalaua had declined in power even more rapidly than the Tui Tonga and so fell an easy prey to the grasping Tui Kanokupolu. The similarity of functions of the two offices made the absorption the easier. Both largely handled the temporal and military affairs of the kingdom. The elimination of the Tui Haa Takalaua was a big step toward the ultimate goal of the Tui Kanokupolu, the kingship. 643

No small amount of the prestige of the Tui Kanokupolu's office was due to wise matrimonial alliances. The elder daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu was usually espoused by the Tui Tonga as his chief wife and mother of the next Tui Tonga. 643 581

A notable marriage was that of Atamataila (the second Tui Kanokupolu) to the Tamaha Tuimala, the most exalted personage in the kingdom. Some generations later Tupoulahisii (the tenth Tui Kanokupolu) married the Tamaha Latufuipeka.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Of marriages of Tui Kanokupolu to daughters of the Tui Tonga, but 643 one is recorded, that of Mataeletuapiko to Fatafehi. Marriages to daughters 581 of the Tui Haa Takalaua were more popular. The first recorded is that of Mataelehaamea to Kaloafutonga, daughter of the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua (Vaea). The fifth Tui Kanokupolu (Vuna) married Lehauku, daughter of the twelfth Tui Haa Takalaua (Tui Onukulava); the thirteenth Tui Kanokupolu (Mumui) married Vailolomoli, daughter of the tenth Tui Haa Takalaua (Tatafu), and Mulikihaamea (the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu and last Tui Haa Takalaua) married Tupouahau and Mapatoutai, daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha.

Although office in Tonga passes from father to son, rank is determined 643 even more by the mother than by the father. Therefore a list of the mothers (611) of the Tui Kanokupolu is of interest. (554)

1. Ngata. Mother, Tohuia, daughter of the chief Ama of Safata, Upolu Island, Samoa. 643 173
2. Atamataila. Mother, Kaufoou, daughter of Ahomee. 175
3. Mataeletuapiko. Mother, Tokilupe, daughter of Tui Haa Tuunga, of Nukunuku, Tongatabu Island. 644
4. Mataelehaamea. Mother, Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea.
5. Vuna. Mother, Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea.
6. Maafuotuitonga. Mother, Kaloafutonga, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea.
7. Tupoulahi. Mother, Latutama, daughter of Fakatakatau, the Tui Haa Teiho.
8. Maealiuaki. Mother, Latutama, daughter of Fakatakatau, the Tui Haa Teiho.
9. Tuihalafatai. Mother, Fuonuku, daughter of Tokemoana, the son's son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II.
10. Tupoulahisii. Mother, Uheina, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha.
11. Mulikihaamea. Mother, Lupematakui, daughter of Tungimanaia, the Tui Haa Teiho.
12. Mumui. Mother, Popua.
13. Tupoumoheofo. Mother, Fuonuku, daughter of Tokemoana, the son's son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II.
14. Tukuaho. Mother, Lepolo, daughter of Atafakahau, the second Ata.
15. Maafulimuloa. Mother, Kaufusi.
16. Tupoumalohi. Mother, Pee.
17. Tupoutoa. Mother, Uluakilupetea.
18. Aleamotua. Josiah, or Tupou in Faletuipapai. Mother, Kaufusi, daughter of Fielakepa.
19. George I (Taufaahau I). Mother, Hoamofaleono, daughter of Maafu Tukuiaulahi.
20. George II (Taufaahau II). Mother, Fusipala, son's daughter of Tui Kanokupolu George I.
21. Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo. Mother, Lavinia Veiongo, daughter of Kupu.

THE RESIDENCE OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

Although the first Tui Kanokupolu probably took up his residence in 643 Hihifo as lord of the people of western Tongatabu, that district was not the perpetual residence of this enterprising line of chiefs. In Cook's time the Tui Kanokupolu was residing at Mua, the seat of the Tui Tonga and the

Tui Haa Takalaua, and entertaining Cook with a hospitality which rivaled 643
that of the Tui Tonga. Tatakamotonga, the southern half of Mua, became one seat of the Tui Kanokupolu.

The place of residence is called Pangai (meeting-place, gathering-place) and I suspect that the extensive use of the name throughout the kingdom (25, p. 190) is indicative of former permanent or temporary residences of the Tui Kanokupolu or his agents. One informant said that wherever the Tui Kanokupolu is, is Pangai. So far as I know the term was not used in connection with the Tui Tonga.

Tukuaho was assassinated in 1799 while residing at Mua, indicating that at least part-time residence of the Tui Kanokupolu at Mua had become an established practice. Tupoutoa, the son of Tukuaho, also resided at Mua during an interim (1812 to 1820), when there was no Tui Tonga.

Perhaps the purpose of the Tui Kanokupolu in residing at Mua was to make him more easily available for service to the Tui Tonga, or it may be that residence was purely temporary and connected with the annual *inasi* ceremony. The places in Mua associated with the Tui Kanokupolu are described by McKern (42).

THE FALEFA OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

An account of the Falefa of the Tui Kanokupolu sent me by John Havea 643
lists four, apparently contemporaneous, Falefa. Owing to the relatively late 644
origin of the Tui Kanokupolu, there is reason to believe that the Falefa are an imitation of those of the Tui Tonga. When this duplication was inaugurated is not known.

The matapule of these four groups keep the place called Pangai, which is used for ceremonial. At present, the matapule live at or near the Queen's palace in Nukualofa. Each matapule has a duty to perform for the Tui Kanokupolu when he presides at the kava ceremony, one having to sit at his right side, another at his left. At the coronation it is the duty of some of these matapule to instruct the people as to their duties toward the king and the country.

Havea lists the Tui Kanokupolu's four Falefa as follows:

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644
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First Falefa: Tangi-a Tulanga (Tangi, cry; a, of; Tulanga, chief), a Fijian term. In this group were Veehala, Ata, and others. Maafutukuiaulahi, Lavaka, Vaea, Tui Vakano who are *nobeli*, a modern title created by George I.

Second Falefa: Falefa Hihifo. Their names were Napaa, Faoa, Monu.

Third Falefa: Falefa Uta (Uta, land, up, bush). Their names were Lasike, Tovi, Lei, Laakulu.

Fourth Falefa: Falefa Haakili (Haakili, a place name). Their names were Kamoto, Uhi, Motuapuaka, Kioa, Kofe, Afeaki, Fotu, Afu, Sika, Kaufanga, Masila, Haufano, Elili, Malala, Ngalungalu. (Traditionally these are titles instituted by Loau,

and constitute the Haa Motuapuaka. See pages 38, 39.) The other name of Motuapuaka 643
was Molofaha. He is the chief of the present matapule. When the sovereign 644
has a kava ring with the chiefs, this matapule sits at the right side of the sovereign. [551]
If he cannot be present, he sends one of his brother matapules to represent him. It is said that these matapules came from Samoa with the mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu, who was a Samoan woman, the daughter of a chief named Ama.

NGATA AND THE HAA LATU HIFO

The following tale related by Daniel Faupula of Haakio, Vavau, tells 643
of Ngata the first Kanokupolu and two of his "brothers," the three being 173
called the Ulutolu (Three-heads).

The Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga had three sons, Vaoloa, Halakitaua, and Ngata. Vaoloa's mother was from Nuku's family. Halakitaua's mother from Niukapu's family. Ngata's mother was a woman called Tohuia, a daughter of a Samoan chief named Ama.

When these boys grew up, the Tui Haa Takalaua sent them to the chief Ata [a 643
probable anachronism] in Hihifo to make kava for him. They treated Vaoloa as 173
the highest chief of the first kava ceremony. For the next one, they made Halakitaua 276
the highest chief and the kava consequently belonged to him. At the third kava ceremony, 574
they made the youngest brother, Ngata, the highest chief. The boy was so young he did not know how to command his kava to be returned to his elder brothers in the same way they had given it to him, so he simply remained silent and of course the kava has been his ever since.

At the end of the kava ceremony the three boys went back to Fonuamotu where the Tui Haa Takalaua stayed. The Tui Haa Takalaua and his matapule saw the three boys at the distance, and the Tui Haa Takalaua said to the matapule, "Gentlemen, you may see those *ulu tolu* who are coming." *Ulu tolu* means three heads, and this was the origin of the phrase Ulu Tolu as applied to the Tui Kanokupolu and the chiefs Nuku and Niukapu. The three boys told the Tui Haa Takalaua how the kava ceremony had gone. The Tui Haa Takalaua was amused, and said, "It is all right. Let him have your kava, for his mother was a stranger [Samoan] to this place."

The boys grew to be men. Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga sent Vaoloa to 643
live with his mother's people over whom his son became the chief Nuku; and Halakitaua 173
was sent to his mother's people in Haapai, over whom his son became the chief Niukapu in Haapai. He sent Ngata to Hihifo and made him chief of that district, because he was the son of a stranger (Samoan). Ngata became the first Tui Kanokupolu.

The Ulu Tolu left Fonuamotu. When they got as far as Takoto they were all saying to each other, "Tau mavae a he," which means, "Let us part here." This was
10 the origin of the chiefly name Kaumavae.

The name Haa Latuhifo, which means lineage of descending chiefs, was applied [613]
to Vaoloa and Halakitaua because they became lower in rank than Ngata who was made Tui Kanokupolu. This was the origin of the Haa Latuhifo.

When a kava ceremony is held, if Nuku and Niukapu are present, but no higher [276]
chief, both preside and one, instead of the usual two, matapule is sufficient. He sits [574]
between them.

FIRST FRUITS AND TRIBUTE

All of the land and its products were regarded as the property of the Tui 643
Tonga. In similar fashion, the land within the domain of the Tui Kanoku- 651
polu was regarded as his property, but subject, of course, to the demands 421
423

of the Tui Tonga. Evidently the same relation held between lesser chiefs 643
and the Tui Kanokupolu. The first fruits or the first of any catch of fish 651
or other food had to be presented (*polopolo*) to the chief and to the Tui [421]
Tonga before it could be partaken of even by the producer. (My informant, [423]
Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, had seen the [622]
offerings of first fruits to Laufilitonga, both before and after he had become [124]
a Christian.) If the Female Tui Tonga lived near the male Tui Tonga, a [644]
presentation would be made to her at the same time; but if she lived at a
distance, her share would be forwarded to her by the male Tui Tonga.
Presentations of food produce were also made to the Tamaha. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, was not certain whether they were made direct to the
Tamaha or through the medium of the Tui Tonga. Those commoners who 643
resided close to the Tui Tonga's residence presented the first of their yams, 622
and also yams on other occasions, directly to the Tui Tonga. But the farmers 651
who were remote from the Tui Tonga presented yams to their own chiefs. [565]
Thus, people living in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu presented yams to
their local chiefs. These chiefs presented a portion of the gift to the Tui
Kanokupolu, who presented a portion to the Tui Haa Takalaua, who in turn
presented a portion to the Tui Tonga. Yams and other products when first
coming into season were carried from as far away as Vavau and presented
to the Tui Tonga (26, p. 180). On board the vessel carrying such a cargo [534]
was a man who continually blew a conch shell trumpet as the vessel passed [202]
inhabited islands. Apparently some individuals were actually appointed to 643
petty offices which involved the supplying of food articles to the Tui Tonga. 463
Thus the man who brought the first yams from Haano Island bore the title 651
Peu. At Manonofeke on Lifuka Island resided an official whose special
business was to catch octopuses for the Tui Tonga and to transport them to
Tongatabu. On Nomuka Island resides a matapule bearing the title of Tei,
who is reported to have become the official *ava* (salmon) catcher about whom
the following account was given:

> Originally the fish were in the custody of a couple named Nomu and Iki, who
> carried them to the Tui Tonga wrapped in lauhala leaves. A man named Tei took to the
> Tui Tonga some of the fish wrapped in sugar cane leaves. The Tui Tonga liked these
> fish and the smell of the sugar cane much better. He therefore gave the custody of
> the *ava* at the Nomuka lagoon to Tei. From that time until the present a Tei has
> been appointed following the death of each incumbent. Though the present Tei no [178]
> longer carries the fish to the Tui Tonga nor to the Tui Kanokupolu, the title goes on.

Behind the giving of first fruits to the chiefs and the king seems to lie 643
a religious sanction. It was believed that by thus presenting first fruits, 622
first fishes, and large pigs to the chiefs, success in various undertakings was 651
insured. One informant said that these were virtually offerings to the gods, 782
but were made to them through the Tui Tonga who "was treated like a god."

The term *polopolo* was equated to the term *inasi* (literally, share or portion). 643
The *polopolo* ceremony was actually a sharing of the first fruits. 622

From the great chief Ata I obtained some information as to the presentation 651
of first fruits to the Tui Kanokupolu, and the supervision of horticulture [782]
and fishing by the chiefs of the lineage Haa Ngata Motua, practices which
Ata told me would apply also to the other lineages of to-day as well.

All vegetable and animal products within the territory directly controlled 643
by the Tui Kanokupolu were tapu for that high chief. Two petty chiefs 622
were appointed to make continual rounds of the territory to see that the 651
common people were not utilizing those products without permission. These
inspectors called Tui Pangai and Tui Sinoieiki were petty chiefs (*eikisii*) 262
rather than matapules. They were appointed by Ata, and operated in the territory
of the Haa Ngata Motua only, one of them in Pangai, the western
part of Hihifo, the other in Sinoieiki, the eastern part.

If, in making his round an inspector discovered a fine bunch of cooking
bananas, or breadfruit, or yams, or sweet potatoes which were regarded [784]
as suitable for the Tui Kanokupolu, he put a tapu upon it by sticking a sharp stick into the banana tree trunk, hanging coconut leaves on the breadfruit tree branches, by putting a stick into the ground near the yam or sweet potato plants. Of coconuts, only a special small kind called *kafakala* was reserved for chiefs. Such inspectors also reported to Ata, and through him to the Tui Kanokupolu, the amount of crops planted by the farmers, and as to whether or not they were sufficient.

Pigs, like coconuts, needed no tapu mark put upon them. All pigs above [231]
a certain size were tapu to the commoners, even to their owners, and were [565]
reserved for their chiefs and for the Tui Kanokupolu. [789]

A commoner who broke the food tapus would be thrashed or possibly [687]
killed. The infraction was reported to Ata, who determined the punishment [565]
and ordered someone to administer it. There seems to have been no fear [784]
of supernatural punishment.

Similar customs controlled the utilization of fishes. Large fishes caught [226]
by any of the people under the rule of Ata, must be brought to him. Especially
fine fishes were sent by Ata to the Tui Kanokupolu. A fisherman [687]
caught eating a large fish might have his tongue pulled out, or be thrashed,
or even killed.

The person whose duty it is to bring fishes to the Tui Kanokupolu bears [463]
the title of Ngalu Haatafu. He is appointed by Ata, being selected, as a rule, from the same family as the preceding incumbent. Benjamin One, called Ngalu since his appointment about 1912, succeeded his cousin. In addition to Ngalu, who delivers the fishes to the Tui Kanokupolu, are two petty chiefs: Faoa, a chief of the lowest order, who supervises the bonito fishing, and Latukefu who supervises the fishing for *vete*.

The fishing place for bonito is the Hakau Tapu (Prohibited Reef), lying 643
off Hihifo, Tongatabu. As the name implies, commoners could fish there 651
only under instructions from Ata. The first Faoa for this district is said 622
to have been sent to live at Kanokupolu by a Tui Haa Takalaua, now, how- 226
ever, he is appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. At the coronation of the Tui
Kanokupolu the Faoa makes a speech concerning the capture of fish. The
Faoa settled the time of the bonito fishing following the observation of
flocks of birds over the Hakau Tapu, but had no power to order the
people to fish. When the time was ripe he notified Ata, who sent messages [466]
to all the men of the Hihifo district who were able to paddle, ordering them
to participate in the fishing on a set day. Fish caught on such a communal
expedition were brought to Ata, who forwarded the best of them to the Tui
Kanokupolu, took what he wished himself, and then allowed the rest to be
divided among the fishermen and paddlers. Faoa himself and some of Ata's
inferior relatives, such as sons and brothers, carried the fine fish to the Tui
Kanokupolu. The method of fishing is described by McKern (43).

Faoa and his relatives and the relatives of Ata cut the bonito in a special [687]
way, a person cutting it otherwise was punished with a thrashing. Ata [784]
said that no supernatural punishment, such as the premature departure of
the bonito, would follow wrong cutting. It seems likely, however, that an-
ciently there must have been some sort of supernatural sanction. The method
as described to me follows:

> The fish is placed on its side with the tail towards the operator. The knife [412]
> (anciently, at least, of bamboo) is drawn from a point just posterior to the lateral fin nearly to the tail, then curvingly around to the belly. Without being lifted, the knife is then drawn back in the groove just cut to the starting point, then drawn tailwards again, then curvingly to the back, then to the starting point; then down from the starting point and up the belly. Again it is drawn back to the starting point, tailwards, curvingly to and up the back, then to the starting point. It is then drawn down again and up the back, then around on to the other side of the back to a position below the lateral fin on that side. At the same time this movement of the knife is executed the fish is turned and the operation repeated on the other side. At no time during the operation is the knife lifted. After the cutting the fish is lifted up by the tail and if the work has been properly done the flesh falls off and is easily disconnected from the backbone.

Fishing for the *vete* (about a foot long and with a longitudinal yellow stripe) and other fishes, in the charge of the petty chief called Latukefu, is done on the weather shore of Tongatabu near Kolovai. When the fishes come through the passage in the reef into the shallow water, Latukefu, who has had one of his people on watch, reports it to Ata. The *vete* is caught with a hand net (*kupenga sili*), which Latukefu's male relatives in particular are taught to use. The first catch, called *kato kia* (basket to) Ata, is sent at once to Ata, who sets aside the fish for the Tui Kanokupolu and instructs

the man (or men) who brings the fish to take the portion to the Tui Kano- 643
kupolu. The Tui Kanokupolu then gives the bearer dry kava root and tapa. 651
In presenting the fish, either *atu*, or *vete*, the bearer says, "Ata sends these 622
fish." 226

At the *vete* fishing, Ata is sometimes present, sitting in the shade of a
tree until all is ready. When Latukefu notifies him to come, the fishermen
make a place for him in the middle of the line; Latukefu announcing that
the moment for casting has come, Ata throws his net. At once all in line
do likewise, making a fence of their nets, which are so skillfully thrown
that one net just touches the next. To close the exit, the end man throws
his net at right angles to the others. For a net thrower to overlap another's [686]
net or to leave an opening for fish to escape would entail a thrashing by
Ata, or some one detailed by him, and the tearing to pieces of his net. The [422]
nets are the property of the fishermen and are said to have been so anciently.
Not only when Ata is present at fishing, but also on later occasions, the [462]
women remain behind in Kolovai, and assemble the necessary things for [276]
preparing kava and take them where the men are fishing. Subsequent
to the first catch of the season, it is the custom to present the first haul of
vete to the women who have brought the kava. Ata receives his share of
later catches, of which he may, or may not, send some to the Tui Kanokupolu.

The gathering of crustacea and shellfish, which is done chiefly by women, [462]
was under the supervision of a petty chief with the title Tovi. Tovi, at the
coronation of the Tui Kanokupolu, makes a speech relative to the gathering
of shellfish and crabs. It is Tovi's special duty to have crabs and shellfish
gathered for Ata, who forwards them to the Tui Kanokupolu.

Evidently lineages other than the Haa Ngata Motua had chiefs who, 613
like Ata, functioned as controllers of the food supply. It is said that Vaea 651
occupies a similar position in the Haa Havea, and that formerly Tamale 622
held the same position in the Tui Tonga's lineage. In their capacity of controllers
of the food supply these three chiefs are called by other chiefs
tuakaifonua, an ancient uncomplimentary term which means literally, "commoner
eating the land," and which is said to be applied by chiefs who are
jealous of this extensive control of food products. A more elegant Tongan
designation for these controllers of the food supply is *pule fonua*, (ruler of
the land). Anciently the produce submitted by Ata and Vaea to the Tui [643]
Kanokupolu was in part transmitted to the Tui Haa Takalaua and to the
Tui Tonga. That assembled through the efforts of Tamale went directly [643]
to the Tui Tonga.

On certain occasions all of the chiefs of the Haa Ngata Motua and the 622
Haa Havea brought presents of food and kava to the Tui Kanokupolu, a 643
ceremony called *pongipongi* (literally, morning), though presentation took 651
place in the afternoon. When the Haa Havea or the Haa Ngata Motua de-

cide to make the *pongipongi,* the chief Momotu is sent at once to notify the 622
other lineage. If decision is made by the Haa Ngata Motua, it is not necessary 643
for the Haa Havea to bring gifts, though they will be present in court 651
when the Haa Ngata Motua appear before the Tui Kanokupolu. The death
of any of the king's relatives is an occasion for the *pongipongi,* though not
the only one. It may take place several times a year. For the Haa Ngata
Motua, Ata sets the time. To make the presentation to the Tui Kanokupolu 622
before three o'clock in the afternoon is an offense for which Ata will be 643
blamed. The Tui Kanokupolu is apt to make some caustic remarks, and all 651
of the Haa Ngata Motua must seek pardon (*hu*) from the Tui Kanokupolu, 689
when each chief puts on a huge *taovala* mat reaching up his back and over (292)
his head as a sign of humility. He also dons a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (301)
leaves and sits like a matapule before the Tui Kanokupolu. The posture (516)
thus assumed is cross-legged, with the hands clasped and the two index fingers
resting together and pointing forward. The head must be bowed so that (516)
the supplicant does not look at the ruler. Motuapuaka, the Tui Kanokupolu's
matapule, then makes intercession for the offenders. The matapules of the
offending Haa Ngata Motua sit behind the offending chiefs and cannot make
intercession for their masters.

When the *pongipongi* is made at the proper time, Motuapuaka requests 622
the presenting chiefs to show their gifts. The covers of the baskets of food 643
are lifted by the commoners who have carried them in for the chiefs. In 651
addition to the Haa Ngata Motua or Haa Havea chiefs who are making the
presentation, all of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court are supposed
to be present.

Similar presentations of food, also called *pongipongi,* are said to have been made anciently to the Tui Tonga.

A ceremony in which the proper representatives of chiefly families present
kie mats to a great chief or to the king is called *tookie.* It is held on [764]
occasions such as deaths, marriages, or great feasts. The term *tookie* might [585]
refer also to the division of such *kie* gifts among the members of the family [574]
of the one to whom they were presented. The general making of presents [431]
to a chief is called *tukufatongia.*

Although I was not present at any presentation of food to the Tui Kanokupolu, 431
I saw in 1920 processions of people bringing food to the house of 793
Mr. Watkin, President of the Free Church, who was temporarily staying at the house of the Free Church minister in the village of Pangai, Lifuka Island. On October 4, thirty to forty people, mostly women, bearing vegetables and fruits assembled at the house of the mayor of Pangai. When all were assembled, they formed a procession, the women wearing great *taovala* mats as signs of respect and humility, and several pairs of men at the end of the line bearing bunches of coconuts and bananas slung from poles on

their shoulders. The procession moved slowly forward to the house where 431
Mr. Watkin was sojourning. On entering the premises the people shouted 793
and drums were beaten. On October 5, other processions brought gifts of
food. These were accompanied by a playing band and intermittent church
meetings were held. On the day of his arrival, Mr. Watkin was paid a 793
signal honor such as was anciently paid to the Tui Tonga or the Tamaha. 576
When he neared the landing place ten black-frocked ministers of the Free
Church waded into the water, picked up the row boat, and carried it bodily
ashore with him in it.

SOCIAL CLASSES

Although there is much gradation in rank, the Tongans recognize three 565
general classes of people—chiefs (*houeiki*), chiefs' attendants (matapule), and commoners (*tua*). Commoners are sometimes called also *kainanga oe fonua* (eaters of the land; *kainanga*, one who eats the leavings of others), *lauvale* (an opprobrious term), or *matatangata* (good-looking—a more or less complimentary term). To symbolize weakness and strength, the term *polata* (banana stalk) is applied to commoners, and *fau* (*Hibiscus*), to chiefs. An example of what would seem an opprobrious epithet for a group of people is Puaka Haa Ngana (Pigs of the Lineage of Ngana), applied to the people of Haano and Uiha islands, Haapai, who are under the chiefs Tui Haa Ngana and Malupo.

The attitude of the lower classes towards their chiefs is one of respect 622
and obedience. Undoubtedly the chiefs and the matapule are far better in- 565
formed than are the commoners. A man and wife on Nomuka Island who gave me a considerable amount of information advanced their opinions with some diffidence and apologetically said, "We do not know everything, because we are only matapule people. You should go to the chiefs."

In relation to the Queen and to the Queen's viceroys (the governors of 643
the Haapai and Vavau groups) all subjects are relatively speaking com- 565
moners. I had this forcibly visualized for me at several assemblages (*fono*) 634
when the Governor of Haapai was present. Because he took the place of the Queen, high chief and commoner alike appeared before him wearing ragged mats as emblems of respect and humility.

In a generic sense, the term *tua* is applicable to any person, even a chief 565
or matapule, who is not "clever in Tongan ways," who does not act accord- 196
ing to the prescribed Tongan etiquette, or who is rude or boorish. This [576]
term also may be used by the head of a family in reference to its members, [593]
but may not be used about people of low rank in another family. It is employed also when one is angry, as, for example, *oua angafakatua* (do not act like a commoner).

Diligent inquiry revealed no trace of the belief mentioned by Mariner 565
that the souls of *tua* perished at death, Christianity having endowed the com- 775
moner of to-day with a soul as imperishable as a chief's. 795

None of the many Tongans interviewed used the word *mua* (or the 565
plural form *kaumua*) as Mariner does, to designate a class intermediate be- 196
tween matapule and *tua*. They concur in applying *mua* to a person whose two parents are of the rank of chief and matapule. Such offspring are designated also as of *eiki* rank, if the chiefly parent is of high rank; or as matapule, if the chiefly parent is low in the scale of chiefs. One informant defined *mua* as "persons who are placed above others of their rank because of certain superior blood in their veins." Sometimes the term *eiki* is added to *mua*. Thus the late chief Tuita was spoken of as *mua eiki*, because his father as a navigator (*toutai*) was matapule and his mother, the daughter of the Tamaha Amelia, was of chiefly rank.

The term *mua* is used also to designate the person in the king's kava 565
ring who is *eiki*, matapule, and *toutai* all in one. He may hold the first place 574
next to the king's matapule; no other chief can displace him, although a 276
chief of proper rank may seat himself next and crowd back all others on that 643
side of the ring. The person next the *mua* who is thus displaced is called 196
the *muaheke* (*heke*, to move on the posteriors while seated).

The word *mua* means also "one who leads or goes ahead" and in this 565
sense is applied to a matapule who goes to a place in advance of his chief, as 196
when taking kava to a house for presentation. Thus, Lotoaniu, the matapule of the Tui Haa Teiho, would also be the *mua* of the Tui Haa Teiho. The word *tuumua* denotes the principal person with a chief; *hulumua* means to go with chiefs, to become a *mua*.

As the position which one occupies temporarily in an assemblage depends 565
upon the presence or absence of superiors, Tuita may serve on one occasion 554
as matapule to the king and on another may act as a chief and have a matapule administer to him. In other words, the person of greatest importance in an assemblage, even though of relatively low rank, becomes the president, so to speak, of the assemblage, especially if there is kava drinking. But some chiefs in Tonga are of such transcendant rank that they could on no occasion serve as matapule even to superior chiefs. Thus Tupoutoa could not serve as matapule to Tungi, his superior in rank. The fact that a chief serves temporarily as a matapule does not mean that he permanently assumes that rank, for real matapules, like real chiefs, have fixed hereditary titles.

I made several attempts to get lists of people grouped according to rank. 565
For people of higher rank, there was, of course, no difficulty; among the people of chiefly blood, but without titles, the relative rank of individuals was difficult to establish.

Chief Ata listed for me the people of chiefly rank (not necessarily having 565
titles) residing on his hereditary lands. He listed these Haa Ngata Motua
people in six groups of descending rank as follows:

Group A 565 551
1. Shadrach Ahio

Group B
2. Solomon Ata (the informant)
3. Solomon Ahomee

Group C
4. John Latukefu

Group D
5. Israel Utoimoa (son of 1)
6. Malakai Sikotaipangai (son of 1)
7. Malakai Ahio (son of 1)
8. Dominica Tupou, a woman
9. Shadrach Taulango
10. William Teukava (father's brother of 2)
11. John Lamipeti
12. Israel Langi
13. David Finau
14. James Seluimatai
15. Poasi Pupua

Group E
16. Josiah Pulumu

Group F
17. Daniel Palu. Placed in lowest group because father and grandfather married commoners.

Ata listed three other individuals of the chiefly class who reside on his lands but who are not Haa Ngata Motua people. They are John Momotu (from the Haa Havea), Pauline Manutuufanga (Ata's mother from Nukualofa, of Tongatabu-Niuatoputapu parentage), and Tupou Vavatau Ata, fourth or fifth wife of the preceding Ata (from the Tui Tonga's family).

Similar, but shorter, lists were obtained in other localities. At Felemea, Uiha Island, title bearers in descending order of rank are listed as: Chiefs Hoakai and Fakatouio; matapules Leleimoepo, Tukuafu, and Kepa. At Uiha village, Uiha Island, the similar graded list of title bearers runs as follows: Chiefs Malupo, Halatokoua, Fehiosi, and Tahilau; matapules Tafuna, Tea, Vaipuna, Vao, Tahimatakimoana, and Angakehe.

In ancient times the commoners (*tua*) lived on their respective tracts 565
(*api*) and were thus scattered over the hereditary lands (*tofia*) of the 361
various chiefs. Usually each *api* was inhabited by a man and his family. In 686
olden days a commoner could not change from chief to chief, and a *tua* or [592]
matapule who deserted might be killed; but nowadays changes are possible [178]
though seldom made. A modern instance of desertion came to my notice.
While a certain chief was in New Zealand, a matapule who lived on Atata
left that island and attached himself to a chief at Mua, Tongatabu, thence

going to Haapai. Later, returning to his old master, he was driven away. 565
Anciently he might have been executed. 361

The matapule usually dwelt close to the chiefs to whom they were attached, 686
as did also certain *tua* who performed menial tasks, such as cooking. 565 361
Many establishments of chiefs constituted fair-sized settlements. 621

The rank of male tenants (heads of families) of *api* in several localities, 565
as recorded in 1920, is shown in Table 8. It will be noted that chiefs are 361
relatively most numerous in Lifuka and Tongatabu, the seats of government. 554
Though a different classification might be made by other informants, 592
the figures probably give a fair idea of the relative numbers of the three 162
classes among tenants, and of the local variation which prevails.

TABLE 8. RANK OF TENANTS AT VARIOUS LOCALITIES

	CHIEFS	MATAPULES	COMMONERS
Pangai, Lifuka	14	49	133
Hihifo, Lifuka	16	40	104
Holopeka, Lifuka	1	9	8
Koulo, Lifuka	2	18	30
Lifuka as a whole	33	116	275
Fangaleounga, Foa	0	1	3
Fotua, Foa	1	2	22
Lotofoa, Foa	6	23	54
Faleloa, Foa	1	27	31
Foa as a whole	8	53	110
Fotuhaa Island	2	1	43
Uiha, Uiha (*tofia* of Malupo)	3	23	109
Kolovai, Tongatabu (*tofia* of Ata)	18	10	74
Atata Island (*tofia* of Ata)	1	1	8

In the former Tongan population there was evidently a still lower ele- 567
ment than the commoners, the *popula* (slave, prisoner). Anciently these [727]
people seem to have been largely war prisoners; one informant said they
were conquered chiefs and matapule who were enslaved. Through the ef- [797]
forts of the missionaries, this class distinction has been completely elimin- [178]
ated, but certainly some commoners to-day are the descendants of chiefs [565]
whose political stars fell. A term apparently synonymous in part with *popula*
is *hopoate*. It is sometimes used to-day with the meaning of stranger; for
example, shipwrecked people from Futuna are *hopoate*, but are treated as
guests, not as slaves.

I doubt if matapule can appropriately be called a rank at all. It is 565
an office to which men are appointed from among the higher non-chiefly [554]
families and the rank of a matapule would vary according to the rank of
the chief by whom he was appointed and whom he served. Likewise, chief-
tainship is an office. A chief's relatives are not chiefs in the strict sense of
the word, but naturally have a higher social standing than the relatives of

matapules, or commoners. However, the terms *eiki* (chief) and *tua* (commoner) 565
are used also in a relative sense. Thus, throughout the Tongan social structure at its various levels, we find people performing analogous functions, receiving similar treatment and having like terms applied to them. To cite polar examples: Tungi, the Prince Consort, is *eiki* to a large district, and of the two girls Ika and Fakatoumafi (see page 18), Ika is *eiki* to Fakatoumafi. The district owes deference to Tungi, and Fakatoumafi owes deference to Ika.

Because of primogeniture, it is obvious that the descendants of younger 558
siblings sink in rank. The commoner is the man in a line of descent that [428]
gets further and further from the head of the lineage with each succeeding [613]
generation. Regression is a simpler process than progression and for every person who rises in rank there are many who correspondingly sink. In a 554
large measure, a person is the victim of the circumstances of his birth; his 565
position in society is predetermined by his parentage, by his sex and by the order of his birth within the family. In modern Tonga with its constitutional [178]
government and its dual house of parliament there are, of course, possibilities open to the commoner which were closed to him in former times. But even in ancient times there is evidence that certain individuals managed to move up the social ladder slightly above the rung on which the circumstances of birth appear to have placed them.

For example, Latukefu, a member of the Haa Ngata Motua, is reckoned as a chief, although by blood he is a commoner. He is Tui Pangai (page 104) and his business is to examine the plantations of the people and to tapu food which will be desired by the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs or the Tui Kanokupolu. Latukefu is not a member of the Haa Ngata Motua by virtue of [597]
descent from the first Tui Kanokupolu, but by the adoption of one of his forefathers [613]
into the lineage. To-day he is recognized as a "brother of all of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs." It is said that the original adoption was made because the Latukefu of that day was quite well off and was a very industrious agriculturist. This may not be true as anciently a chief might arbitrarily seize a commoner's goods; there was no necessity of making a chief out of a commoner merely to utilize his plantation produce, but at any rate, Latukefu to-day ranks the great matapule Motuapuaka. In the absence of Ahio and Ata, he is the president of the kava ring of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs.

Theoretically, the highest matapules are ranked by the lowest chiefs and 565
anciently the position was recognized. But to-day the two great matapules [423]
Motuapuka and Lauaki, possess hereditary lands of considerable extent which places them in a position superior to many chiefs who are without hereditary lands.

Another factor which brings about a lessening of rank is marriage to 565
women of low rank. One informant said that anciently a young chief might 581
558
[684]

be killed because of marriage with *tua* women. However, I doubt if this 565
happened often, for the amours of young chiefs seem to have been regarded 581
as proper. Be that as it may, the statement was made that there are but few 558
chiefs to-day who have no *tua* blood in their veins. Anciently a young chief, [684]
if he could find no bride in the chiefly class, was supposed to marry the
daughter of a matapule. The offspring of such a marriage naturally would
not have so high a rank as the offspring by a chiefly wife. In polygynous 565
marriages the children rank according as their mothers are ranked. Of the 581
several sons of a chief, one only, and he usually the eldest by a woman of 558
428
chiefly rank, inherited the father's title and position, the others retaining [595]
only their names and receiving no title. In the official kava ring (*alofi*) only
the title bearer could sit, his brothers having to sit outside of the ring behind
the kava makers in what is called the *toua*. Younger brothers and their [593]
descendants became virtually the servants of their older brothers and sisters.

The manner in which blood becomes adulterated by marriage is illustrated 565
in one of the great chiefly families of to-day: the preceding holder of the 581
title had a number of sons, all of whom married women of *tua* rank, except 558
the father of the present title holder, who married a chiefly woman. In
ancient times the offspring of *tua* women by chiefs were somewhat like serfs,
inasmuch as they were bound in service to their hereditary lord and master,
the great chief, or his son who succeeded him. Thomson (54, p. 222) has 565
summed up the relationship of chief and commoner: 622

> The Tongans had reached a stage of development midway between the patriarchal
> and feudal systems. Their chiefs had the blood of the founder of the family in its
> purest form, and were the earthly incarnations of their deified ancestors. Each chief
> had hereditary retainers who followed him to battle, and obeyed him in time of peace;
> but the constant wars during the latter half of the eighteenth century had created a
> lower class of servants than these—the *tu'a*, children of prisoners of war. These, together
> with the illegitimate children of the chief's father or grandfather (his cousins,
> in fact, for a chief bred servants for his descendants), were in the nature of serfs,
> leading, however, an easier life than such a designation would imply. The missionaries 565
> had perhaps read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too panted to win the 622
> grateful admiration of posterity. To their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves, 797
> because they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing would content them but
> a formal liberation. They did not stop to reflect that these "serfs" were fed and 178
> clothed by their chief, and that as members of his household they enjoyed privileges
> which men of their low rank could not hope for in other societies.

On June 4, 1862, the Tui Kanokupolu George I declared all chiefs and 643 641
people at liberty from vassalage and serfdom. 565

Most commoners trace relationship, some perhaps fictitiously, to one 565
of the great chiefs, including the Tui Tonga. Four great chiefs told me 622
that all commoners are related to chiefs and matapules, and conversely that 602
all chiefs and matapules have commoner relatives, such relatives in fact,
usually constituting the following of a chief.

There is a certain number of commoners who seem to be related, not to 565
the modern great chiefs, but to the ancient chiefs who have become submerged 622
politically. Examples of such submerged chiefs are Mahina, Puakatea, 602
and Takalatea of Vavau, who, though subjects of the Tui Tonga,
were conquered by the ambitious Tui Kanokupolu Vuna.

It is considered bad form in Tonga to-day to name people as commoners 565
unless the person who is giving the information is of high rank. For one 576
commoner to name others as commoners is improper and also unwise, incurring
enmity.

A good example of the relationship which prevails between a chief and 622
the people who inhabit his hereditary lands is presented on the island of 565
Okoa, Vavau. The overlord is the Tui Lakepa, who also owns the neighboring
island of Ofu and has holdings in Tongatabu. The mayor of Okoa is
Afu Haa Mango, a matapule, a relative of the Tui Lakepa. An earlier Tui
Lakepa had a daughter, Kaufusi, who was the mother of Shadrach Afu Haa
Mango. Kaufusi had brothers Nautu, Masiu, Kalau, Paulalolo, and Ilai.
These brothers are the grandfathers of the inhabitants of Okoa and Ofu.
The people living in the Tui Lakepa's *tofia* in Tongatabu, are also his relatives
and the relatives of the Okoans.

The relation which subsists between a person of high rank and that person's 565
inferior relatives is revealed by the following: A woman of high 602
rank, closely related to the last Tamaha and sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho, 622
now resides in Vavau, the home of her mother now deceased. She had a
number of servants about her home, all of whom she said were her relatives
on her mother's side. When she resides in Haapai, relatives from her father's
side of the family serve her. She said that anciently the servants of
chiefs were invariably their relatives not unrelated commoners. She strongly
emphasized the bond of blood between the highest chiefs and the commoners.

Many a commoner treasures the link of genealogy that connects him with some high chief. Thus Peter Koloamatangi claimed Tui Tonga blood, because his paternal grandfather was brother's son of a Tamaha.

The word *fanautaina* (child of the village) means a child born of a woman 622
of a particular locality, begotten of a chief. At times a handsome girl was 602
taken to a chief in order to bring chiefly blood to a place. A child is reckoned 837
as belonging to the place of its father or its mother according to its residence, [611]
but still the blood bond with the village to which they belong is recognized
and can be utilized. All people of such a village would speak of themselves
as related to the chief, although many of them were not.

Most Tongan informants are agreed that in spite of the wide range of 829
social standing, the Tongan population of to-day is of one origin and is not 186
comprised of immigrants (conquerors) and indigenes (conquered). The

The
inequalities of rank are regarded not as the result of rule imposed by con- 829
querors, but as the result of rules of primogeniture within the family and of 186
differences in ability of chiefs. As one informant put it, "Some men pos- 565
sessed ability to rule and became rulers. The strong man became king, the
wise man became the matapule, the weakling became the commoner." No
doubt this statement is a rationalization, but the belief in community of origin
of the three social classes is prevalent in Tonga to-day. If the country was
ever overrun by conquering immigrants, all memory of their coming has been
effaced. There is, however, ample evidence to show a continual dribbling into [167]
the country of people from surrounding islands.

There is probably less attachment of commoners to their chiefly relatives 565
to-day than there was in the past. In fact, with the absence of internecine 622
warfare and with the freedom bestowed by constitutional government, the
people may move about with greater liberty and need not adhere closely to
their related overlords. However, there is still a strong attachment to the [423]
chiefs and to the land and even with the present system of leasing land the [427]
tendency is for a family to remain attached to the soil, the tract which a
father leased being likewise leased by one of his sons.

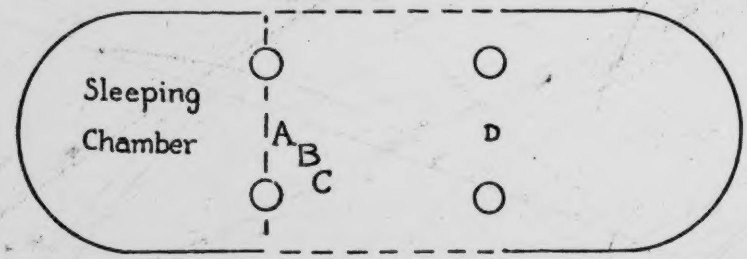
To understand the system of apparent servitude which prevailed in Tonga, 565
three features of family relationships should be kept in mind: (a) the 593
superior rank of sisters; (b) the superior rank of older siblings; and (c) 604
the *fahu* idea. To the demands of the *fahu* of a great chief, that chief and
his dependants were obliged to accede. Thus all of the descendants of the
Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and to
the commoners of that lineage. In other words the whole of the district
of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is obliged to yield its best to the great *fahu* of the
chiefs of the district, who here is the Prince Consort Tungi.

INDICATIONS OF RANK

The relative rank of individuals is visualized in seating arrangements, 554
particularly in the kava circle, but also in the house, both at meal times and 576
on other occasions.

The head of the household, the family patriarch, called *ulu oe kainga* 592
(*ulu*, head; *oe*, of; *kainga*, related) was accustomed to sit midway between 554
the two house posts (fig. 2, *a*), at the end which he used as a sleeping cham- 574
ber, facing the opposite end. This position was called *matuloki*. All other
sitting places were called *lotofale* (inside house). If the head of the house
ranked all his guests, he maintained his position. His highest ranking
guest sat at his right hand and the next in rank at *c*. The positions *a*, *b*, *c*, 592
were reserved for chiefs. Matapules would sit at the other end of the house, 554 574
d. Commoners would not dare to sit in the house. If the guest should 565

rank the head of the house, the seat *matuloki*, was given to him, the host, 592
if a chief, taking his proper place to the right of the ranking guest, if a 554
matapule, at *d*. If the host were a commoner and a chief should enter, the 574
host sat outside the house. If a man should sit in a place to which his rank 565
did not entitle him, the ranking man present, would order him to his proper 554
place. If a man should occupy a place inferior to his rank, he was invited 576
by the person seated at *matuloki* to occupy his proper place. As every man
knew his correct place without being told, to sit in the wrong place was not
only an error, but a presumption.



[342]

FIGURE 2.—Sketch showing manner of seating within the house: *a*, place of highest honor; *b*, place next in rank; *c*, place for chief third in rank; *d*, place for seating matapule.

On ordinary occasions, in the representative household, food was not 264
eaten at any one place or by the household as a group. Each person ate where
he chose, but always outside the dwelling house, often in the kitchen house.
On special occasions, as when guests were present, leaves or mats were spread 264
at a definite place and a seating arrangement was observed as shown in 574
figure 3. 554

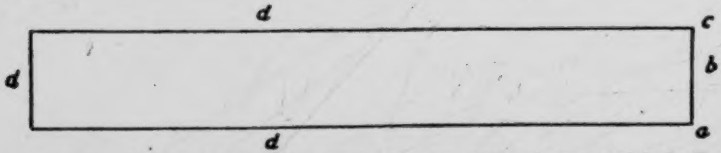


FIGURE 3.—Sketch showing manner of seating at eating places: *a*, *uluipola* (head in coconut thatch), reserved for the ranking person present; *b*, *c*, *d*, places of decreasing rank, called *tafaaki pola* (coconut leaf thatch at the side).

The structural differences in the houses of chiefs and commoners are 342
described by McKern (43). 114

The garment worn by men, women, and children of all social stations 291
was the *vala*, a rectangular piece of tapa wrapped around the loins and hang- 565
ing from the waist to the ankles or above them. According to one informant

only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of 291
losi leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty- 565
stricken. The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn
out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward [292]
show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*.
young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *lo-
ngangatu*, ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like [622]
garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to
be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or
above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high [304]
to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's 301
comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fast- 565
ened together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood [531]
(some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohib- 565
ited to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places [515]
only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the bil- [524]
liard-like game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be pun- [689]
ished, perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him 565
on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or 574
passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume [516]
a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he [576]
would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dis-
mount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. 262
If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. 565
Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of 223
words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, suc- 689
cessful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring. [526]

[196]
The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a com- [831]
moner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They
are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless 565
the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the 829
attitude of many Tongan commoners.

> The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. [553]
> It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen.
> X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was [729]

rewarded with a tract of land on an island in the Vavau group. The tract still be- 565
longs to a member of the family, but not to X. X's family belongs to the Haa Ngata 829
Tupu in which are Ulukalala, Tapuelelu, and other great chiefs. X considers him- [729]
self a matapule, because certain ancestors were *toutai* to the Tui Tonga. All people
bearing X's name can trace relationship to the Tui Tonga's *toutai*, but all cannot trace [613]
relationship to the Haa Ngata Tupu chiefs, as X can. He counts himself a member
of Haa Ngata Tupu by blood relationship.

As do other informants X regards all three classes as Tongan. He has relatives [582]
in Niuatoputapu, Uvea, and Samoa, brought about by his forefathers marrying there.

THE ACT OF OBEISANCE

The following is a translation of a Tongan account supplied by Mrs. 622
Rachel Tonga. Compare 41, vol. 1, p. 434; 19, vol. 1, p. 409. 643

576
This is the way that the act of *moemoei*, or touching of the soles of the chiefs' 613
feet as a mark of reverence, was done. That was a great mark of respect in Tonga,
and it was not done to anyone but the Tamaha, the Tui Tonga, and the chiefs of
one's own lineage.

To the Tamaha the respect was paid by touching the soles of her feet. This
was done by all persons from the Tui Tonga himself down to the lowest person. [644]
The Tamaha was the first, highest, and most sacred chief in the land. The Tui
Tonga was the most sacred male chief in the land. This respect of touching the
soles of his feet was paid him by the Kauhalalalo, that is the reigning king (Tui
Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu) and all the high chiefs down to the lowest person.

The *moemoei* was done when first entering the house, so that one might be at liberty to sit down in the house, on the occasion of a kava party or other gathering. And when wishing to go outside of the house it was done again, after the completion of the kava ceremonies or entertainment, or other matter that might have taken one into her (or his) presence.

This is the way that the *moemoei* is done. One goes and stoops down and places [516]
the back of both hands on the soles of the chief's feet. And after that is finished
then one stands up and goes. And should it be difficult to approach and *moemoei* because of her (or his) partaking of the kava being too ceremonious, one went to a small wooden bowl which was left at the threshold outside and which was called "the carrier of immunity" (*koe fafanonga*). One went and did the *moemoei* ceremony to the bowl, just as if it were the Tamaha or the Tui Tonga. Then one was at liberty to go home, free of tapu.

If one was doing *moemoei* to one's own hereditary chief, it was done with the
crown of the head. One went and knelt down and placed the crown of his head [516]
against the soles of the chief's feet, so that one might be at liberty to sit down or to
go as the case might be.

Thomson (54, p. 293, footnote 1) has an interesting note on performing 576
moemoei, in which he points out that it was performed at times as a 622
prophylactic: 516
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> A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm and then with the back of each hand.
> After touching a chief's person the *moĕmoĕ* must be performed on pain of the liver
> swelling up and causing death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they [784]
> attribute to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moĕmoĕ* frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu* they had broken.

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 326) presented a pewter plate to Poulaho [Tui Tonga 576
Pau] in 1777, which he said he would substitute for the bowl which had 643
before sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy, and which was used [177]
to absolve persons from tapu when the Tui Tonga was absent.

Concerning the chief (presumably Tui Tonga Kauulufonua III) whom Tasman met in 1643, Wilson says (66, p. xlvii):

> An elderly chief, who seems at that time to have had the sovereign authority, came repeatedly on board, shewed the most profound respect to his visitors, and was highly
> gratified by the presents which they made to him. Among these was a wooden bowl, [415]
> probably the same that long afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo [787]
> as a divining-cup, to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which is rendered to the sovereign when present, was paid during his absence to the bowl, as his representative.

RANK AND LANGUAGE

The Tongans make use of different words and expressions when addressing 195
or referring to persons of different social standing. By listening to a con- 565
versation it is possible to tell whether those conversing are of equal or unequal 554
rank. One set of words was used in addressing or speaking of the Tamaha, 576
the Female and the Male Tui Tonga, another for the Tui Haa Takalaua, the Tui Kanokupolu, and the chiefs, and still another for the people. In speaking or referring to matapules, terms for the people are used by their superiors and terms for chiefs by their inferiors. It is said that individuals of the same rank use terms for the people when conversing among themselves, but there
are exceptions. For example, the Tamaha calls her mother *huhu*, not *fae* (the [601]
ordinary term for mother). Furthermore the use of the Tui Tonga term *lakoifie* for Tui Pelehake (who, like the first Tui Tonga, was of celestial origin) suggests that other Tui Tonga terms may have been similarly used.

The relation of rank and language is well expressed by Elia Malupo, one 195
of the Tui Tonga's ceremonial attendants, in a statement written November 565
27, 1905. 539 554 576

Oku tolu ae faahinga: koe faahinga muomua, ae Tamaha, moe Tui Tonga; moe faahinga e taha, ae Tui Haa Takalaua, moe Tui Kanokupolu; pea moe faahinga e taha, ae kakai. Koia ia, oku tolu ae lea: 1, Kakai; 2, Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, Tui Tonga. Koeni: Kapau teu fetaulaki mo ha taha, oe faahinga oe kakai, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?".

Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga lotoloto, oe Houeiki, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga muomua, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo haele ki fe?"

There are three ranks: the leading rank, the Tamaha, and the Tui Tonga; and another rank, the Tui Haa Takalaua, and the Tui Kanokupolu; and another rank, the people. There are three sets of words: 1, the people; 2, the Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, the Tui Tonga. Thus: If I should meet with anyone of the people rank, I would say: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?" (Where are you going?) And should it be one of the middle rank of chiefs, I would say to him: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" (Where are you going?) [The old greeting for matapule and commoner is said to be *siotoofa* or *siokuofa*, presumably the equivalent of the modern *malolelei*.]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

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Malupo gives the following list of words:

1. MUOMUA (LEADING CHIEFS)	2. LOTOLOTO (MIDDLE CHIEFS)	3. KAKAI (PEOPLE)	ENGLISH
angavalea	tuutamaki	kovi	Bad (2, dangerous)
aofivala	taovala	kakei	Outer, shirt-like garment
ei	koe	ee, aa	Yes, in assent to what is said. Koia is the term used to an active matapule.
ei mai maaku	foakimai maaku	omi maaku	Give it to me
fahafaha	falatokaanga	falamohenga	Bed
fai ae vae oe langi	fai ae mea fakaeiki	fai e tau putu	Funeral (1, doing the feet of the Tui Tonga; 2, doing a thing of the chiefs; 3, doing our dead)
fakahifo	faele	fanau	To give birth
fakamalu	takele	mulumulu	To bathe, a bath (3, to wash or rub)
fakamau	noo	nonoo	To tie
fakamomoko	fakamomofi	fakamafana	To warm one's self
fakamonuka	polai	tafai	To lance (cut)
feitaumafa	halofia	fiekai	Hungry
fekita	uma	uma	To kiss
hala	pekia	mate	Dead
hoihoifua	katakata	kata	To laugh
hoko	vala	fatei	Skirt-like garment (sarong)
houhau	tupotamaki	ita	Angry
kini	fue	fuefue	To fan (to whisk)
koau	koau	haa	I (or it is I)
Koe ha ho finengalo?	Koe ha ho mea?	Koe ha ho loto?	What is your wish?
langi	tauolunga	mata	Eye or face
langi	fofonga	ulu	Head
langi	faiangatoka	tano	To bury
langilangi	fakavao	mumu	To warm by a fire
lika	misi	mohetuu	To dream; a dream
maafu	mofia	vela	To burn or scald; a burn
malahia	kona	mate he kona	To be drunk (1, foolish sin; 3, dead drunk)
malo ae lakoifie	malo ae malakilaki	malo hoo moui	Health (1, it is well done that you are well in health; 2, it is well done that you are well; 3, it is well done that you live
malomaloaa	tauolunga	matakovi	Sore eyes
mokoi	manako	manako	To like, to approve
monumonuka	lavea	mafesifesi	Wounded
namu kakala	namuku	namuelo	Bad odor (1, smell of flowers; 2, bad odor or smell; 3, stink)
ngalulu	ngangau	ulungangau	Headache
oua e takavale ae finengalo	oua angafakatua	oua angavale	Don't act foolishly (1, don't be foolish-minded; 2, don't act like a commoner)
puluhi	tengetange	fokoutua	Ill or sick
sialea	hina	hina	White or gray hair showing age (1, white like the gardenia flower)
sinifu	unoho	ohoana	Spouse (1, wife, or, perhaps more correctly, concubine)

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1. MUOMUA (LEADING CHIEFS)	2. LOTOLOTO (MIDDLE CHIEFS)	3. KAKAI (PEOPLE)	ENGLISH
taahine	fefine	finemotua	Woman (1, maiden; 2, woman; 3, old woman)
taalofaki	talaaumea	ukuumea	To wash the head with clay
takafalu	tua	huimoko	The back
tamasii	tangata	siana	Man (1, lad; 2, man; 3, fellow)
taomifonua	lalango	kali	Wooden pillow (1, To press down the land; 2, to raise up; the pillow of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was called *hahapo*.
tau haele	tau mea	tau alu	We will go, or let us go
taumafa	ilo	kai	To eat
taumafa e nae holo	kuo holo ae taumafa	kava e nae mama	The kava is chewed (1, the food has fallen)
tofa	toka	mohe	To sleep
tofusi	lele	puna	To run (3, to fly)
toukupu i nima	nima	kakao	Hands (3, or legs of crustacean)
toukupu i vae	vae	kaulihi	Feet
toulekeleka	motua	vaivai	Old (1, handsome; 3, feeble)
tutulu	tangi	tangialoima	To cry (1, To drop tears; 3, to cry tears)
umesi, umeumesi	kinisi	tai	To strike

The following were obtained from Peter Koloamatangi of Lapaha, Tongatabu.

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TUI TONGA TERM	ORDINARY TERM	ENGLISH
fata	vaka	vessel
fatu	kete	stomach
finangalo	loto	will, mind
huafa	hingoa	name
langi	ngutu	mouth
toukupu	ule	penis

The terms *penepena* (to lime the hair), and *fofunga* (necklace of human hair), are Tui Tonga and also chiefly words; the equivalent terms for commoners *lahei* and *fulefuleulu*.

The following terms were obtained from Jioeli Pangia, from other informants, and from Baker's Tongan dictionary (2). As used in this list, the word "king" refers to the modern ruler (Tui Kanokupolu), not to the Tui Tonga, and, where a term is shared by both, it represents a modern extension of a Tui Tonga term to the now supreme Tui Kanokupolu. Some additional terms are given by Collocott (14, pp. 151-208).

Alo. The abdomen of a great personage; the Tui Tonga's privates; a child of rank, now also applied to the second person in the Trinity.

Angavale. To observe traditional etiquette in the presence of the Tui Tonga.

Apaapa. The aloft (the place occupied by chiefs in a kava party) of the Tui Tonga's kava party. A mark of respect and attention to the conversation of the Tui Tonga. 192 195

Ei koau. The affirmative, spoken in answer to the call or command of the Tui Tonga. 565 643

Fakahake. To vomit (Tui Tonga). 554

Fakalaa. Chief woman making coconut oil in the sun. The same operation by a common woman is called *tanakilolo*.

Fakamao. The tapa belt of the Tui Tonga.

Fakanofo. Coronation.

Fakataufolofola. To address the King; chief language.

Falealo. The family or children of the Tui Tonga and Tamaha.

Felapalapasi. Chiefs to kill each other secretly.

Fietaumafa. The hunger of the Tui Tonga.

Finangalo. The mind, applied to the Tui Tonga, nowadays to the King and the Deity.

Folofola. Word, speech, addressed only to the Tui Tonga or the Deity, and nowadays to the King; not applicable to private persons or even chiefs.

Foloha. The hair of the Tui Tonga.

Haele. To appear, applied to the gods, the Tui Tonga, and the King.

Hala. Demise, applied to the Tui Tonga and Tamaha, also to the King; a sacred club.

Hau. The attendants (takanga) of the Tui Tonga; a conqueror, a reigning prince; the "tribe" of the King, as faahinga ae Hau.

Hohaa. The board of chiefs.

Huafa. Name, applied only to gods, king, chiefs.

Lakolfie. Well in health, used to (or of) the Tui Tonga, the Tui Pelehake, and the King.

Lakolfua. Well in health, used of the Tui Tonga, now used of the King.

Langi. The head or face of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha; his burying place.

Oelkanga. Finished being seasick (a term used of chiefs).

Oua e takavalo ai finangalo. A formal remonstrance to the Tui Tonga against the many tasks he has set for one to do in a single day, or in a too short period of time. Only the highest ranking matapule could use this remonstrance.

Puluhi. Sickness of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha.

Puluhia. Death of the Tui Tonga.

Pupuluhi. Slightly afflicted, applied to the Tui Tonga.

Sinifu. The collective name of the women of the harem of the Tui Tonga.

Taahine. Daughter of the Tui Tonga (daughter of other chiefs called *fefine*; daughter of lower orders called *finemotua*).

Tamasii. The son of the Tui Tonga.

Taumafa. To eat, applied to the Tui Tonga, but now used to high chiefs.

Tulaki. To cut the hair of the Tui Tonga.

Uluvali. The name of a person killed at the burial of the Tui Tonga.

Umeumesi. For the Tui Tonga to strike or whip his small sons.

Uta. Inland, land, on shore; the cargo or freight of a vessel; applied to the Tui Tonga and persons of his rank.

Vaavaakaka. Poorly, not well (the Tamaha).

CHIEFS

All of the modern chiefs of Tonga trace their relationship ultimately to the first Tui Tonga, the son of Tangaloa Eitumatupua, the sky god. More immediately many trace their relationship to the Tui Kanokupolu, but as 622 643 173 773 776

his high position is derived from the Tui Tonga, chiefliness is an attribute 622
which flows from the sovereign, the Tui Tonga. [643]

The chiefs of Tonga collectively are called *houeiki* (*hou*, a collective
prefix; *eiki*, chief). According to one informant (Puleti of Nukualofa) [773]
the term *houeiki* applies only to the Tamaha, the Tui Tonga, the Tui Pele- [643]
hake, and the Tui Haa Takalaua, and denotes their celestial origin. (Actually only the first Tui Tonga and the first Tui Pelehake descended from heaven according to mythology, the Tamaha and Tui Haa Takalaua being later developments.) Puleti characterized all other chiefs as "braves" (*toa*) and "chiefs by the hand" (*eiki i he nima*), that is, chiefs who won their rank with the club on the battlefield, a characterization which seems subjective.

The arbitrary powers of chiefs, as described by Cook, Labillardière, 622
Mariner, and others, are no longer exercised. Occasionally a chief horse- 178
whips one of his subjects (I learned of one who whipped two young men [689]
who walked past his house smoking cigarettes), but the use of the club has entirely disappeared.

The ideal combination for chiefly rank is that both parents be of chiefly 622
blood. The offspring of a chief and a commoner are spoken of as half- 827
chiefs, or, as the Tongans express it, "half-shell" (*ngeesi taha*). A chief may chide a half-chief by saying, "Ah, you half-shell." (The term *vaataha*—one branched—also refers to a person whose parentage is half chief, half commoner.) However, such a person as the son of Jioeli Pangia (who would be Tui Tonga if the office were not abolished) by a wife of low status would be *eiki* because of his father's royal blood.

The children of a woman of chiefly rank and a commoner also are spoken [554]
of as "half-chiefs" although they are regarded more highly than the offspring of a male chief and a female commoner.

The terms *eikimotu*, *eikitaupotu*, and *eikitoho* refer to a chief of highest rank, literally a chief of chiefs. The term *eikisii* means a petty chief. The term *eikianga* designates the residence and government of a chief.

So far I have been using the term chief in a loose sense, meaning any 622
person with chiefly blood in his veins and not necessarily the holder of a title. The Tongan expression for title is *hingoa fakanofo* (literally, appoint-
ment name). I have been at pains to explain that only one person holds a 622
title at a time, and that within a given family no two siblings are identical in 554
rank. This statement of the situation is paralleled by what Mariner says of [593]
his four classes of society: *eiki*, matapule, *mua*, and *tua*. This is undoubtedly stating the situation in too ideal a form, but it nevertheless conveys a conception of gradation in rank.

It seems unlikely that anciently people selected their chiefs, except in so 622
far as a choice was made between eligible candidates. However, the first [298]

Tui Vakano to become a Christian was deprived of his title (*liukava* or *liua*, 622
to debase, to dethrone, to depose) by his outraged constituents—a procedure [798]
which suggests the Samoan practice. There probably were normally no as-
semblages (*fono*) in which the people expressed opinions. In ancient *fono*, [621]
as in the modern *fono*, the people gathered to hear the orders of the chiefs,
not to debate.

The idea prevails that a chief is normally a large, portly person. On 622
one occasion my interpreter remarked, "Can't you see he is a chief? See 826
how big he is." 142

This observation corroborates Wilson (65, pp. 384, lxix):

> In their persons, the men of the superior rank all seem a larger race than ourselves, or the common people . . . . at Tongataboo more muscular, and affecting a more stately gait and superiority. . . . At Tongataboo some [women] were held in highest reverence, and Futtafaihe himself paid one elderly woman the same expression of homage which he received from every other chieftain.
>
> The submission paid to the chiefs, and the distinction of private property were much greater here than at Otaheite.
>
> At Tongataboo, the chiefs, to secure plenty, changed their abodes to other islands (65, p. 385).

Chiefs had many prerogatives. Special bathing holes, many of them wells 622
which required many men to dig, were reserved for the chiefs, though 515
occasionally a chief would allow certain of his retainers to use a bathing 312
well. A few wells, far from the establishment of the chiefs, were permitted
to commoners for bathing and drinking water. Should a commoner bathe [565]
in a chief's well on the sly, it was believed that he would become ill and [753]
die either from the swelling of his abdomen or of his neck. Women had [562]
special bathing places set aside for them. On Lifuka, Haapai, the beach
on the lee (western) side of the island was tapu to commoners for bathing.
Five wells—Utulupe, Vailupesia, Hoaheu, Teleki, and Onemato—all the
property and bathing places of former chiefs, have been described elsewhere
(25). It is related that at the well called Hoaheu the bathing chiefs were [541]
entertained by gladiatorial combats in which two commoners with clubs fought
until one was killed. It was at one of these wells, Onemato, that Mariner's
patron, Finau, bathed when on his way to visit his brother Tupouniua.

Of food, the chiefs, of course, had the best. First fruits and the first 622
of each catch of fish were brought to them. The milk of only small, quite 262
ripe coconuts was used by chiefs; a retainer presenting a large coconut was
liable to be knocked down or beaten. On occasions, such food as the hard [252]
Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) was chewed to a pulp by an attendant before being
given to the chief to eat.

Visitors of low rank brought a gift of kava, which was handed to the 622
chief by his matapule. Failure to bring this gift resulted in a severe repri- 276 431

mand. Kava was also brought as a peace offering. A high chief, who was 622
coöperating with me in gathering data, left word for an old man to come to 276
our temporary residence, distant four or five miles. The old man fail- 431 [123]
ing to come, a second messenger was sent with a threat of horsewhipping. 622
Thereupon the old man came as speedily as his years permitted, bearing a 687
large piece of kava. He was profuse in his apologies, saying that he did 576
not know whom it was that had requested his appearance. I noticed that [554]
servants of this chief in approaching bent low and that if he was seated [357]
near the door of the house they would make their exit through a window [516]
rather than pass near him.

A general tapu is placed upon the dishes and the remains of food or 565
drink of a person higher in rank. It was thought that one breaking this tapu 264
would suffer from sore throat, but the person of rank might offset the evil 784
consequences by stroking the throat of the unfortunate person with the hand [753]
(anciently also with the feet). This tapu which holds throughout Tongan [755]
society is particularly observed between a chief and his underlings. To eat
in front of a chief is likewise forbidden, the difficulties being avoided by
eating with the back turned to the chief (***kaitafoki***).

The head of a person, also the back, is tapu to one of lower rank; it 622
is tapu to pass close behind a chief. At big kava parties a great chief who 576
does not sit in the kava ring takes a position which makes passing behind 565
him unnecessary. 784 [826]

The food of a chief had to be prepared in a certain style and certain 622
portions of mammals or birds were regarded as belonging by special prerog- 262
ative to the chief. A roast pig is presented to a chiefly person in the fol- 252
lowing manner: After the pig has been removed from the oven and placed
on its back on the hand barrow, sections of fresh banana leaves tied in place
by strips of banana leaf are wrapped about the extremities of the four legs,
the nose, and the region of the rectum. The purpose of this treatment was [784]
said to be the concealing of all those parts of the pig most in contact with
anything dirty or filthy. The four parts of a pig which are regarded as fit
food for a chief are in order of importance: (a) the back (***tua***), (b) the
head (***ulu***), (c) the rump (***tuungaiku***), (d) the chest (***fatafata***), spoken
of as the common part.

In serving chickens and pigeons to chiefs, the parts in order of importance are: (a) the rump with the oil glands (***muimui***), (b) the skin of the neck and back (***kiliikia***), (c) the legs (***alanga***), (d) the wings and chest (***hikehika***). I saw the operation of dividing a fowl for a high chief. The oil glands and the bit of skin near the rump were given him first. Then the skin at the base of the skull was broken with the fingers and stripped down the back of the neck on to the back.

In some games the chief is given a handicap over opponents of lesser 622
rank. In the game of dart throwing (*sika mamao*) in which the greatest 526
distance thrown determines the winner, if the chief's dart were almost the
winner, it would be turned over lengthwise so as to lie ahead of the leading
dart. My informant had an impression that the chief's dart might be turned
over three times, that is, the chief be given a handicap of three lengths, but
not more. From this custom originated the proverbial expression *sii kae amo* [538]
(small but successful), which implies that although one has not displayed
much energy or skill in an enterprise yet he has succeeded thanks to the
assistance of someone else.

The *fekesike* method of fishing was never used by anyone but a chief 622
who could muster the necessary numbers required (43), consequently a 226
fekesike rope always belonged to a chief.

Not every chief has the word *tui* (lord) in his title. Various informants 622
were under the impression that the term *tui* in connection with a name indicated 554
higher rank than *eiki* (chief). One informant said that chiefs with
the word *tui* in the title (specifically Tui Haa Teiho and Tui Haa Ngana)
were in line to become Tui Tonga in event of the lack of a direct successor,
whereas a chief like Ulukalala or Malupo was not.

Special rest places, mounds (*esi*), with a shade tree growing on or beside 622
them, were built for chiefs. Sunshade or picnic shelters (*falekakala*, 311
house of flowers) were also erected. The *esi* were given names. (See 25.)

A chief's sitting position is legs crossed and left foot on right knee 622
(*faefakaheka*). When sitting among his inferiors, a pile of mats (*langolango* 516
is provided to raise him above the common level.

In Tonga there seem to have been no official jesters, but at times certain 622
individuals, termed *fakaaluma* or *fakatakataka*, who were considered particularly 522
witty, took it upon themselves to amuse the chiefs. For example, [463]
Kaho, a man of Vavau, acted as *fakaeluma* for Akauola (grandfather of
the present Akauola) and made fun of the people. He would say anything
to make Akauola laugh. On one occasion he had himself tied like a pig
and carried to a feast. My informant did not know whether this man was
appointed. Akauola is one of the modern landed royal navigators (*toutai*).

A warrior who killed ten men and brought the heads as evidence was 622
highly regarded and might be raised to the rank of a matapule or a petty 555
chief (*eikisii*) and be given land; or again he might be given the privilege 701
of drinking his chief's kava when it was called.

Anciently the staff (*tokotoko*) and the fly whisk (*fue*) were used by 622
kings and chiefs but not by matapules. To-day, it is said, anyone may use 643
them. The staff was used formerly not only in walking but to lean upon [481]
when addressing an assemblage. To-day the term *tokotoko* applies to the

walking stick of a chief and to the staff of a matapule. The skill with which 622
the fly whisk was handled usually elicited remarks from surrounding gossips. 643
To use it swiftly and precisely elicited the comment: "He is an accomplished [481]
chief; long has he used the *fue*." If a man were clumsy in handling it, it
was asked: "Who is this man who shakes his *fue* like a *tua?*"

Many great chiefs or warriors were tattooed in eccentric manners to 622
distinguish them from common people. Vahai had two lines on each side, 304
the upper ones extending to the breasts. King George I Tupou is said to 565
have had the head of his penis completely covered with tattooing to show
his disregard for pain as well as to mark him peculiarly.

A headdress of feathers (*fae* or *faefae*) was worn by chiefs during times 622
of festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition. 293
721

A chiefly person or a high matapule (and the members of his household) 622
washed his hands in a special bowl (*kumete fanofano*). That of the Tui 643
Tonga (called *fakafanonga*—rendered by Baker [2] as *fafanonga*) was 565
used by him only. A commoner usually washed his hands by rubbing them 515
with the pith of the stock of the *fusi* banana.

Each chief of consequence had as part of his establishment a public 622
house, *falehau*, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors (42). Tasman 574
(30) pictures such a house as open on all sides. There were also houses for 345
the sons and daughters of chiefs and their associates (42).

The chiefs owned all the land and could take what they pleased from 622
their tenants and even kill them. On Lifuka, commoners inland could not [421]
fish on the lee side of the island. A commoner catching a large fish must [423]
give it to the chief. If he ate it he might be brought before the chief and [226]
condemned to death. To a commoner who refused to obey his order, the [687]
chief might say, "You are going to be dead," and it was not unknown for [754]
such a one, as he started away, to drop dead.

The arbitrary power and cruelty of some of the chiefs is manifest from 622
the early accounts. The Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho cut off one arm from 661
each of his cooks and Ulukalala (Mariner's patron) tortured and drowned 152
political enemies. The cruelty of Teukava, a contemporary of Tukuaho and [681]
Ulukalala, was of a different type. On one occasion he gave a feast in which
the entertainers were naked girls. At another festival (*katoanga*), he arranged [164]
in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles
and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view. Apparently
the victims were entirely at his mercy, opposition probably meaning death.

On Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, is a cliff from which commoners jumped into the foaming surf to get bananas (*hopa*) thrown into the sea by the chiefs. The cliff is named Haamoa because of a Samoan who was killed while thus entertaining the chiefs.

A group of people desiring to obtain something from a chief usually try to have their own chief, or at any rate, some chief, act as spokesman. During my stay in Eua, the Methodists of the island desiring the use of a house in Nukualofa, Tongatabu, that belonged to the chief Tuita, took the Eua chief Hafoka as their spokesman and representative in making application to Tuita. Although one of their number, Hafoka was quite the proper person to make the request, because he was a chief. 622 571

The titled chiefs stand in certain fixed relationship to one another. Thus Ata, the "dean" of the Tongan chiefs is "grandfather" (*kui*) to all of the chiefs of the kingdom, except the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, to whom he is "older brother" (*taokete*). The chiefs specifically enumerated as standing in the relationship of "grandchildren" to Ata are Fakafanua, Tui Haa Ngana, Tui Haateiho, and Malupo; but not Tui Lakepa, who is head of the lineage Fale Fisi. To the Tui Kanokupolu, Ata is "younger brother" (*tehina*). These are not true relationships, even though considered as extensions of terms for lineal relatives to collateral relatives. They are, if anything, mirrors of the relationships in which the first title bearers stood to one another. The fact that succession to titles has not always been from father to oldest son precludes the relationship terms from being accurate, classificatory designations of the relationships of present day title bearers. Thus, to a man named David Uasi the present Ata once stood in the collateral relation of "son," whereas, now that he is Ata, he stands in the relation of "grandfather." 622 602 571 [428]

Within the lineage Fale Fisi, Tui Lakepa is highest and is denoted as "father" by the other members of the lineage. Tui Haa Teiho is "older brother" to Malupo and Tui Haa Ngana. Tui Haa Ngana is the "youngest brother" and Malupo the "middle brother." At the present time, Tui Haa Teiho is a boy, Malupo and Tui Haa Ngana middle-aged men. Tui Lakepa has the precedence of the other Fale Fisi chiefs at kava parties. 613 622 602 571

SPECIAL TREATMENT OF CHILDREN OF CHIEFS

Commonly the daughter of a chief had a separate house (*fale fakakaufefine*) within the chief's compound, cared for by one or more old women. In this house the daughter lived with several girl attendants but she might sleep in her father's house if she wished. 622 554 592 591

Similarly a chief's son might gather about him a number of young men and reside in a separate house (*fale fakakautangata*) and even in a separate enclosure. Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 344) describes Poulaho's (Tui Tonga Pau) son Fuanunuiava, a lad of twelve years, as having a house of his own and as being attended by a circle of boys and by an old man and an old woman. A good example of the congregating of young men with the chief's son

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which 622
specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates. 554

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou,* a Samoan [591]
term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine.* Girls, classed as [592]
taupoou, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore [535]
finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed [291]
and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might [276] [574]
sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling [252]
was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as [356]
in Samoa. [526]

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which [831]
in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as [551]
a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or [551]
large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of [825]
such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following 622
processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui,* the rubbing of the entire body with 554
chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with 302
a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice 565
a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body. [515]

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to [261]
eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of [826]
her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded 622
by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats 554
and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her 285
upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness 516
or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa.* 622
After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were 513
tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was 516
834
554

laid upon her side to sleep. This sleeping position (*tokonaki*), lying on the 622
shoulder with the arms straightened, prevented the elbows from being ex- 513
posed to pressure or other contact that would mar their beauty. The tying 516
of the knees was for the express purpose of insuring the maiden against 834
sexual attack on the part of a foolish lover or malicious enemy. 554

A chief's daughter or chief's women of youth and beauty sit with the 622
feet half folded under and crossed at one side in a manner as to protect the 516
ankle bones from possible pressure against a hard surface, a position known 826
as *faite,* thus insuring a smooth skin over the ankles, a mark of beauty. 554

The "corset" (*nonoo*) for chief-girls consists of a short piece of tapa 622
wrapped about the small of the waist and the abdomen and tied in front. 292
Its purpose is to suppress the abdomen and give the waist a small appearance. 826
554

LOAU

A famous chief in Tongan legends is Loau who is called the Tui Haamea 622
from Haamea, a district in Vahe Loto, Tongatabu, which according to a prom- 773
inent Vavau informant was the seat of residence of the Tui Haamea, Tui 173
Haa Loau, and the Tui Haa Tuunga.

The origin of Loau is unknown. There were two and perhaps three chiefs of the name of Loau. The earlier seems to be Loau Tuputoka who is mentioned in the story of the turtle Sangone (26, pp. 49-54). A second Loau bears the additional appellation of Tongafisifonua and to him is attributed the voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152). A possible third Loau is he to whom is attributed the revision of the government of the Tui Tonga Takalaua. Apparently Loau Tuputoka became the father-in-law of the tenth Tui Tonga, Momo. According to an informant of the island of Foa, three formerly important Haapai chiefs were the offspring of Loau: Taufa Tofua of Tofua Island, Fanua Lofanga of Lofanga Island, and Kava Moungaone of Moungaone Island. These sons were sent to their respective abodes in Haapai while Loau continued to reside in Haamea in Tongatabu. The name of his residence (*api*) was Maananga.

Loau is said to have been able to foretell the future and to have cognizance of distant contemporary events; whence arose the saying, *toka i maananga* (first in *maananga*), an expression used to-day as equivalent of omniscient in speaking of the Deity. Whether or not these are attributes of all of the Loau chiefs or only one, I cannot say.

Loau is said also to have resided in Lifuka Island and a district there is still called Haa Loau, although the people of that district claim no descent from Loau.

It is difficult to assign with certainty the period of the rule of the Loau

chiefs. One informant said that Loau was probably preceded by the Tui Haa 622
Tuunga, but I rather doubt this, as there was a Tui Haa Tuunga living at 773
Nukunuku during the reign of the second Tui Kanokupolu, in the seventeenth 173
century. The latest reference to Loau seems to connect him with the reign of the twenty-third Tui Tonga, in the fifteenth century.

There are several reasons for believing that Loau belongs to the period 622
before the establishment of the office of Tui Kanokupolu: (a) the Haapai 173
chiefs reputed to be the descendants of Loau have sunk to political insignificance, indicating that the Tui Kanokupolu adherents have eclipsed them; (b) the people who to-day claim descent from the Tui Haa Tuunga have ceased to be noble, a condition attributable to the same cause; (c) the territory ruled by the Tui Haa Tuunga seems to have greatly overlapped Loau's territory and extended as far west as Nukunuku, a feature which suggests, when coupled with the presence of a Tui Haa Tuunga in the Seventeenth Century, that Loau is the earlier of the two titles and that with the disappearance of the Loau title of Tui Haamea, there developed the Tui Haa Tuunga.

Traditionally, it was a Loau who allotted stewards to all Tonga as far as Uvea, and who allotted the first tasks (*fatongia*) among the different peoples—for example, assigning to the people of Tofua the bringing of volcanic stones. This traditional organization of Loau persisted until the coming
of Europeans. King George I, in the Nineteenth Century, reallotted the 178
land but with scant alteration in the old division. 423

The forefathers of the chiefs who now live scattered about in the Hihifo and Nukualofa districts are reputed to have lived in Haamea with Loau. The sites of the houses of the various chiefs in Haamea are still known, the mounds on which the houses stood being visible to-day. Some of the present day chiefs know the sites of their predecessors' houses in Haamea—for example, the site of the chief Lasike in Haamea is called Lakepa, as is also one of the villages belonging to him to-day. It seems likely that the chiefs now residing at Vaini and all of the way westward from there had forefathers who lived in Haamea with Loau. Maafu, the present chief of Vaini, owns Tokomololo, which is within the district of Haamea. Within Haamea was a large prairie called the *toafa* of Haamea which extended from Matakieua to Lakepa. The bush in this district is of recent growth.

The water hole in Haamea where Loau drank is still known. The site of the pond where the old legend says he sailed his vessel (26, pp. 139-152) is still to be seen but the place is dry.

Presumably after the disappearance of Loau, Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu, established himself in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu.

THE CHIEFS OF LOFANGA ISLAND, HAAPAI

The earliest chiefly title in Lofanga, so far as I could learn, was that of Sinilau, a name which is still bestowed. There later arose to power a chief named Fanua Lofanga who belonged to the family of Loau, the Tui Haamea, and who is said to have gone to Lofanga to live and to have eclipsed Sinilau in importance. This title also has a modern holder in Lofanga. 622 173

The fortunes of these two chiefs did not remain stable for it is said that Sinilau received the whole island of Lofanga as an inheritance (*tofia*) from the Tui Tonga and that Fanua Lofanga never had much land, only a single tract (*api*). Although Fanua Lofanga became politically the more important chief, probably because of his connection with the Tui Haa Takalaua in Tongatabu, the island continued to be called the property of Sinilau. Today the land is claimed by the Tongan Government. It is said that Sinilau's holdings are still large and Fanua Lofanga's small.

The origin of the Sinilau chieftainship is unknown. The name is that of one of the Polynesian gods, and, like that god, the holders of the Sinilau chieftainship are reputed to have been handsome. [776]

One Sinilau is reputed to have stolen the daughter of the chief Niukapu of Fangaleounga, Foa Island, on the eve of her marriage to Tungimanaia. She bore him two daughters, Nanasi, and Kafoatu. They both married the chief Malupo of Uiha, the elder sister Nanasi as the *fokonofo* of her younger sister.

TITLES OF CHIEFS

I present below certain of the chiefly titles together with data as to origin and incumbents. (See also p. 130.) King George I created the modern title *nobeli* (noble) as designation for those chiefs who retain their hereditary lands (*tofia*). See figure 1.^A 622 554 [128] [643] [565]

Ahio, highest chief of the Haa Ngata Motua and recipient of the largest share at feasts. Seat at Kolovai, Tongatabu. At the death of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata, Ahio was in Eua. He declined to become Tui Kanokupolu, saying, "Make one of my younger brothers Tui Kanokupolu." He is comparable to the Tui Tonga in reserving chiefliness and passing temporal troubles to another. He has no matapule but on occasion borrows one. The first Ahio was the son of Vakalepu (the son of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and Hifo, daughter of Ahomee). J. Vehikite Ahio was chief in 1862. 622 173 551 554 613

Ahomee, a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua, seat at Haa Vakatolo, Tongatabu. Title antedates that of Tui Kanokupolu as the first Tui Kanokupolu married daughters of Ahomee. An Ahomee named Otukolo succeeded his father, Daniel Ahomee, who died Sept. 21, 1896.

Ata, leader of the Haa Ngata Motua, seat at Kolovai, Tongatabu. The title was borne in turn by Kaumavae, son of first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata; Atafakahau, son of Kaumavae; Puakahuhua, son of Atafakahau; the Ata murdered at Houma, son of Puakahuhua; Fisihoi, son of Puakahuhua; Tofuaipangai, son's (Ngata) son of Atafakahau; Tautalanoa, son of Tofuaipangai; Ula, brother's (Masima) son's (Manuopangai) son of Tautalanoa, Ata in 1921.

A. [See category 116, p. 96--Analyst]

Fakafanua, a chief of the Haa Takalaua, seat at Maufanga, Tongatabu. A Vavau 622
informant puts him in the Haa Tui Faletahi lineage. The first Fakafanua, Naanaa, 173
was the son of Kinikinilau (26, p. 69), a fisherman who through marriage to the Tui
Kanokupolu's daughter bestowed higher rank on his son. J. Fakafanua, died June 5, 551
1900; and S. Fakafanua, died August 22, 1914. 554

Fakatouio, chiefly title at Felemea, Uiha Island. 613

Falekaono, a Vavau chief (matapule *fide* Maatu) who owns the tract Popua in Eua Island, probably given him by Takaihouma, a chief of that island. The first Falekaono of whom the genealogies speak was the son of Luani, and the grandson of Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea. He was attendant upon the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho and was slain with him on April 22, 1799. The next Falekaono was succeeded in turn by his son Ngungutau (incumbent in 1862), and by his brother Alaipulotu.

Fehiosi, titled chief at Uiha, Uiha Island. Title makes bearer "brother" to chief Malupo. Incumbent in 1920 formerly called John Likuhangavale.

Fielakepa, a chief of the Haa Havea, seat at Havelu, Tongatabu. The first Fielakepa, Longolongoatumai, son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and the Tamaha Tuimala, was succeeded by his son. A later Fielakepa, Tongaliuaki, was the son of Niumeitolu and grandson of Tui Kanokupolu Aleamotua; his mother was Faaiseina (a Samoan). M. Teuhema Fielakepa was chief in 1862. Aisea Fielakepa died February 11, 1904.

Fifi, a chief of the Sinae ki Mui.

Fohe, a chief of the Haa Havea, seat at Puke, Tongatabu. The first Fohe was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea. The daughter Toa of an early Fohe became the wife of the Tui Tonga Fakanaanaa. Their son Sisifa, and his son Kulipapalangi (European dog) became Fohe. Other holders of the title were U. Halatokoua Fohe, who was holding office in 1862; John Fohe who died July 2, 1871; J. Fohe who died September 18, 1876; and Asaeli Fohe who died August 11, 1906.

Fotofili, a chief of the Haa Takalaua and ruler of Niuafoou. The late premier Tui Vakano writes: "Nothing to do with the titles of Tongatabu. Practically king of Niuafoou and created his own chiefs." According to informant Moungatonga the first Fotofili of Niuafoou was the brother of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. Fotofili mentioned by the genealogies bore the personal names Fakasiieiki and Alokuoulu. Two other holders of the title were Lavaka, who was living in 1862, and Peter who died on January 12, 1888.

Fulivai, a chief in the Haa Takalaua, seat at Hunga Island, Vavau. A Fulivai was one of the chiefs put to death by Ulukalala II. The Tamaha's genealogies indicate the following succession of incumbents: Komoeatu, his son Oneata, Oneata's son Vahavahai, Vahavahai's son Siofilisi. There was also a Halaapiapi Lulu, who was Fulivai, but how he was related to the others I cannot determine. In 1862 the incumbent was T. Kaianuanu. His father was Sikihaumu who may have been Fulivai, though the genealogies do not state either that he was or was not.

Fusitua, a chief of Niuafoou, created by and subordinate to Fotofili.

Hafoka, Eua chief of the Haa Ngata Motua. Manumua of Eua is really more chiefly than Hafoka, but about 1860 Manumua gave his kava right to Hafoka. The reason was that a daughter of Manumua bore a son to Hafoka. When this son grew up he was appointed Hafoka, and his mother's family gave him the kava, no doubt because of the *fahu* relationship. There have been three Hafoka in Eua. The original one was son of a Veehala. He lived in Eua and begot children by Eua women. The name continued as a chiefly name and the Tui Kanokupolu now appoints the Hafoka. The informant thought the title did not date back far enough for the Tui Tonga to have appointed. The present Hafoka, Moses, has no hereditary land (*tofia*) and is not a "noble."

Halaapiapi, the first Halaapiapi mentioned in the genealogies is Mariner's friend, who later murdered Finaufisi, also Mariner's friend. This Halaapiapi was a descendant of Mataelehaamea, the fourth Tui Kanokupolu. His father was Pasiaka, whose father was Tuituiohu, whose father was Mataelehaamea the Tui Kanokupolu. There was a chief, S. Halaapiapi living in 1862. I doubt if the name is a title, however.

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Halatokoua, titled chief at Uiha, Uiha Island. The title makes the bearer "brother" to Malupo, even though actually not so related.

Haveatuli, title of one of two chiefs sent by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I to Vavau. The other chief bore the title Niutongo. Both title-bearers are commoners now, and, although they are regarded as the descendants of the two original chiefs who came to Vavau, are appointed by Tahifisi, himself a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu.

Kapukava, a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua. The first Kapukava was a son of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and Kaufoou, the daughter of Ahomee. He was succeeded by his son. The seat of Kapukava is at Holonga where an ancestor was given a tract by a Tui Tonga. Holonga is not in the Hihifo district where the other Haa Ngata Motua chiefs reside, but is in the Hahake district of Tongatabu.

Kavakimotu, a chief of the Sinae ki Mui, with seat at Hamula, Tongatabu.

Lasike, a chief of Kanokupolu, Tongatabu. Placed by the premier Tui Vakano in the Haa Fale Fisi, by the informant Tapueluelu in the Haa Tui Kanokupolu. Informants at Okoa Island, Vavau, said that although Lasike is of Fijian origin, he does not belong to the Fale Fisi. The first Lasike mentioned in the genealogies was the son of a Fijian named Palei and of Toafilimoeunga (daughter of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko). It seems not unlikely that the title started with this individual, who was succeeded by his son as Lasike. Hocart (32) names Rausike as a Tongan title derived from Lakemba. The Lasike of 1862 was K. Palei. A Lasike died May 5, 1898.

Latukefu, a chief of commoner origin and member of Haa Ngata Motua by invitation.

Lavaka, the chief of Pea, Tongatabu, and a member of the Haa Havea. The earliest Lavaka in the genealogies was the son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and a woman from Haatuukau named Holokuku. This Lavaka was a paternal half brother of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and may be the individual referred to below as Lavaka Haatuukau. The next Lavaka mentioned was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and Fatafehi, daughter of the Tui Tonga. A later Lavaka married Tofitae, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Tatafu. Their son was Lavaka Fanuauli, who married Huafaikikava, daughter of the matapule Motuapuaka. Their son Liuakaaetau is mentioned specifically as bearing the title Lavaka. Later incumbents were J. Nuku mo Vahai Lavaka who held the title in 1862, a Lavaka who died in 1893, and one who died on October 19, 1916. Other Lavaka bore the personal names Toafaohihifo and Mafimatapule. I cannot assign them to their proper positions in the series.

Lavaka Haatuukau, a chief buried in the cemetery Kelekelemeifisi, Maufanga, Tongatabu. He was said to have been an important chief at Mua and to have moved thence to Maufanga. While living there he built his tomb (*faitoka*) of earth brought from Fiji. The mound is about 8 feet high and 75 feet in diameter.

Luani, a chief of the Haa Vaea. The first Luani mentioned in the genealogies is the son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea by Sungu, a Fijian woman from Peka (Mbeka, Mbenga?). One of his sons was Falekaono, who was murdered with Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. Another son became the next Luani. He was succeeded by his son Moungalakepa. His son Siukituatonga became the next Luani. Siukituatonga's mother was Toeumu, the woman in Mariner's account who defied "King" Finau. Siukituatonga was succeeded by his brother's (Niukapu) son Silas Fusi who was the Luani who died March 21, 1895. He was succeeded by his brother Puaka. Their mother was Toa of Leimatua, Vavau Island. The last incumbent (Puaka ?) died in 1917. His son and heir was about four years old at that time. Probably he has not yet been appointed.

Lutu, a chief of the Sinae ki Mui, with seat at Toloa, Tongatabu.

Maafutakinima, a chief in Foui, Tongatabu, said to be either the "son or younger 622
brother" of Ata. Appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. The first Maafutakinima was
the son's daughter's child's son of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu. Kaumavae was 173
Ngata's son, Fiekaniva was Kaumavae's daughter, Pulupulutuu was Fiekaniva's child 551
(presumably son), and the first Maafutakinima was Pulupulutuu's son. Somewhat 554
later there was a Maafutakinima who bore the personal name Afemui. A later Maa- 613
futakinima mentioned in the genealogies lived in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century. His son was Atefulufulu who became the next Maafutakinima, but was killed in an attack on the Hihifo district of Tongatabu by Tupouniua (brother of Ulukalala II and friend of Mariner). Atefulufulu's sons Mafuahingano and Muakiholeva successively held the title Maafutakinima after their father's death.

Maafutukuiaulahi is the head of the Haa Havea. His seat is Vaini, Tongatabu. The earliest Maafutukuiaulahi mentioned in the genealogies was Hafoka, the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko. Hafoka's mother was Papa, the daughter of Aokatoa (the Tui Haamea). She was also the mother of the first Fohe. Her younger sister Umukisia, who accompanied her as a supplementary wife, or *fokonofo*, was the mother of other Haa Havea chiefs: Vaea, Tui Vakano, and Momotu. Hafoka's son Mailelaumotomoto was the next incumbent. His son Tangatailavalu became Maafutukuiaulahi, and a second son Limuloa became Tui Kanokupolu. Maluotaufa (son of Tangatailavalu) was the next incumbent. Hoamofaleono (the daughter of Maluotaufa and mother of King George I) became the mother of the next Maafutukuiaulahi who bore the personal name Filimoeulie. His father was Moimoi. Siotame Fakatulolo, son of Filimoeulie, was the next Maafutukuiaulahi. Kumaikuvalu and his son Finautoki are two other incumbents whose exact position in the series I cannot ascertain. L. Taufa was Maafutukuiaulahi in 1862, and B. Maafutukuiaulahi, died September 2, 1887.

Maatu, chief of Niuatoputapu and Tafahi islands. See page 284 for list of title bearers. The late premier Tui Vakano wrote me as follows concerning the title Maatu: "Belongs to Tui Tonga family of very olden times. He was practically king of Niuatoputapu and had nothing to do with the title on Tongatabu, but created his own chiefs."

Mahina, an ancient chieftainship with seat at Haa Tuukau (between Haa Kio and Faleono) in Vavau Island. Mahina, Puakatea, and Takalatea were all conquered by the fifth Tui Kanokupolu (Vuna), even though they were already the subjects of the Tui Tonga.

Malupo, head of one of the two Haa Ngana subdivisions of the Haa Fale Fisi, and chief of northern half of Uiha Island, Haapai. T. Saulala Malupo was chief in 1862. K. Malupo died January 14, 1900. The present Malupo was named John Folaumoeloa before his elevation. He succeeded his father's brother. His own father was Simote Foliaki; he was not Malupo. The place where Malupo lives is always called Haa Ngana, just as Pangai applies to the Tui Kanokupolu's place. The tombs of the Malupo are on Uiha, where is also the tomb of the Tui Kanokupolu Tupoutoa.

Manumua, the first Manumua was the son of Takeleveka, namesake of the older Takeleveka, but no relation. (See Divination, p. 333.) This person was the son of a Tui Tonga by a concubine, but was adopted by Ofa, the son of the older Takeleveka. With his adoptive father and one of the Tui Tonga's men named Lo he moved to Eua Island and became the progenitor of the chiefs of Eua since his time. He married the daughter of Hama, who belonged to the family of the Tui Haa Takalaua. Their child was Manumua, who became chief of Eua. The name has since been used as the title and there is a Manumua today. (See Hafoka.)

Matauvave, the Tui Tonga's representative in Haapai. Formerly called the Tui Haapai. He resided in Uoleva Island, which was a pigeon reserve. The present Matauvave is of only matapule rank. The first Matauvave was appointed by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, in the Fifteenth Century, so tradition says; and is referred to in the Tamaha's genealogies as a "king." The present Matauvave was called Tuakimoana before his elevation. He succeeded his mother's brother Nehoa, whose son

and heir had died in Fiji. Nehoa was preceded in the Matauvave title by his older 622
brother Jacob, who had succeeded a man (presumably related) named Paul Fisilau. 173
Tuakimoana, the incumbent of 1921, was installed in office by Kalaniuvalu, son of the 551
Tui Tonga Laufilitonga and a chief in Mua, Tongatabu, who, about 1870, gave a 554
kava party in Pangai, Lifuka, at which the first cup was served to Tuakimoana and 613
his title was called out as Matauvave.

Momotu, a chief of the Haa Havea, now claimed as a member of the Haa Ngata Motua. The first Momotu was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko, and of Umukisia, daughter of the Tui Haamea Aokatoa. (See further details about Momotu, page 32.)

Napaa, a title of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. The first incumbent was the son of Tupoulolotava, the son of Taukinukufili, the son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea. The first Napaa was succeeded by his son.

Niukapu, the first Niukapu of the Tamaha's genealogies was the son of Halakitaua, who was the son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and of the woman Manutapu (daughter of Vake of Haano Island, Haapai). One Niukapu of the Nineteenth Century bore the personal name of Naiteitei. T. Poese Niukapu was chief in 1862, and V. Niukapu died on April 17, 1914. Niukapu is a member of the Haa Latu Hifo and his seat is at Fangaleounga, Foa Island, Haapai.

Niutongo, title of one of two chiefs sent by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I to Vavau. See Haveatuli.

Nuku, chief of Kolonga, Tongatabu, and a member of the Haa Latu Hifo. In the Tamaha's genealogies, the first Nuku mentioned was the son of Vaoloa, who was the son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vakalahimoheuli and younger brother of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. N. Muli Nuku was chief in 1862. A Nuku died December 17, 1896.

Ngalungalu, chief of Neiafu, Tongatabu. A member of the Haa Ngata Motua.

Puakatea, chief of Fuhu, Vavau Island. See Mahina.

Tafolo, a chief of the Sinae ki Mua. Tafololahi (Tafolo the Eldest) was the son of Kauulufonua and of Tuutangahunuhunu (daughter of the second Tui Kanokupolu Atamataila). Kauulufonua was a contemporary of the Tui Tonga Fakanaanaa. The son of Tafolo (*lahi*) was Ulufonuaaevalu, whose son was Tafolo, whose son was Tafolo, whose son Inasiulu was the father of Tui Pulotu, who was the father of Siofilisi Otu, who was Tafolo in 1862. Inasiulu lived about 1800 and is referred to by Collocott (16, p. 95).

Tahilau, a chief of Uiha, Uiha Island. To Chief Malupo he stands in fictitious relation of "brother."

Takaihouma, a chief of Houma, Eua Island.

Takalatea, former chief at Fuhu, Vavau Island. See Mahina.

Takeleveka, the reputed "original" chief of Eua.

Taliauli, the first Taliauli mentioned in the Tamaha's genealogies was the son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea by the Fijian woman Sungu from Peka (perhaps Mbenga). This Taliauli was succeeded by his son Taliauli, who was succeeded by his son Taliauli (whose mother was Vui).

Tangipa, a chief of Niuatoputapu, subordinate to Maatu. The title was created by Maatu.

Taufa Tofua, chief of Tofua Island, Haapai, now uninhabited. The present Taufa Tofua succeeded his father, while I was in Tonga. His preappointment name was Hame Faiva. Before he became chief he was a commoner. His mother was the daughter of a matapule and his father's chiefly blood had been much diluted by the marriages of his forefathers to women of low rank. (For alleged first Taufa Tofua, see 26, p. 67.)

Toamotu, a chief of Koloa Island, Vavau. The first Toamotu was rewarded with land on Koloa by King George I, for bravery at siege of Pea, Tongatabu. His preappointment name was Tupoumeieua and he was a man of Nukuleka, Tongatabu, now

buried at Makaunga, Tongatabu. He was of Haa Takalaua as are present Toamotu 622
and many Koloa people. Koloa was originally the personal property of the Tui Tonga.
Touli, the only remaining person of the Tui Tonga's tenants, lives at Holeva, Koloa 173
Island. Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava resided there in Mariner's day. 551

Totolate, the chief of Late Island, Vavau. Belongs to "Haa Tui Kanokupolu." 554

Tui Afitu, a chief of the Fale Fisi, appointed anciently by the Tui Tonga, but 613
to-day by the Tui Kanokupolu. Seat at Makave, Vavau. A notorious bearer of this title was Lolomanaia, who seduced Talafaiva (26, p. 37), the wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I. Perhaps it was this same man who married Fatafehi, daughter of a Tui Tonga and thereby acquired Fonoifua Island, which his successors have continued to hold (26, p. 68). S. Tonga Tui Afitu, chief in 1862.

Tui Haamea, chief of the district of Haamea in central Tongatabu. The title no longer exists, or if it does is politically unimportant. The last Tui Haamea of whom I have record was Aokatoa, whose daughter Papa became the wife of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and the mother of the fourth and fifth Tui Kanokupolu. Another daughter, Umukisia, was also wife of Mataeletuapiko, being a *fokonofo* brought by Papa. The famous chiefs called Loau were Tui Haamea. (See p. 130.)

Tui Haa Ngana, chief of one of the two Haa Ngana subdivisions of the Fale Fisi. Malupo is chief of the other. The place where Tui Haa Ngana lives is always called Haa Ngana. His seat is the island of Haano, Haapai. The Tamaha's genealogies mention Liufau, who was Tui Haa Ngana and who was succeeded by his son Lataimaumi. Israel Havea Tui Haa Ngana died June 7, 1899.

Tui Haa Teiho, of the lineage Fale Fisi. At present the Tui Haa Teiho is appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. According to the Tamaha's genealogies and to Charlotte Toafilimoeunga of Vavau, sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho, the following have held the title: Tungimanaia (Fakatakatuu), adopted son of the preceding Tui Haa Teiho; Tui Kolovatu, buried in circular mound near Paepae o Telea, Lapaha, Tongatabu; Mapa; Haveatungua, son of Mapa; Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha, son of Haveatungua; Kelepi Fulilangi, son of Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha; Paul Kolokivaitupu (Paul Havea), son of Kelepi Fulilangi; John Vuna, son of Paul Kolokivaitupu; Kelepi Havea, son of Paul Kolokivaitupu, younger brother of John Vuna and of informant Charlotte Toafilimoeunga; John Fatukimotulalo, son of Kelepi Havea, incumbent.

I am not certain that Tui Haa Teiho I is the earliest incumbent. He adopted Tungimanaia as his son. Tungimanaia was the daughter's son of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fotofili and the son's son's son of Fonomanu (Tui Lakepa, brother of Tamaha Fonokimoana, and father of Tamaha Tuimala). Tungimanaia married the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala II and became the father of the Tamaha Simuoko. The Tui Haa Teiho Haveatungua was the father of the last Tamaha.

Tui Haa Tuunga, the chiefs at Nukunuku, Tongatabu, who were displaced by Tui Vakano. The Tui Haa Tuunga was still ruling in the time of the second Tui Kanokupolu Atamataila, for the latter married Tokilupe, his daughter. Presumably, the Tui Haa Tuunga had displaced the still earlier Tui Haamea.

Tui Lakepa. The founder of the Tongan title of Tui Lakepa was the Tui Lakemba of Vasivasi, Fiji, who came to Tonga and married the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I. The lineage Fale Fisi sprang from him. The modern Tui Lakepa heads the Fale Fisi. The tombs of the Tui Lakepa are Langitoamanatu and Nakulukilangi, Lapaha, Tongatabu. Tapuosi, the Tui Lakepa from Vasivasi, Fiji, was succeeded in office by his son Fonomanu, who like Tapuosi became the father of a Tamaha. Fonomanu's successor was his son Nautu. Lelenoa (daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea) was the mother of Nautu's son and successor, Fehokomoelangi of Nukulau, Fiji. Fehokomoelangi married the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala III, and became the father of the Tamaha Moungalakepa whom Cook met. Latunipulu succeeded his father Fehokomoelangi as Tui Lakepa, and was in turn succeeded by his own son Takavaha.

Tui Loloko, one of the Falefa chiefs. One within memory of an informant bore the name Laufulitonga before appointment.

Tui Matahau, one of the Falefa chiefs.

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Tui Pelehake. The Tui Pelehake is also called Tui Faleua and heads the lineage Haa Talafale. The first Tui Pelehake was the celestial paternal half-brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and is reputed to have descended with him from the sky. The Tamaha's genealogies mention first a Tui Pelehake who bore the personal name Fisilaumali. He married Fusipala (daughter of Mataelehaamea, the fourth Tui Kanokupolu). His son and successor Lekaumoana married Toeumu (of Mariner's day) and begot a son and successor called Uluvalu. Uluvalu married Latuholeva (daughter of the Tamaha Latufuipeka) and begot the next Tui Pelehake who was named Filiaipulotu. Filiaipulotu married Charlotte Mafileo (daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu George I) and begot the latest Tui Pelehake George Fatafehitoutai, who became the father of the Tui Kanokupolu George II. Fatafehitoutai was born on July 2, 1842, and died on November 20, 1912. It is likely that one of the sons of the present Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte will become the next Tui Pelehake.

Tui Talau, one of the Falefa chiefs. The traditional first Tui Talau was the Fijian Tui Motuliki, the supernatural child of Maui Atalanga and Maui Kisikisi (50, p. 140).

Tui Tufu, chief of Eueiki Island, Tongatabu.

Tui Vakano, a chief of the Haa Havea with seat at Nukunuku. The first Tui Vakano was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko by Umukisia, the daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea. (Collocott [15, p. 41] makes the first Tui Vakano the son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu, probably mistakenly. The Lakembans claim [32] that the first Tongan Tui Vakano was a Lakemban emigrant, the Tui Soso of Nukunuku, Lakemba, who changed his name to Tui Vakano in Tonga.) He married Huiuha (daughter of Taufa Tofua) and begot Mafana (Tui Vakano) and Hafokamee (Tui Vakano). Hafokamee had a son of the same name, but the genealogies do not show whether he was Tui Vakano. Hafokamee the younger had two sons who were Tui Vakano. The first is designated in the genealogies simply as Tui Vakano, the second bore the personal name of Fa. Then ensues a break in the record. In 1862 the Tui Vakano bore the name William Vaea Mataele. It was apparently he who was deposed by his people before 1837 for having embraced Christianity. On January 24, 1912, there died S. Tui Vakano. The late Tui Vakano of 1921, who was premier of Tonga, was born December 28, 1869, and bore the personal name Polutele. His mother Ana was the daughter of a preceding Tui Vakano. His father was Kahomovailahi.

Tui Vakanofisi, chief appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu, formerly by the Tui Tonga. He resides at Houma, Tongatabu, and belongs to the Fale Fisi. The relationship of the present title holder to Vaea is very close. Were Vaea to have no heir it is said that the present Tui Vakanofisi might become the next Vaea, even though Vaea is of the Haa Havea.

Tuita, a chief-matapule of the Haa Toutai. Faingaanuku was the name of the first Tuita who went to Fiji and there exchanged names with the Fijian Tuita. The Tuita on record are as follows: Faingaanuku Tuita; Polutele, son of Faingaanuku; Tuita, son of Polutele, who married the Tamaha Latufuipeka; Lolohea Loholoho, son of Ulukalala I by Siulua, adopted by the Tamaha Latufuipeka for Tuita; Makahokovalu, son of Tuita and of the Tamaha Latufuipeka; George Ulukivaiola, son of Makahokovalu; Israel Tupou, daughter's son of George Ulukivaiola, incumbent, appointee of King George II, following death of George Ulukivaiola on June 30, 1909. The father of present Tuita is David Unga of Koulo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The last Tuita had no legitimate sons, although many illegitimate ones who could not succeed.

Tungi, title created by King George I in 1875 to replace in a measure the title of Tui Haa Takalaua, which was allowed to fall into abeyance. The title was really the personal name of William Tungi now deceased and buried in Falepulemaalo, one of the Tui Haa Takalaua tombs at Loamanu, Lapaha, Tongatabu. His son's son, the

Prince Consort, is the second person to bear the title. The seat of the Tungi is at 622
Tatakamotonga, Tongatabu.

William Tungi (I), died June 13, 1900. His son George Tukuaho was father of 173
William Tungi (II), Prince Consort, who was born November 1, 1887. His personal 551
name was William Tupoulahi. 554

Tupou Angataha, a chieftaincy which terminated with the accession of King 613
George I. (See page 323.)

Tupouata, chief of Ata Island. Only one person held this title, appointed in heathen times.

Tupoutoa, newly created (1921) title for the late John Mateialona, a first cousin of King George II. A member of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu.

Tuuhetoka, listed as one of *houeiki* in 1862 in a Tongan government publication. By some informants he was said to be a matapule, but whom he served I did not learn. B. Fakailomoa Tuuhetoka, chief in 1862. Sekonaia Tuuhetoka died November 16, 1889.

Ulukalala, a member of the Haa Ngata Tupu. The seat of Ulukalala is in Vavau. Tangataohaamea is the personal name of the present Ulukalala's oldest son and heir apparent. The fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea controlled Vavau and bestowed land there upon his son Tuituiohu. One informant said that Tuituiohu was sent there as governor by the Tui Tonga Pau to replace Fakatea, who had previously been in charge. The first Ulukalala was the son of Tuituiohu. There must have been more or less rivalry for the control of Vavau between Tuituiohu and his descendants on the one hand and Vuna (the fifth Tui Kanokupolu and conqueror of Vavau) and his descendants on the other hand. Mariner (41, pp. 370, 372, 377, 379, 396) relates how a later Vuna was expelled by Ulukalala III. The succession of Ulukalala chiefs was as follows: Ulukalala I was the son of Tuituiohu and Tufui, the daughter of the Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, or according to another version, of Tuituiohu and the Tamaha Latufuipeka. He was apparently Cook's Finau of 1777. It seems to be his death that is recorded on June 12, 1797 (65, p. 255). Ulukalala I is designated as Ulukalala in Maufanga, referring to his burial place near Havelu, in the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. It was his body that was exhumed by the forces arrayed against his son Ulukalala II, in the internecine wars at the close of the eighteenth century. Ulukalala II, Mariner's patron, is designated as "in Feletoa," the cemetery in Vavau Island in which he is buried. Mariner's younger Finau, Moengangongo, son of Ulukalala II, presumably became Ulukalala III, as Mariner says, though the Tamaha's genealogies do not mention the title Ulukalala in connection with his name. Ulukalala IV (in Pouono) was also the son of Ulukalala II. His personal name was Tuapasi. His son Matekitonga who apparently never became Ulukalala was the father of the incumbent George Finau, the present Ulukalala. His son Tangataohaamea was destined (in 1921) to marry Fusipala, the young sister of the present Tui Kanokupolu, evidently with a view to more closely binding the Ulukalala chiefs to the ruling dynasty. Finaufisi and Tupouniua of Mariner's time were paternal half-brothers of Ulukalala II.

Vaea, a chief of the Haa Havea, with seat at Houma, Tongatabu. Vaivai, the first Vaea was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko by Umukisia, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea. Succeeding holders of the title were: Muni, son of Vaivai; Vunivalu, son's son of Muni, the son of Muni being called Tui Motuliki; Hafokamee; Finauhuia, son's son of Muni, the son being Tui Motuliki; Hafokamee; Finauhuia, brother of Vunivalu; Hivapeaulu, son of Finauhuia; Tamataane, son of Finauhuia; Funakimalohi, son's son of Vunivalu, the son being Taulakau; William Kafokuota, son of Tamataane, died August 6, 1886; Josiah Tava, son of Hivapeaulu; Solomon Kulikefu, son of Tamataane, died October 9, 1887; Shadrach Nuku, son of Tamataane, died July 30, 1893; J. Panuve Loloa, son of Solomon Kulikefu, incumbent in 1921.

Vahai, in daily life a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua. His seat is Foui, Tongatabu. In the kava circle he is reckoned as a member of the Haa Latu Hifo to which his paternal male ancestors belonged. Some say he stands in relation of "son" (*foha*) to Nuku of that lineage, others say that he stands in the relation of "younger brother"

(*tehina*). J. Langoia Vahai was chief in 1862. J. Vahai died August 14, 1900. An 622
earlier Vahai bore the personal name of Toloaatonga. 173

Valu, chief of Utulau, Tongatabu. 551

Veehala, a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua, resident at Fahefa, Tongatabu. The 554
first Veehala was the son of Leilua (the son of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and 613
of Kaufoou, the daughter of Ahomee). Punou Veehala was chief in 1862. Shadrach
Veehala (son of Ata), died March 26, 1893.

Veikune, a chief of the Sinae ki Mua. The name Veikune was made a title by King George II as a reward to Jiosateki Veikune, premier of Tonga from 1893 till 1904. The holder of the title in 1921 was the Governor of Vavau. Osaiasi Tonga Veikune died January 3, 1867. Jiosateki Veikune died October 17, 1913.

Vunivalu, the first Vunivalu mentioned in the Tamaha's genealogies bore the personal name Matausioehau, and was the son of a Tongan woman named Kalaepulevalu and a Fijian named Ate. He was succeeded by his son Uaisele (Wesley?) Fifita, and Fifita was succeeded as Vunivalu by his son Maafu, and Maafu was succeeded by his son Tupou. Hocart (32) derives the Tongan Vunivalu from Lakemba.

MATAPULES

624
The matapules (called by some writers petty chiefs) are, strictly speak- 565
ing, the titled ceremonial attendants of titled chiefs as distinguished from at- [622]
tendants in general (*takanga*). But like *eiki* (chief), the word matapule
has been extended in application to include all persons who are of matapule
rank by virtue of their blood, regardless of whether they hold titles or not.
Only one person in a family at one time holds a matapule title. Only a [622]
titled chief may have a titled matapule. Kava can be presented ceremonially [276]
only by a matapule; even a titled chief can present kava to the Queen only
through a matapule.

Some of the duties of the matapule are described in the sections "The [128]
court of the Tui Tonga" (pp. 63-71) and "Kava drinking" (pp. 156-168).

Like the titled chief, the titled matapule is the representative of the 565
first title bearer or ancestor. As a rule he serves the titled chief whose 622
ancestor his ancestor served. There is a very considerable range in the 624
power and influence of matapules, their positions being correlated largely
with the power and influence of the chiefs they serve. Thus to-day Lauaki [643]
and Motuapuaka are by far the greatest of the matapules, for they serve [644]
the sovereign Tui Kanokupolu. On the other hand the present matapules [643]
of the Tui Tonga exercise no such power and influence as did their prede- [178]
cessors in the days when the Tui Tonga was flourishing.

The matapules are related to both chiefs and commoners. The ancestor of 565
Lauaki is reputed to have descended from the sky with his brother Ahoeitu, 173
the first Tui Tonga, but most other matapule titles are traced to the advent 167
of some foreigner from Fiji, Samoa, Rotuma, or Tokelau. Just what significance is to be attached to the absence of matapules from Niue and Futuna, I do not know. Their absence from Uvea, Niuatoputapu, and Niuafoou is no doubt connected with the feeling that the inhabitants of those islands are Ton-

gans, not foreigners. This foreign origin does not militate against relationship 565
with the modern chiefs and commoners of Tonga. The matapules have be- 173
come thoroughly amalgamated with the population through intermarriage. 167

The reason assigned for the employment of foreigners as matapules is that 565
they are exempt from the tapu which separate a Tongan chief and his purely 186
Tongan relatives. Thus Hoakai (Soakai), a matapule to the Tui Tonga, 784
was privileged to eat with the Tui Tonga, a thing which no Tongan might do. 624

Unlike commoners, few matapules were killed by chiefs for offenses. 565
Furthermore, a matapule might leave a chief and go to another for greater 624
reward, though returning to the first chief incurred death. Tongan com- 622
moners might be raised to what was virtually matapule rank by being given 681
titles for prowess in war, industry in agriculture, or success in fishing. 555

The three great influxes of matapules are traditionally connected with 565
the entry into Tonga of three persons of high rank. From Fiji in the reign 173
of Tuitatui, came Tui Motuliki (afterwards called Tui Talau), the putative 167
supernatural child of the two Maui (Atalanga and Kisikisi). With him
came other Fijians who became matapules of the Tui Tonga. Tui Motu-
liki and his followers were warmly welcomed (50, pp. 140-142). Quite 648
likely later, and probably about 1600, a great influx of Samoans was sig-
nalized by the marriage of the Samoan lady Tohuia to the Tui Haa Takalaua
Moungatonga. A little later came Tapuosi, the Fijian Tui Lakepa, with a
following of chiefs and matapules. (See Hocart, 32.) In addition to these
three important accretions there was doubtless an intermittent dribbling
in of foreigners. (See list p. 504.)

Of particular interest is the matapule Kama (Samoan, Ama). He is a descendant of that Ama who was the father of Tohuia, the wife of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and the mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata. The present matapule Kama, is addressed as grandfather by all of the chiefs of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu, because Ama of Safata, Samoa, was the grandfather of Ngata the first Tui Kanokupolu. The chief Ama of Samoa came first to Tonga, perhaps near the end of the Sixteenth Century, and was followed by his daughter Tohuia, who became the mother of Ngata. The present Kama does not know whether Ama the chief remained in Tonga or returned to Samoa; nor does he know how the Tongan Kama became matapule, but thinks it was because they were foreigners. Kama and his son visited the predecessor of the present Ama in Samoa in 1894. Ama was much annoyed that his relatives in Tonga ranked only as matapule, and told them that they were the descendants of the elder of two brothers, while the Samoan Ama were the descendants of the younger brother. For that reason the visiting Kama was given the chief's kava while in Samoa. The Kama in Tonga have always been appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu

but have served both the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga. Filise Vaita- 565
iki was the present Kama's pre-matapule name. 173
167

At Nomuka Island on October 1, 1920, I witnessed the appointment of 565
a minor matapule to office by the governor of Haapai. During the ceremony 624
Pahulu received the title of Pilimokaupua the name of a matapule from [123]
Maufanga, Tongatabu, and which refers to a little hill in Maufanga. (One [554]
informant said that the hill in Maufanga is called Kaupua and another that Pili and Kaupua were two chiefs of Maufanga.)

After the governor had assigned the title, kava was served and the mata- [276]
pule was called by his new name. The last Pilimokaupua had no son, hence [553]
he was succeeded in title by his brother's son, Pahulu, who on his father's [428]
side at least was of matapule blood. By receiving this title the social posi- [554]
tion of Pahulu was materially enhanced and his rank advanced.

To-day matapules use staff and fly whisk like Samoan *tulafale*. When 565
addressing an assembly in which high chiefs are present, a matapule stands; 624
in a *faikava*, he sits; in an assembly where chiefs are not present, he may 622
sit or stand as he likes. A chiefly informant said that the use of fly whisk [516]
and staff by matapules is a late practice, that anciently these objects were [537]
used by chiefs only.

It seems to be the custom for the prospective heir to a matapule title 565
to serve as a substitute in the absence of the title holder. In the absence of 624
428
both the title bearer and the prospective heir, the relative next in line, even such collateral relatives as cousins, may serve. A younger brother of a matapule, serving in his place is called matapule *tehina* (younger brother).

The chief matapules of the Tui Kanokupolu are Lauaki and Motuapuaka 565
who reside in Tongatabu. Their representatives or substitutes in other islands 644
are: Haapai, Kofe and Afeaki; Vavau, Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli; Niu- [551]
atoputapu, Sika and Kaufanga; Niuafoou, Masila and Haufano.

Mariner lists certain occupations which are followed by matapules. The [502]
occupation of *toutai vaka* or navigator was an important one. The two principal matapule navigators were Leka for the Tui Tonga and Ula for the Tui Kanokupolu. Like the great matapule Lauaki, Ula originally served the Tui Tonga, but was later sent by the Tui Haa Takalaua to serve the Tui Kanokupolu. An old poem tells how Ula and Leka bridge the gap between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokupolu. Ulamoleka (that is, Ula and Leka) was a chief adopted by Leka. He said of himself: "Kauhalauta (Tui Tonga side) and Kauhalalalo (Tui Kanokupolu side) are far apart, but I am the one who brings them close together, referring to the fact that he had the names of the two *toutai*.

When the Tui Kanokupolu voyages, Ula acts not only as navigator but 565
as matapule in general while at sea, and for three days after landing. There- 644
after Motuapuaka, or his representative, resumes the duties. The same ap- 643
plied to Leka in relation to the Tui Tonga. [502]

The two following versions of the origin of the title Ula are of interest.

> Hiva is the name of a little stream running into the sea in Haa Vakatolo, Tonga- [554]
> tabu. The Tui Tonga was there bathing, attended by Motuapuaka and Akauola, [173]
> when a sturdy little child came along, running up to the king without any sign of fear. The king asked whose child it was and Akauola replied falsely that it was his. The king said it was a clever little boy (*tamasii fie ulo*). The name of *fie ula* stuck and was the origin of the title Ula. The child came from no man knows whence and was probably a god.
>
> According to Ahomee, Akauola had nothing to do with the incident. The child sat by the Tui Tonga, who said, "Toki tamasii eni oku fie ula" (Then the little boy here desires to be clever).

The Tui Tonga made him his chief *toutai*. His nickname (*hingoa fakatenctene*) was Ula. The gods of Haa Vakatolo brought about this elevation. Ula became the appointment name or office name of his successors. His seat is at Neiafu, Tongatabu.

The seat of the *toutai* Leka is at Nukuleka, Tongatabu. His representatives in Haapai and Vavau, Lutui and Akauola, are called Tua Leka. Lutui is said to be of Tokelauan origin. He was formerly *toutai* to the Tui Haa Takalaua, but now to the Tui Kanokupolu. Both Leka and Ula are now appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

Another important navigator who seems to have been midway between
a chief and matapule in rank was Tuita. A late bearer of the title was the
son of the Tamaha Amelia. Whether it is Tuita, Leka, or Ula who is men- [502]
tioned by Wilson (66, p. 100) as "admiral, or rather the navigator of their
fleets," is not clear.

Arranged according to rank and importance matapules living on the hered- 565
itary lands (*tofia*) of the great chief Ata are: Shadrach Katoa, chief mata- 624
pule to Ata; John Laakulu, matapule to Ata; Shadrach Mohulamotefisi, 622
matapule to Ata; Samuel Fakauho; Paul Eke, matapule to Ata; Josiah Tu- 361 551
liakiono, matapule to Ata; James Sikei, matapule to Ata; Josiah Pahulu,
Watson Langiapuna, John Hifo Funaki, Julius Tava.

In Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai, the three principal matapules in order
of rank are Lutui, a *toutai*, Tea, and Mafifakapotu. If the queen were to [643]
visit Hihifo, Lutui might sit beside her in the kava circle.

ARTISANS AND OCCUPATIONS

Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 91) has carefully listed the Tongan occupations 554
in order of rank as follows: 463

Hereditary: matapule and *mua*
- Canoe builders (*tufunga fou vaka*)
- Cutters of whale-teeth (*tufunga fono lei*)
- Funeral directors (*tufunga tapu*)

Hereditary: *mua* and *tua*
- Stone-masons (*tufunga tao maka*) [or *aholangamaka*]
- Net-makers (*tufunga sia kupenga*)
- Fishermen (*tufunga toutai ika*)
- Large house builders (*tufunga langafale*)

Hereditary or not: *mua* and *tua* 554
- Tattooers (*tufunga ta tatau*)
- Club-carvers (*tufunga tongi akau*) 463

Hereditary or not: *tua*
- Barbers (*tufunga fai kava*)

Hereditary: *tua*
- Cooks (*tangata fei umu*)
- Peasants (*kai fonua*)

It is to be noted that all of the occupations fall into matapule, *mua*, and [565]
tua ranks—people below the chiefly class. The term *tufunga* is applied
generally to skilled artisans of all sorts. Artisans in addition to those listed
by Mariner are *tufunga lalava* (sinnet artist) who applies the ornamental
geometric designs in sinnet and *tufunga tui la*, sail maker. A ship carpenter 335
not only does the actual carpentering but also the wrapping and tying of the 463
sinnet. Many house carpenters, on the other hand, do only carpentering
and leave the ornamental wrapping of the sinnet to the sinnet artist.

In general, one man did not practice many different occupations. At 463
the present time a *tufunga* in the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, is both a house
carpenter and a stone mason.

The traditional origin of the various *tufunga* is unknown. The informant 463
Josiah Paluto was positive that the first *tufunga langafale* in his family did 554
not get the office from the Tui Tonga, but thinks it was a special reward 643
for merit conferred by some local chief. All appointments were confirmed 622
by the Tui Tonga, or by his local representatives; only those *tufunga* whose
local chief was the Tui Tonga himself were invariably appointed directly
by the Tui Tonga. Nowadays the Tui Kanokupolu confers the *tufunga*
titles. As stated by informants, the rights of artisanship ran in the paternal 463
line of descent, preference in each group being given to the oldest son. The 428
order is: (a) sons; (b) brother's sons; (c) father's brother's sons and son's [611]
sons—(equal preference); (d) sister's sons; (e) father's sister's sons.

The dominant determining element was the personal preference of the *tufunga*. If the father died before the son had reached dependable age, it became the family duty of that son to learn the craft as best he could, but not under the tutelage of a *tufunga* outside the family.

It was the duty of all sons to follow their father's trade but only the
eldest son received his father's title. If the eldest son should so neglect his
family duty as to repudiate the family craft, the next in order of relationship
was given the opportunity, depending upon the choice of the old *tufunga*.
An old *tufunga*, however, who arbitrarily and without apparent reason broke [626]

the order of family right to the craft, was severely criticized and socially pun- 463
ished by his family and even by his neighbors. The informant was in doubt 428
as to whether the confirming chief would override such an illogical choice. [626]

If the male members in the family of a *tufunga* lack aptitude, ambition, or any other necessary quality, or show decided inferiority in comparison with someone outside the family, this outsider, following a presentation of gifts to the *tufunga* (from the applicant's family), may be chosen to succeed to the order. This appointee's sons then continue to carry on the particular *tufunga* tradition and practice.

All the people of a village contribute toward the building of the chief's 622 342
house under the direction of a single *tufunga*. 466

Some living representatives of *tufunga* families in Lifuka Island, Haa- 463
pai, are as follows: 551

Josiah Paluto, *tufunga langafale* and *tufunga lalava*, his father, Job Femuiaki, his grandfather and his great-grandfather were also *tufunga;* Ngauamo, *tufunga vaka;* Femuiaki, *tufunga langafale;* Mailau Fuopau, *tufungataomaka*.

According to a Vavau informant, carpenters were called the "Children 335
of Tangaloa Tufunga," that is, "Tangaloa the Artisan." A tradition states [173]
that before the time of Ulukalala, the carpenters were driven from Vavau during a war and went to Fiji to settle and that there they built a fort, so strong that the Fijians could not take it. This brief snatch of legend sug- [467]
gests a sort of organization on the part of the carpenters, but at the present time there is nothing in the nature of a carpenters' guild.

Only one person in a family held the title which went with a trade. As 554
usual, the title seems to have descended most frequently from the father to 463
the eldest son. Thus the predecessor of Eke, a boat builder of the Hihifo 428
district, Tongatabu, was his mother's father, who also was Eke—a title which is bestowed by the chief Ata. The present Eke had the title conferred upon him by the present Ata. Eke is of Samoan extraction and of matapule rank; in fact, the name Eke is a matapule name. An ancestor of the present Eke is believed to have come from Samoa in the time of Tohuia, the Samoan mother of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu.

The father, paternal grandfather, and a great-grandfather of Fakauho, 554
another house builder of the Hihifo district, all bore the same title and were 335
all carpenters. The present Fakauho, popularly known as Fiso, had his title 428
conferred upon him by the present Ata about 1910. Fakauho is also a [333]
stone mason and constructs stone burial vaults (*fonualoto*). Should the [764]
chief Ata want a house built, he orders the Fakauho to do the work. Faka- 622
uho's assistants are his relatives, but Ata orders commoners to help in the 342
rough and heavy work.

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335
[602]
[565]

335
rough and heavy work. He feeds them with the best of foods. When the 621
work is over, he makes a handsome present of fine mats and other objects 342
to the chief carpenter. A carpenter, even if dissatisfied with the conditions, 466
may not throw down his tools—as is done in Samoa. A carpenter may [465]
build houses for matapules and commoners as well as chiefs. Only rarely [171]
he builds a house for a commoner, and only when the commoner is so for- 342
tunate as to possess something suitable as a present. Most commoners erect 565
their own humble dwellings. The matapules, however, invariably having plenty 335
of worldly goods, can well afford to pay the carpenter.

Burial vaults made of six slabs of coral limestone forming a rectangular 764
box are the work of stone masons called *tufunga taomaka*. Mariner limits 333
the stone mason to the *mua* and *tua* classes but Fakauho, who is at the same 349
time mason and carpenter, is a matapule—perhaps a modern exception. [565]

FISHING

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale. In a 226
seaside community a *toutai*, to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of 621
the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing. He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) 464
to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus. In a
pola held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men
directed the activities of more than a thousand people:

On February 9, the *kauleo* with their wives and children, headed by the
pulepola, assembled at the appointed place and for two days made prepara-
tion. Before noon of February 12 the apparatus, including a huge fence of
coconut leaves, was completed. Meantime all the countryside, men, women,
and children, had gathered on the beach to take part in the fishing. The [643]
pulepola, the district chief, and the *kauleo* caught two baskets of fish which [651]
were sent to the Queen by two boys on horseback. After this tribute was
made, everyone kept what he caught, even those who had taken no hand
in the construction of the apparatus. The *kauleo* and the *pulepola* were well [302]
oiled, girded with good mats and *sisi* and wore flower garlands about the [291]
neck. The rest of the people were dressed in ordinary working clothes. [293]

Each *tofia* (hereditary lands of a chief) had exclusive rights to the *pola* 226 621
grounds (*tanungapola*) on its waterfront and any community fronting on 423
the shore could at will construct *pola* on its waterfront. Inland communities [438]
did not take part, obtaining fish from seashore peoples of the same chiefly
districts.

If the shore lines of a chief's territory did not possess the sandy bottom 226
essential to the *pola* construction, he could seek permission to use a neighbor- 621
ing *tanungapola*. Should permission be granted, the chief of the *tofia* 628

ordered a number of stakes to be stuck up around the *tanungapola* to warn 226
off trespassers until the fishing had been completed. 621
[628]

Members of the resident body of a *tofia* needed no chiefly permission to
use any *tanungapola* on that *tofia*. Informants think that in ancient times [622]
the first catch went direct to the district chief, who forwarded some to his [643]
overlord, the Tui Kanokupolu or the Tui Tonga. [651]

The construction and use of fish traps is said to have been learned from 226
the Samoans. An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps [177]
to the *toutai ika* (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed. [784]
It was stated that a "fish trap," used anciently in trees with a decoy bird [223]
to catch pigeons, was adapted later for use in fishing.

A kind of fish trap (*kau*) was made and used only by the people of 226
Talau, Vavau, about which the following story is told: 176
173

> Two matapules of the Tui Talau, Mapu and Faingaa, invented (?) the *kau* trap.
> Their chief, seeing the merits of the invention, excused these men from all other work,
> and they became local *toutai* (fishers and navigators) and lived like petty chiefs. No [477]
> one else could make their traps. Later these men taught the trade to a man named
> Lulu who carried on their work and enjoyed their privileges after their death. Lulu
> in turn had a successor, name unknown, and so on. Not until King George I freed [462]
> the people were these traps made by everyone—women as well as men. [As the first
> Tui Talau and the first Mapu and Faingaa in Tonga are reputed to have been Fijian [177]
> immigrants, perhaps the *kau* fish trap is a diffused Fijian invention.]

At Tuanekivale, Vavau, were two families whom tradition set aside as 226
specialists in shark fishing: 173

> The title holders in these families, named Palefau and Fetoaui, were called *toutai*, but it is doubtful whether they were so designated by the Tui Tonga. They are said to still exercise their family function. In shark fishing they employed a boat, a bait of pork, and a rope noose. It is said that they could call the sharks about them at will.
>
> It was believed that if while away fishing, things should happen at home to the detriment of the fishers, such as stealing of their property, the sharks could not be caught, no matter how plentiful they might be. In such an emergency, it behooved the fishers to return home and make some sort of peaceful settlement of the difficulty, after which the sharks could readily be caught.

OTHER OCCUPATIONS

In modern Tonga tapa is made by coöperative associations of women 285
(*kautaha*). Each woman contributes an equal amount of white tapa strips, 474
which she has previously prepared, and the manufactured goods are shared among the members of the company. The work is done in specially erected houses and usually under the direction of an old woman.

The making of large mats is done by individual women, but a woman 285
may call upon her neighbors to assist her in her work, with the understanding 476
that the same assistance may be asked in return.

Coiled baskets (*katoalu*) are made by women, but never for their own 285
use. Most of them are intended as gifts to a chief or for presents at wed- [431]
dings, funerals, or similar occasions. The basket may be used by the recipient,
but many baskets, particularly openwork baskets, seem to be put to no
practical use.

Wooden bowls were made by men who probably were *tufunga langafale.* 322

Tongan medical treatment is a mixture of magic and herb doctoring. 755
(See page 338.) Most of the doctors are commoners, and may be either 757
male or female (*tangata faitoo* or *fefine faitoo*). They are not appointed 759
by chiefs, but usually follow the practice of a parent, thus keeping the [565
knowledge a secret within the family. Payment (*tukutoo*) is made after a 462
cure, in the form of a feast, during which valuable articles (*koloa,* wealth) 622
such as tapa and mats are placed in front of the doctor. The supercisor 428
of boys was termed *faikaukau* of *faitefe.* (See p. 188.) 465
304]

While barbers, according to Mariner, might be either men or women, most 305
of them are said to have been women. Women of chiefly rank could serve 462
as barbers for chiefs. 565

TITLES OF MATAPULES AND ARTISANS

The following list includes the matapule titles which I have recorded, 565
together with the origin of each title and the relationships of the incumbents 551
so far as known. The titles of artisans are included, though all of them 624
may not be strictly matapule titles. (See p. 144.) 644
463

Afeaki, matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai. 554

Afu Haa Laufuli, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu; resides in Vavau. Anciently he was matapule to the Tui Haa Takalaua and had a house at Fonuamotu, Tongatabu, the residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Afu Haa Mango, a matapule. Residence Okoa Island, Vavau.

Ahomee, a carpenter (*tufunga fale*) appointed by the chief Ahomee in whose *tofia* at Utui, Vavau, he lives. He was preceded in title by his father and his father's father. The present holder of the title is said to be a younger brother of the chief Ahomee.

Akauola, the *toutai* (navigator) of the king of Tonga. A member of the Haa Toutai. He is said to be of Samoan descent, the Samoan form of his title being Laauola. Akauola and Moala are related.

Angakehe, a matapule in the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, serving the chief Malupo of that place.

Faingaa, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Talau, Vavau Island. Perhaps this is one of the Falefa matapules, for his partner is Mapu, as with Falefa matapules.

Fakatea, ruler of Vavau displaced by Tuituiohu, the "governor" sent there by the Tui Tonga Pau. Fakatea is said to have been only a matapule.

Fakatulolo, also called Lutui and Fokololo. A matapule of the Haa Toutai, now
serving the Tui Kanokupolu, but formerly serving the Tui Haa Takalaua. The first
incumbent is said to have come from the Tokelau Islands. Fokololo is the name of [291]
the garment worn by people when going into the sea. The first Fakatulolo of whom
I have record was succeeded by his son Siu, who was succeeded by his daughter's son
Tukia, who was succeeded by his brother Ngongo. A Fakatulolo died August 5, 1897.

Fangopo, a *toutai vaka* (navigator). The first Fangopo mentioned in the genealogies 565
is Maheuliuli who was the son of a man named Kefu and a woman named Finau 551
(son's daughter of the chief Maafutukuiaulahi who bore the personal name of Tanga- 624
tailavalu). The next holder of the title Fangopo was Tokopau, the son of Maheuliuli. 644
The genealogies mention also a Fangopo (perhaps not a title) who was killed at Pea 463
in 1852 and who was the son of Mariner's friend, Halaapiapi.

Faoa, an *eikisii* (petty chief) who has charge of fishing at Hakau Tapu, Tonga- 554
tabu. First appointee by Tui Haa Takalaua. Present appointee by Tui Kanokupolu.

Femuiaki, house builder and boat builder of Tuanekivale, Vavau. Forefathers appointed by Tui Tonga. Now appointed by Tui Kanokupolu.

Fetoaui, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) at Tuanekivale, Vavau Island.

Fevanga, a matapule to the Tui Tufu, chief of Eueiki Island, Tongatabu.

Fisilau, a matapule to Afu Haa Mango, mayor of Okoa and himself a matapule. The name Fisilau refers to Lau in Fiji, whence an ancestor came.

Fotu, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Vavau. The first Fotu mentioned in genealogies had two sons, Pala and John, who successively held the title. Enoch, a holder of the title, died December 8, 1899.

Haufano, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Niuafoou.

Helu, matapule. Present title holder is the mayor of Lotofoa, Foa Island, Haapai. The preceding Helu was his father, who had succeeded his older brother Jonathan Siale as Helu.

Hoakai (Soakai) to-day a chiefly title at Felemea in the island of Uiha. Formerly a matapule title. The original Hoakai was a Fijian. Until the downfall of the Tui Tonga Hoakai served as matapule to the Tui Talau, one of the Falefa chiefs (ministers to the Tui Tonga). (See p. 65.)

Holakeituai, a matapule, apparently created by Taufaahau (later George I) about [555]
1830 as reward for bravery. The title means, "keep away from us, it might be too late," addressed to the chief. They were: Tufui, brother of Tuuhetoka and father's father's father of incumbent, son of Mapahaano, who was son of Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha; Mahe, son of Tufui; Paliono, son of Tufui; Job, son of Mahe; Samuel, son of Job; John Tupou, son of Job, incumbent.

Kama, a matapule title derived from the Ama chiefly title of the Safata district, Upolu Island, Samoa. (See p. 141.) Filise Vaitaiki was the personal name of the Kama of 1921.

Kaufanga, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Niuatoputapu.

Kepa, a matapule at Felemea, Uiha Island.

Kofe, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai.

Kula, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) title held by a resident of Nukunukumotu Island, near Tongatabu. Serves the Tui Kanokupolu. An earlier holder of the title bore the per-
sonal names Faamoetoutai and Philip. He was nicknamed Kauikatea by the Tui Tonga, [553]
because of his expertness with the throwing net. The incumbent of 1921 claimed relationship to the chief Ahomee and the great matapule Lauaki, both through his mother. At least one Kula is buried on Nukunukumotu, in the tract Feauhihoa.

Lamatauaki, sometimes shortened to Lamatau. The undertaker (*haatufunga*) of the Tui Tonga. It is not clear whether this is a title or merely a name, as Lamatauaki is said to have succeeded Lauaki.

Latuahauano, one of the five matapule of the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai. See Vao.

Lauaki, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu, formerly to the Tui Tonga, then to the Tui Haa Takalaua. He is reputed to be of ancient Tongan descent, the first Lauaki having descended from heaven with the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu. He belongs to the Haa Maliepo. Lauaki is said to be the only matapule of strictly Tongan (divine) origin. The gecko was the incarnation of Lauaki's god. Lauaki was transferred by Tui Tonga

Kauulufonua I to his brother the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungamotua. His name is said 565
to refer to the transfer and to the Tui Tonga's message to the Tui Haa Takalaua, 551
"Wait until three nights have passed and I will send him." One Lauaki bore the per- 624
sonal name of Langiloa, perhaps in reference to royal tombs (langi) where he officiated. 644

Lavemai, house builder and boat builder of Mangia, Vavau, appointed by the Tui 463
Kanokupolu. His forefathers were appointed by the Tui Tonga. The present Lavemai 554
was preceded in office by his father.

Lavulavu, a matapule to the Tui Lakepa, by whom he is appointed. Resides on Ovaka Island, Vavau. Belongs to the Fale Fisi.

Leha, matapule to Jioeli Pangia (the man who probably would be Tui Tonga if the office had not been absorbed by the Tui Kanokupolu). Leha's functions are house building and boat building. The first Leha came from Samoa. Compare Lehapoto and Lehauli (page 67).

Leka, navigator to the Tui Tonga. His seat is at Nukuleka, Hahake district, Tongatabu.

Leleimoepo, an ancient noted *toutai*. M. Taukololangi is his descendant. In 1920 the title was held by a matapule at Felemea, Uiha Island.

Lokoili, a *toutai vaka* (navigator) of Lape Island, Vavau. A title, bestowed in present instance by Veikune, Governor of Vavau, probably acting as viceroy for the Tui Kanokupolu.

Lomu, a *tufunga fale* and *tufunga vaka* (house and boat carpenter) to the Tui Tonga. Now appointed by Tui Kanokupolu. The present Lomu was preceded in the title by his father's father. Lomu was once chief of Mangia, Vavau, and a member of the Sinae ki Mua.

Lotoaniu, a matapule to the Tui Haa Teiho. Formerly he was matapule to the Tamaha, but as there is now no Tamaha he serves the chief who would be the brother of the Tamaha. The companion matapule to the Tamaha was Siakumi. The prospective next Lotoaniu is the oldest son of the incumbent.

Lulu, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Vavau Island. Title (?). (See page 147.)

Mahe, carpenter (*tufunga fale*) in Ofu Island, Vavau. Appointed by Tui Lakepa. The present Mahe succeeded upon the death of his elder brother. Besides being a carpenter, he was a matapule who would sit beside Tui Lakepa in a kava party.

Maliepo, celestial half-brother of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga, whom he accompanied to earth. Lauaki is the matapule title of his descendants who served the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haa Takalaua, and now the Tui Kanokupolu. Maliepo was a member of the first Falefa (House of Four), ministers of the Tui Tonga. Maliepo is a synonym for Lauaki and is used in the kava circle.

Mapu, a matapule to the Tui Tonga. He is said to be of Fijian descent. He is a *toutai ika* at Talau, Vavau Island. His partner is Faingaa. Mapu and Faingaa may be the titular descendants of the two Falefa matapules of like name. (See pages 65, 147.)

Masila, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Niuafoou.

Maungatai, Julius Moala of Ata Island received this title. He became mayor of Kolomaile, Eua Island.

Mavae or Mavaehikila, navigator to the Tui Haa Takalaua, but now appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. Present incumbent, residing on Hunga Island, Vavau, regarded himself as about the tenth holder of the title. His name before appointment was Kisione Lanivia. His predecessor was his father Lupe who was killed at the siege of Pea, Tongatabu, where he fought for the Tui Kanokupolu George I. The incumbent's parents were both Late people, although he was born in Hunga Island. The incumbent thinks the first Mavae was a Tongan and not a foreigner. The present Mavae was personally appointed at Nukualofa by the Tui Kanokupolu George I.

Moala, a *toutai* to the Tui Kanokupolu. He is of reputed Samoan descent and related to Akauola. Seat is in the Hihifo district, Tongatabu.

Motuapuaka, one of two great matapules of the Tui Kanokupolu. He is of Samoan 565
lineage. Member of the Haa Molofaha. The octopus was the incarnation of Motuapu- 551
aka's god. The Motuapuaka in 1921 was an old man. His pre-appointment name was 624
Mathew Makamoeafi, which had been bestowed upon him as a small boy by Ata. He 644
had succeeded his father, he being the oldest living son. Earlier incumbents bore the 463
names Fekeila and Thomas Tui Pulotu before their appointment. Thomas Tui Pulotu's 554
mother was the daughter of an earlier Motuapuaka. Molofaha is the title used in the kava circle. See Maliepo.

Moungatonga, an alleged Falefa matapule residing in Pangai, Lifuka.

Ngalu, house builder at Haa Laufuli, Vavau.

Pahulu, title of a principal matapule of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Paku, a *toutai ika* to the Tui Tonga. Laufilitonga had Paku stationed at Maufanga to fish for him.

Palefau, a *toutai ika* at Tuanekivale, Vavau Island.

Pilimokaupua, a matapule title now held by Nomuka man. Title refers to Maufanga, Tongatabu Island, where earlier incumbents lived. One appointed in 1920.

Pouanga, head of a family or minor lineage in Hihifo, Lifuka.

Siaiku, a matapule of Neiafu, Vavau Island. Formerly matapule to the Tui Tonga, now for the Tui Kanokupolu, by whom he is now appointed. Belongs to the Fale Fisi.

Siakumi, a matapule to the Tui Haa Teiho. Formerly matapule to the Tamaha. As no Tamaha is now appointed, he has become matapule to the Tui Haa Teiho who would be the brother of the Tamaha. Tuuakitau, a man born on Ata Island was given the title by the Tui Haa Teiho. Lotoaniu was the companion matapule who served the Tamaha.

Sika, a matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Niuatoputapu.

Tafokitau, a matapule title held in 1920 by John Fusi of Lifuka Island, a man about 50 years old. Formerly the Tafokitau lived on the tract Feke, Lifuka Island. His duty was to supply the Tui Tonga with octopus when he desired it. The name Tafokitau is said to mean "to turn to right and left to fight."

Tafuna, a matapule of Uiha, Uiha Island, but not serving chief Malupo, to whom he stands in fictitious relation of "brother." Tafuna appointed by Malupo. Tafuna in 1920 had succeeded his father Moses Taufa, who also bore the title Tafuna.

Tahifisi, a matapule of Mataika, Vavau Island, formerly serving the Tui Tonga, now the Tui Kanokupolu. Tahifisi is a chief in Fiji, but only a matapule in Tonga. Belongs to the Fale Fisi. He appoints the Niutongo and Haveatuli. (See p. 69.) A recent Tahifisi bore the name Josiah Tui Pulotu. He was succeeded by his son Tongatoutai. According to Hocart (32), the first Tahifisi was the son of Sungu (daughter of Tui Tumbou of Lakemba) and of Tui Tufu, a Tongan chief.

Tahimatakimoana, a matapule of the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, serving chief Malupo.

Tangulu, a matapule at Navutoka, Tongatabu, about 1830. Name means "snore." Title (?).

Tea, a matapule of the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, not serving chief Malupo, to whom he stood in relation of "brother." Also the head of a family in Hihifo, Lifuka; perhaps identical with the Tea of Uiha.

Tei, a matapule originally appointed by the Tui Tonga to reside at Nomuka and supervise the catching and forwarding of *ava* fish. Still appointed. The Tei was a chief at Lapaha, Tongatabu, at first, but sent to Nomuka by the Tui Tonga.

Tofilau, a matapule, though apparently not serving any particular chief. Informant calls himself king's matapule. The father, grandfather, and great grandfather of informant all bore name Tofilau, as did also two brothers of his father. Residence, Pangai, Lifuka. The incumbent, an old man, was living when Laufilitonga died.

Tofilau 1 bore name of Kumi.

Tofilau 2 bore name of Josifa.

Tofilau 3 bore name of Joel, father of informant (6). 565

Tofilau 4 bore name of Hekeheka } Their father was brother of 3. 551
Tofilau 5 bore name of Atelu } 624

Tofilau 6 bears name of Nepote; son of 3. 644

463

Tui Tupou, a matapule attached to Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. Now serving the 554 Tui Kanokupolu, by whom he is appointed. Resides in Koulo, Lifuka Island. Belongs to Fale Fisi. It is said that the first Tui Tupou came to Tonga with a Tui Tonga who had been to Fiji on a visit. Possibly Tapuosi the Tui Lakepa is referred to rather than a Tui Tonga. The Tupou referred to in the title is said to be a village on Lakemba Island, Fiji.

Tukuafu, a matapule at Felemea, Uiha Island.

Uhatafe, a matapule and carpenter to the Tui Tonga. Of Samoan origin according to John Havea, of Rotuman origin according to Tapueluelu. According to a third informant the first Uhatafe came from Rotuma in the reign of the twenty-sixth Tui Tonga (Puipuifatu).

Uhi, a matapule to Ata. For origin of title see Vaeno.

Ula, a navigator title. The origin of Ula is Samoan. (See p. 143.) His seat is at Neiafu in the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. The Tamaha's genealogies show a succession as follows: Ula, to his son's son Likuohihifo, to his son Amini. The late Queen Takipo, wife of King George II, was the daughter of an Ula.

Vaeno, a matapule to Tungi. Of Samoan origin. A Samoan woman in the train of Tohuia (mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu) gave birth to twins who became the matapule Uhi and Vaeno. Their names became titles for two lines of matapule. Uhi is matapule to Ata.

Vaipuna, a matapule of Uiha, Uiha Island; not matapule to the chief Malupo, to whom he stood in relation of "brother."

Vao, a matapule of the chief Malupo of Uiha village, Uiha Island.

Vatuvei, a matapule for the Tui Lakepa, by whom he is appointed. Resides on Okoa Island, Vavau group. Belongs to Fale Fisi.

Veahaki, a matapule title at Koulo, Lifuka. The graveyard of Veahaki's family is called Hangaitokolau.

Veamatahau, title of a matapule of the Falefa of the Tui Tonga.

Vehikite, a *toutai* title, at present held by a man of Otea, Kapa Island, Vavau. Formerly appointed by the Tui Haa Takalaua, now appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. The personal names of the men whom the informant remembered as holding the title were, in order: Kitekeiaho; Halafauimoana; Ulilalelei; Tohoilangolelei; Fakafuli; John Tuita, the incumbent, his mother was the daughter of the noble Tuita.

TRANSMISSION OF TITLES

Table 9 summarizes the 203 title transmissions recorded in this paper. 428 It shows that transmission is definitely patrilineal, there being but 7 through 424 females: 5 to the daughter's son, 1 to the sister's son, and 1 to the son's daughter's son. The 26 records of transmission to brothers may embody preferences of a brother over a son, but it seems more likely that most fraternal successions were due to the lack of a son who possessed the needed qualifications.

TABLE 9. TRANSMISSION OF TITLES

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622
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624
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793
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TRANSMISSION	TOTALS	TONGA TUI HAA	MALE TUI TAKA-LAUA	TUI KANO-KUPOLU	CHIEFS	MATAPULES, NAV'GTRS, PRIESTS, ARTISANS
To son	142	32	11	7	71	21
To brother	26	3		3	11	9
To brother's son	9			3	3	3
To father's brother's son	5				3	2
To daughter's son	5				3	2
To son's son	5				3	2
To father's brother	3			2	1	
To brother's son's son	2			1	1	
To father's father's brother's son	1			1		
To father's brother's son's son	1				1	
To father's father's brother's son's son	1				1	
To sister's son	1					1
To son's daughter's son	1			1		
To daughter	1			1		

BARDS

Bards, ordinarily ranking about on a level with matapules, have always 538
occupied an honorable position in Tongan society, being regarded as the in- 554
tellectual equals of the most brilliant minds. The poet Tuakilaumea was the son of matapule Motuapuaka. The poets Ulamoleka and Teukava were chiefs. In 1921 the chief Vaea was writing poetry.

The poems themselves reflect the social position and cleverness of their 538
authors. The introduction (p. 88) to the "Poem of Mumui" (16, p. 98) indicates that the poet was liable to punishment for relatively small offenses. Because Tuakilaumea had appropriated a gift of kava intended for Mumui, 685
the Tui Kanokupolu, the poet's house was destroyed. Tuakilaumea, taking 538
refuge in a sanctuary (Faletapu), composed a lay about Mumui. He then 643
attached himself to the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea at Mua, where 687
with a company of chanters he presented the lay. [778]
Mumui, learning of the clever poem, invited Tuakilaumea to Nukualofa to present it before him, thus evidencing his forgiveness of the kava appropriation.

Another poem (16, p. 71) indicates that for some small offense Ulukalala 538
proceeded to set Mamaeaepoto on shore, much to the poet's chagrin. It is also recorded that the chief Ulamoleka ordered a poet to accompany him from Tongatabu to Eua, even though the poet's father was on his death bed.

Though the profession of bard seems to have been an honored one, the [554]
poets were very definitely dependent upon the patronage of the great chiefs. [622]
Here and there in the poems this protection is mentioned, usually meta- [571]
phorically, by saying the poet is aboard a great vessel.

To-day songs are composed for various occasions. At one entertainment, 538
I listened to a chorus comprised of about twenty girls who sang under the 533
direction of the bard, and accompanied the singing with graceful movements 535
of the head, arms, and body above the waist. During much of the performance the girls were seated. This corresponds with the statement of Father A. C. (46, p. xvi), who says in substance that

> To those songs they usually join bodily attitudes, hand clapping, or the accompaniment of instruments, etc. Besides the nafa—a wooden drum—and bamboos of many dimensions, 538
> which are made to sound by striking them on the ground, there is a musical 533
> instrument, the fangufangu, a kind of bamboo flute of six holes, blown with the nose.
> The Pan-flute also is known, consisting of 8 or 10 reeds drawn together in parallel 534
> rows, but giving rather irregular notes.

To what extent these instruments were used as accompaniment to the
songs and chants of the bards in ancient times I do not know. Cook gives [535]
an illustration in which the singing and dancing is accompanied by the pounding of bamboo cylinders vertically upon the ground. A mat was sometimes struck with sticks at the termination of verses as in the epic entitled "The voyage of Kae" (26, p. 145).

Father A. C. (46) says that "there is no gathering without war or historic 574
songs, or without meditative songs or dances." But I think that in making 533
this statement he does not include the *fono* (assemblage to hear a chief's 535
orders) and the ceremonial kava drinking. In connection with these I have 622
never heard of singing, though kava drinking may be preceded or followed 276
by an entertainment.

Tongans have a considerable vocabulary to designate bards and their 538
compositions. The terms *hiva* and *taanga* are used for songs in general; 192
tauaalo for a song or chant sung while paddling or doing other work; *fakanaanaa* for a lullaby (25, p. 6); and *lave* for a chant. In addition to the chant the Tongans also have the recitative, which they call *fakaniua*, a word which means "in the style of Niuatoputapu Island." Informants said the term was applied to poems in which big things, not small details, are portrayed. (See 26, p. 18.) The term *mau* denotes an epic poem, such as "The voyage of Kae." For the poets themselves the Tongans employ the words *mau* and *punake*.

Thomson (54, p. 378) characterizes Tongan poetry as "uninteresting in 538
that it generally treats of scenery and flowers, seldom of the drama of life, never of the drama of love"—a characterization which of course is purely subjective. The omission of the "drama of love" is particularly well brought out in one poem (16, p. 87), which is alleged to have been composed by a man who had hoped to marry a female Tui Tonga, but who was disappointed in this by the lady marrying a chief named Vuna. The poem, although addressed to the lady, contains not a single word of love, dwelling almost entirely upon the scenery, and upon recent political happenings.

Tongan poetry teems with allusions and metaphors which make translation exceedingly difficult. In publishing the ancient poems it is a modern Tongan custom to publish also explanatory notes, as the poetry, because of its figures of speech, is beyond the comprehension of the average modern Tongan. 538

That the bards of Tonga traveled to the extent of those of Europe in the days of knighthood is unlikely, because of the geographical limitations. They must, however, have spent considerable time in contemplating the beauties of nature. [484]

An interesting feature present in a number of the poems, particularly those by Falepapalangi and Mamaeaepoto (16, p. 65), is the competition in which poets engaged, each trying to outdo the other and to win the approval of the audience. For example, Falepapalangi calls upon Mamaeaepoto, his opponent, to compose a chant, 538 539

To be bitter as if it were kava,
To swim as if it were in the ocean,
To fade as if it were a rainbow,
To go about crying as if a *katafa* bird,
Or to cause a gardenia tree to flower, and
To cause me to eat with my back turned, ashamed.

The following translation of the prelude to the poem called "The Harangue About Mumui" (16, p. 98) gives an excellent idea of the expressiveness of Tongan prose. The poet, while complaining about his own punishment, voices the difficulties that Mumui is experiencing in political opposition. Reference to Tongatabu as a land of women may be to Tupoumoheofo, the woman who set herself up as Tui Kanokupolu when Mumui was the rightful heir.

> It was well that (the people of) Tongatabu occupied themselves with talking about me, but you listen while I explain. Vaea Tangitau, the Tui Haa Takalaua, was the superior ruler, Fakatavuki was the ruler (*hau*) at Haatafu, and Loau was Tui Haamea. When Fotofili prepared for his voyage, he left me head ruler in Tonga. It is well that you have taken up weapons so soon to fight me, yet you say it is done to guard the ruler. Why this land does not know my strength. [Mumui represented as speaking.]
>
> Uisoukesouke (an expression of surprise), how many more bands of warriors? And if it were the troops from Haamea, or Utulau, or Matakehe, I would not remark upon it, because they are strong. So with Pelehake, and he sides with Mumui; because, it is said, they wish to be on equality with their chief. [The poet speaking.]
>
> Oh! the cheats, the chief takes up arms so as to kill me, I, who am his superior. That is the truth of it. All right! I will go; I will be foolish-minded and go on a voyage. Then bring those two strong ones, Muli and Maumau. Build them a mound for pigeon catching, and let them take by force your fish. Then you will cry to me for war. [Mumui speaking.]
>
> Angry be you, but I will be weak. What is it? Tongatabu has already been left, as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the

chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.] 538

Oh! My mind is unsettled, as the wind, and not steady. The wonderment of it! To 539 leave the land in charge of a fool. What is it that will be timely (best) for the chiefs and the land? They run away and live, but I stay and die, because it is a mischievous land. What will they do when they drive their enemies to Hihifo and the people arise and throw spears, as they do at fish when caught in a net drive? [Mumui speaking.]

Oh! Then we will see the true friends. I thought that I was of some use, that I was familiar with difficulties, and that war was my food. But you do not want me, so I will sit down (no longer rule). [Mumui speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

Perhaps I have sinned. Perhaps I have crept to a great chief. Oh, it is the fruit of living with a bad ruler (*hau*). Go, cheat and coward, and sit in the high place of the chief (referring to the kava ring), while I remain with those that serve; while I bear the brunt of your ill-doing. Alas! The joining of the strong hibiscus (chief) with the weak banana stalk (commoner). And is that the reason for the wish that I should come to punishment? If I had crept to your house, or if I had been rude to the Tui Tonga, or to the Moheofo (chief wife of the Tui Tonga), then it would have been right to punish me. When was I thus? And call it clever, and punish me that trusted to Lolopaongo (a high chief). "Why they are fetching men to fight in Hahake, to fight you." [Poet speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left, as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

There, bring the stars for Mumui, the Alotolu (part of the constellation Orion) and the Toloa (Duck, the Southern Cross), and all shining things; make afraid the wind and the breezes, because of Mumui. Bring Ongomalie (reef) and all the (other) reefs, and the thunder from the sky. The voyagers have left. Fear is at the back of the "regiments." Mumui is lord over all. Is there anything like this chief, or in keeping with his great dark mind? My trusting to him was of no use, and my kindness to him was not appreciated. Oh! do not speak again. Exile me to Toku Island. I love the ruler [Mumui], but it will be well for me to go as I am of no service. Stay (good-bye), Tongatabu. [Poet speaking.]

KAVA DRINKING

The traditional first use of kava in a drink is assigned to the reign of 276 the tenth Tui Tonga and to the island of Eueiki, near Tongatabu, and an 173 expression is attributed to this occasion, when the Tui Tonga's matapule said to the Eueiki people, "Fakaua ki Manuka hotau taumafa kava" (Have twice unto Manuka our kava drinking). Whether the Manuka referred to is the place in Tongatabu, or the one in Samoa is not clear. If the reference is to Tongatabu, Manuka may be the polite name for the Tui Tonga himself, in whose honor the people were enjoined to drink twice.

The drinking of kava is exceedingly common in Tonga to-day, reported to be more common than in heathen times. Aside from casual or social 276 occasions, kava was imbibed at all ceremonies, including marriages and 574 funerals. Installation in office or succession to title was legalized in the [585] kava circle by the calling of the new title when the kava was served to [764] [428]

the new appointee. This form of ceremonial installation (*fakanofo*) prevailed 276
from the Tui Tonga down to the lowest matapule. When a god 574
became incarnate in a priest, the kava circle was formed with the priest [428]
presiding. Matters to be discussed with the king or a high chief were [643]
broached at the king's kava circle, which comprised the principal chiefs attendant [624]
at his court. Some executions took place within the circle (26, [793]
p. 67). [622]

The formal drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social [681]
aspect in the visualization of the rank of the participants through the seating 276
and through the order of serving. 574 554

With one or two exceptions, no chief might sit in the formal kava circle 565
without an attendant matapule. When the Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, [622]
or Tui Kanokupolu presided at a kava circle, he was flanked by two matapule. [624] [643]
In the formal kava circle only titled persons may sit; the president [644]
of such a circle seems always to have been the title-holder of highest rank.
With the exception of the Tamaha and perhaps the Female Tui Tonga, who [562]
were title holders, women seem not to have presided in kava circles except at [585]
marriages.

The formal circle, therefore, comprises the assemblage of the representatives 276
of the ancestors, the first holders of the titles. The first holders of 574
the titles of Tui Tonga, of matapule Lauaki, of Tui Pelehake, and of Tui 769
Loloko, were the putative sons of a god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua; the original 776 554
holders of all other titles were the offspring of mortals. There seems, however, [793]
to have been a certain equating of gods and ancestors, for a priest possessed
by a god presided as would the king. Moreover the Tui Kanokupolu
is called Taliai Tupou, the name of his patron god. I suspect that the title
holders in the kava circle impersonate the ancestral first holders of titles and
perhaps are even regarded as their temporary incarnations. (For example,
Lauaki is called Maliepo, the name of his ancestor who descended from
heaven.) This probability is strengthened by the fact that whenever a chief is [622]
accompanied by his matapule, formal conduct is required of him. [624]

The following terms refer to the kava ceremony: [576]

Alofi. The kava circle. 276

Apaapa. The alofi or circle of the Tui Tonga's kava party; the masters of ceremonies 574
in a kava party, that is, the matapules who sit on each side of the chief 192
who presides in the kava party; to sit next to the chief in the kava party.

Faikava. Literally, to do kava, a kava party.

Fakamatua. A movement from one sitting posture to another. For example, if [516]
a group of men in a kava circle are sitting tailor fashion (*fakataane*) so close
together that their knees are touching, and others come to join them, the president
may say "Fakamatua", at which every one turns to the right obliquely, thus
making room for the new arrivals.

Fakamuifonua. A method of making kava; a very formal procedure employed 276
only in the making of kava for the Tui Tonga, the Tui Kanokupolu, or an im- 574
portant chief.
192

Fakataane. The sitting position of the Tongan men, knees widely extended, flat [516]
on ground, feet folded beneath legs, body inclined forward, elbows across upper
legs, hands near lap, left hand taking care of lower garment (*vala*), keeping
it pulled up from behind and between legs when necessary, as when assuming
the position and rising. This was the ceremonial sitting position. At a *fono* or [689]
kava circle a commoner could be killed for shifting to the slightest degree from
this position. At times of entertaining it was extremely discourteous for a man [576]
to sit in any other position, unless he were infirm, or had some other physical
excuse. It was tapu for a woman to sit in this fashion. [562]

Fakatakape. To clean the bowl rim with *fau* fiber, as soon as the *fau* is thrown into the bowl. The *fau* is passed twice around the rim, wrung out, and thrown back and away from the mixer, as in the later part of the process.

Fakataue. To mix very strong kava in a new bowl and bathe the edge of the bowl repeatedly with the strainer, to give the bowl's interior the kava stain—a yellowish deposit which adheres to the bowl.

Fakatomo. The central tap root or body of a large kava root, not chopped into small pieces, but left intact. For a great chief's kava.

Fatuauho. Thick kava made from the small roots of the plant.

Fau. Fiber of the inner bark of the hau (*Hibiscus sp.*). A bunch of this fiber serves as a strainer.

Fono. The food or relish distributed at a great drinking of kava. The kava and [264]
the particular *fono* that accompanies it are distributed simultaneously, but the
food is nowadays not eaten, but collected again. Formerly it was eaten. Some-
times ten or more *fono* are served, according to the number of mixings of
kava. Should the same kava be used for a second infusion, an accompanying
fono is not required. The *fono* is divided into three lots by one of the two (624)
matapules who sit beside the presiding chief. The first lot is for the chief; 622
the second and third lots, divided by the matapule, are for their respective
sides of the ring.

Kava. The plant (*Piper methysticum*); the drink made therefrom; a piece of the root from which the drink is to be made.

Luluki. The root of the kava plant.

Malumelmua. The order by the matapule who is master of ceremonies to the [624]
attendant who carves pork, instructing him to cut the back of the roast into
two equal portions.

Pelu. A drinking cup folded from the banana leaf, having two puckered corners [415]
tied with banana stem fiber. The drinker holds the cup by the two corners or
ears. Used for the drinking of kava on certain ceremonial occasions. Used
at the Queen's kava circle at her coronation. For most modern kava parties [415]
a half coconut shell serves as a cup.

Toua. The place behind the bowl in which sit the relatives of the chiefs who are in the kava circle.

Uhunoa. Refers to matapule not visiting a chief's house with a piece of kava, but going instead to other peoples' houses without kava.

DIFFERENCES OF PROCEDURE

The late rise of the Tui Kanokupolu makes the titles connected with 276
the kava ceremony for this office less ancient than many of those connected 574
with the ceremony of the traditionally older office of Tui Tonga. The Tui 643

Kanokupolu, or perhaps Tui Haa Takalaua, developed his own kava circle 276
(fig. 1) as a secondary ceremony to that of the Tui Tonga. Along with it 574
there arose minor differences of procedure. The two separate courts which 643
thus developed were called metaphorically Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Tonga; and Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Kanokupolu, and traditionally to the earlier Tui Haa Takalaua. The Tui Tonga's type of kava procedure seems to have given way everywhere to that of the Tui Kanokupolu, except on the island of Fotuhaa, where according to the informant Moungatonga, the Kauhalauta procedure is still followed.

In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Tonga presided, he received the second cup of the beverage, the first going to one of his matapules. The cup was carried to him in silence, his title not being called. In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Kanokupolu presides, the third cup is his. It is announced as "Ave ia maa Taliai Tupou" (Take it to Taliai Tupou).
As Taliai Tupou is the name of the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu, it [776]
would appear that the king impersonates the god. Anciently the Tongans [782]
poured out kava as an offering to the gods, as is done in Samoa to-day as an [171]
offering to the Deity. The kava drinking was the occasion for making welfare prayers.

In the accounts of the Kauhalauta procedure which follow no deity is mentioned. They appear to date from the time of the Tui Tonga, as reference to the Moheofo (the Tui Tonga's wife) indicates. The following translations are from a manuscript by the late Malupo, a matapule to the Tui Tonga.

> If it is the illness of the Tui Tonga, or the sickness of a chief, and the country is in trouble, then these words shall be used, in mixing the kava: "The kava is diluted." 276 574 782
>
> The person who is directing the serving says, "Diluted with a blessing." 643
>
> Then the mixer repeats: "The kava is diluted." 622
>
> The real significance is a prayer for a blessing by the means of the kava, because of the sickness of the Tui Tonga, or the illness of a chief, or any difficulty the land may be in. It is not right for any ordinary person to invoke the blessing. Only a chief, or a matapule who is a clever speaker, may do it; and it is not done at random; but only when the kava is diluted. At that moment he speaks.

> The kava ceremony is performed also when preparing for war, or during war, or for a voyage, or for work that is to be done. In addition to performing a kava ceremony when the Mohefo expects to be confined, a prayer (*lotui*) is said that the child may be a son, and many prayers are offered by the people. 782 276 574 [721] [505]

This prayer may also be uttered: [461] [843] [842]

"Kava ka hui."

"Hui moni monu, monitonu, ke tuu maupe, pea haohaoa, ae otu kaveinga. Pea tau hufia ki he Eiki ke toloi atu ae ngaohi aho, pea toloi atu moe ngaohi mahinga, pea toloi atu moe ngaohi tau, pea mo ha ngaohi tau; o laui kuonga, ae lakoifie o ene Afiona, pea lakoifie pe moe Tui Faleua. Pea matafipe Tonga, oua naa i ai ha aoaofia, aua naa i ai, ha malomaloaa, oua naa i ai ngalulu, pea leleipe a Lauaki, mo Motuapuaka, he koe faulalo oe fonua ke holo mai hona Hau, pea fulipe ki he futu ko Vuna."

"The kava is diluted." 276

"Dilute it with a blessing and may 574
the blessing remain, and be perfect, like 782
the cluster of stars. And let us inter- 539
cede with the Chief that he lengthen out the days, and lengthen out the months, and lengthen out the years, and still more years; and may his Majesty remain well in health forever, and may Tui Faleua (Tui Pelehake) remain in health forever. And may the South [or Tonga] be swept clean, for there to be no overcasting of the sky, for there to be no shadow, and for there to be no trembling, and for Lauaki and Motuapuaka to be well, because they hold together the land in the coming of their Ruler and all to the *futu* tree of Vuna."

["Hold together the land (people)" is said to have been the parting command of the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I to Lauaki and Moungamotua (the first Tui Haa Takalaua)].

In serving the chiefs and matapules in the Tui Tonga's kava circle, the 276
titles are called as follows: "Ae kava a .... (title)" literally, ...'s 574
kava). In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle they are called as follows: 576
"Ave ia maa .... (title)" (literally, Take it to ....). In announc- [554]
ing in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the matapule call the cups of the Tui Kanokupolu and of Ata loudly, but the cups of all others (including Ahio's) are called softly.

In delivering the cups of kava, it was forbidden in the Tui Tonga's ring for the servers to pass from one side of the ring to the other. There were two servers, one going to the right from the bowl, the other to the left. The servers announced the filling of each cup in the Tui Tonga's ring, whereas in the Tui Kanokupolu's ring it is announced by a man who sits continually at the side of the bowl. In the Tui Tonga's circle the server sat beside the bowl while the kava was strained into the cup. He turned his head and announced: "The kava is lifted." Then, when the recipient was designated by one of the officiating matapule, the server took the cup to him and sat down in front of him before presenting it.

In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the first cup is taken usually to the "first" matapule at the Tui Kanokupolu's right hand, the second cup to the person sitting to left of the "second" matapule at the Tui Kanokupolu's left hand, and the third cup to the Tui Kanokupolu. The "right" matapule
announces the third cup, the "left" the fourth, and so on alternately. After 276
the third, the various chiefs are served in order of rank, then the matapules. 574
The order of being served depends upon the composition of the kava circle, 576 565

that is, the precedence of a chief in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle might differ from his precedence in the kava circle of another chief. 276 574 576

In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the wooden kava bowl (*kumete*) is designated as *tanoa*. On one side of the outer surface of the bowl is a little raised block (*taunga*), usually triangular, perforated and threaded with a piece of cord by which the bowl may be suspended when not in use. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the bowl was so placed that the *taunga* was towards the president, a position called *fulitaunga*. In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the *taunga* is towards the kava mixer, a position called *olovahaa*, because the space (*vahaa*) between two legs of the kava bowl is towards the president. 565 276 574 415

In splitting a large root of kava with axe or crowbar, in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle, the roots are placed towards the president, the branches away. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the position was reversed. In counting baskets of food the Tui Tonga (Kauhalauta) people touched the first and merely pointed to the rest (14, p. 210). "The first one is the Tui Tonga's and he alone is chief." 276 574 576

Food, as a relish (*fono*), is placed before the individuals in the kava circle. While of old, it apparently was eaten by the people to whom presented, at the present time it is removed and eaten by the *fahu* (sororal nephews or grandchildren). 276 574 264 [178] [604]

When the Tui Kanokupolu arrives by sea in another country or in a distant province, his navigator, in the place of the regular matapule, must direct the activities of the kava circle. He serves in this capacity for three mornings, in addition to the kava drinking when arriving. After that Motuapuaka, or one of his family, resumes his duties in the kava ring. 276 574 484 643 [502]

The following account by William Tungi, a grandfather of the present Prince Consort, relates the directions for the Tui Tonga's kava circle, said to have been formulated by Loau, the Tui Haamea, during the reign of the Tui Tonga, Takalaua, or immediately thereafter. 276 574 576 643

> These are Loau's directions: When the chiefs are assembled in the kava ring in the green of the Kauhalauta called Faoamanafa, on the left side [of the Tui Tonga] will be the Tui Faleua; on the right side [of the Tui Tonga] will be Tokemoana; Tafolo will sit at the turning in [*fasialofi*] of the right side of the circle; Lomulahi will sit at the turning in of the left side of the circle; and the Tui Haa Teiho sits at the end [near the kava bowl].
>
> It is forbidden to strike the wrong-doer at the kava drinking. There is a saying, "A sinner at the place of refuge." And it is forbidden to deprive the chiefs of the food portioned to them as relish (the carrying away of the relish), and it is loaded into carrying baskets. The relish food of the matapule may be taken away; and the younger brother may drink the kava. [681] [622] [264]

The following account of the kava circle of the Tamaha is translated from a manuscript by Elia Malupo, matapule of the Tui Tonga:

Formerly, when all were assembled in the kava ring at the green called Faoamanafa, there would be there the Tui Faleua (Tui Pelehake), the Tui Tonga, Tokemoana, Tafolo, Tui Houa, and all of the Sinae; Tui Hoi, all of the Fale Fisi, the Tui Haa Takalaua, and the Tui Kanokupolu; besides the Tamaha, who came first. The Tamaha would preside, and the kava for them would be strained sitting; but the kava of the Tamaha would be strained standing. And if they conversed the Tui Tonga, the Tui Faleua, and Tokemoana, and all the chiefs would "ei" (an expression of respect) to the Tamaha. If the Tamaha were absent and the Tui Tonga presided, this respect would be shown him.

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Now [in the time of King George I, when this was written] that the Tamaha is not there, who is the first in the land? It is Tupou Maeakafa (King George I Tupou). He has become the sacred person and the Tui Tonga, and the Tui Faleua must "ei" to him, and do to him the sacred ceremonies, and if he is not there then these ceremonies shall be done to the Tui Faleua.

This is the order given by Loau for the sacred ceremonies of the Chief [Tui Tonga]. And the kava ring faces him [the Tui Tonga] and the sacredness of persons commences with him and continues to the end.

Loau is said also to have formulated rules for the kava circles of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu [probably an anachronism], which are given by William Tungi as follows:

Pea ne pehe ki he faikava oe faahinga o Moungamotua, moe Tui Kanokupolu, ke vahaai taha i toomatau, a Niukapu, pea vahaai taha i toohema, a Nuku; pea nofo ae faahinga Haa Ngata i he toua, o leo ae faikava. Ka i ai ha hia, ke tai, koe ta koia, oku fai aki ae sina, pe koe haamo, pe katai kava, oku lolotonga mama, ka oku tapu ke tukii, ka oku atape ke na fuhu. Pea ne hokohoko, ae tuku fakaholo ae kava, aia oku tau kea aki: "Koe tuku eni a Loau."

And he (Loau) said about the kava ring of the family of Moungamotua, and the Tui Kanokupolu, for Niukapu to be on the right side, and Nuku on the left side; and for the Haa Ngata to sit in the *toua* (place occupied by the people), and to guard the kava ring. If there are any wrongdoers it is their duty to punish them, which is done with the wedge for splitting up the kava, or with the stick for carrying burdens, or with the branch of the kava plant which has been chewed, but it is forbidden to thump them, and they must not fight. Then he gave the order in which the kava was to be given, which is introduced thus: "This is given according to Loau."

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[681]

A manuscript in the possession of the late Maatu, Lord of Niuatoputapu Island, was written by his father, the preceding Maatu, who relates the following concerning his place in the kava circle of the Tui Kanokupolu, George I.

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The relish (*fono*) for the King and myself is two yams and an odd one. Put the back to them and bring them straight to the front.

Because of their sitting on either side of the King, it is Nuku and Niukapu who will receive the first relish. Then mine is brought because of my [genealogical] connection. Another chief is sitting between [me and the King], but the relish is first brought to me who is next. The head of the pig and the back are taken to the chief to separate.

When my kava is brought, it is delivered and kept. If the food is insufficient I 276
have to ask permission of the presiding chief to drink. 574

To smoke is forbidden for the lower matapule, but is allowed for the chiefs and 576
Motuapuaka on one side. If they are far from the King they may smoke a little. 643
The side of Lauaki is quite forbidden to smoke. 264 [689]

MAKING AND SERVING KAVA

The following account from living informants describes the making 276
and serving of kava at a modern kava party: 574 576

The matapule to the right of the president calls out, "Ui haa motokonaki," the command to assemble the proper materials for the making of kava. The things are brought and assembled at the end of the kava circle, opposite the chiefs, in front of the kava mixer (*ngahikava*), who has two attendants called *angaikava*, one on either side.

Then the matapule at the right of the president calls, "Hao ha tangata." This is the command for someone to come to him for the kava root. One of the *angaikava*
responds, carrying the kava to the lower end of the circle, where it is pounded on a
stone anvil with a hammerstone. [Formerly it was chewed, a process called *mama*.] [178]

The pulverized kava is gathered by the two *angaikava* and placed on the mat to the right and back of the mixer. One of the *angaikava* then rinses the interior of the bowl, rubbing it with his hands—a process called *kaukau i ai tanoa*. Another picks up the bowl by its rim, with his left hand, strikes its bottom with his right hand (an act called *hiki tanoa*), and places it before the *ngahikava*. An *angaikava* then pours the kava into the bowl from the right side of the mixer, who then places a doubled mat or a piece of tapa, or other material, under him, so as to be in position to lean well over the great bowl. This act is called *lango lango mei*.

The mixer, with graceful flourishes of the hands, mashes the kava together in [195]
the bowl, spreading it out over the inner surface of the bowl, and tipping the bowl
slightly away from him, his hands on either side of the rim, exposes its interior to [643]
the president, calling, if the president be the king (Tui Kanokupolu), "Holo ae taumafa ni" (Knead this drink), or "Kuo holo kava ni" (This kava is kneaded), if the president is below the king in rank.

The right hand matapule answers: "Kuo holo: tukuatu" (It is kneaded: Lower the bowl, which has been tilted towards the matapule) "Tuumalie pe kae palu." (All right, mix). "Tafoki kimoua" (Turn), addressed to the two helpers on either side of the bowl, who turn inwards. "Ai haamo vai" (Put in your water), at which many people run for water, the helpers shouting, "Vai!" (Water!) to the people in the *toua*. Those who first bring water, in coconut shell containers, deposit it before the bowl. The right hand helper then takes water and pours it into the bowl, while the mixer kneads the kava in the water. "Vaitaha" (One water) (almost enough). One helper ceases to pour water; the other alone applies water. "Taofi vai" (Stop pouring water). They stop adding water. "Palu fakatatau pea tui haafakamau" (Mix equally) and "tui haafakamau" (probably a method of twisting the *fau* fiber strainer). With a double flourish of the hands the mixer mixes the kava and ends abruptly, resting his hands on the edge of the bowl.

Then the right hand helper throws the *fau* fiber strainer on the bowl In this kind of a kava party the strainer is very large and is called *unu*. With more hand and arm flourishes the mixer wets the *fau* and wipes the edge of the bowl, being very technical and formal in his movements. Then he begins to strain the kava, a process called in this ceremony *milolua*. He carefully and slowly pulls the strainer through the water with both hands. He then raises it, one end in his left hand, twists it and lays the twisted fiber on his left foream, the one end still clasped in his left hand. Then he reaches under his left arm with his right hand, takes hold of the end of the

strainer lying on his arm, and with magnificent flourishes wrings the liquid from the 276
strainer into the bowl, turning his hands about each other in the process with great 574
grace and skill. After shaking the pieces of kava out of the strainer on a mat at 576
his right, he repeats the operation, when, instead of shaking the kava particles (*efe*) out of the strainer, he throws strainer and all behind and away from him, with force, regardless of who may be sitting behind.

Then the right hand helper, signifying that the kava is ready, calls: "Maa e kava ni" (This kava is clear).

The right hand matapule answers: "Tokonaki o fakatau" (Prepare to serve, wring out the kava). Then men from behind the mixer come forward with the cups. These servers are called *fakatau kava*, as also is their serving of the kava (*fakatau*, the man who wrings out the kava into the serving cups; to wring the kava into cups for drinking). As they hold a cup over the forward edge of the bowl, the mixer squeezes the kava from the restored *fau* strainer into it.

The right hand helper chants: "Kava kuo heka" (The kava is taken up).

The right hand matapule chants in answer, "Ave ia maa . . ." (Take it for . . . naming the one to be served). The first cup goes to the left hand matapule. Each time the chants are repeated. The second cup goes to the man to the right of the right hand matapule. The third cup goes to the king or president.

When the matapule indicates the president as next to be served, his chant is changed to, "Omi ia ki heni maa . . ." (Bring it here for so-and-so). After the president is served, the cup goes first to the right, then to the left, alternately, down the circle.

Should the king be presiding, before the circle is completely served, the matapule [643]
calls out to serve the "king's brother," not necessarily the true relative, but one possessing that title. This person sits behind the kava mixer outside the circle, in the first row of commoners. After the "king's brother" is served, the matapule chants, "Mai ia ma'akū" (Bring it here for me), upon which he himself is served. Then the remainder of the circle is finished.

Then the right hand helper calls out, without chanting, "Kava kuo heka" (The kava is taken up), signifying that he himself wants a drink.

The matapule answers, "Auia" (It is yours), not chanting.

After the two helpers have had cups, the right hand helper calls out, if the president be the king: "Toe e taumafa ni" (This is the remainder of this drink), or if the president be other than the king: "Toe kava e" (This is the remainder of the kava). With this the last cup is filled.

The matapule answers, "Tuku ia maae tau kava" (Leave it for the server of kava), at which the mixer drinks the last cup. The kava bowl is removed from the circle by one of the attendants.

Then the "king's brother" comes forward into the circle, sits on the right side of the right hand helper, who calls: "Koe ngata e emau mau kava ni" (This is the end of this portion of our kava), the announcement that the party is finished. Then the matapule calls out: "Hiki ae toua" (Shift the people from behind the kava bowl). The circle breaks up. This is the signal for the removal of the apparatus, and for the people in the *toua* to go.

If the kava party is to be immediately repeated, all of the detail is repeated. Very often the strainings (*efe*) of the first kava are used for the second infusion.

In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle a person claps twice when his kava is called; in ordinary kava circles once.

Collocott has given me the following account of kava drinking at Nafualu, Tongatabu, in February, 1921. Though the Queen and the Prince [644]
Consort Tungi were present, apparently the ceremony was not strictly [643]
formal.

Tungi took no part in the kava circle, but went about other matters. Ata sat off by himself, to the left as one faced from *alofi* to *toua*, and was in charge of things generally, being called the *leo ae kava* (guard of the kava). He corrected mistakes of the matapule who was calling. Lamatau was the *tauhi ae kava* (steward of the kava). There were few chiefs present, but a number of matapule on either side of the Queen. 276 574 576 643 644

The food was brought, laid before the Queen, and counted. In counting kava roots distinction was made between different sorts that seemed pretty much the same. Different names were given to the presented kava roots; for example, *kava toho*. [The ceremonies for different types of kava are said to have minor variations.] When the bowl was brought into the *toua* to brew the kava it was wet, evidently having been rinsed round with water on the inside. The kava used had been beaten up beforehand, and was there all ready in a bundle.

The baskets of food and so forth that had just been presented were between the Queen and the bowl. When the kava had been put into the bowl, men were called to make a clear open track from the bowl to the Queen by removing the baskets in the straight line between them, a little to the side. This is called to *fakaavaava*. The bidding of the matapule to the men who are to do it being, "Koe ngaue ni ke fakaavaava" (This work is to open up). After the matapule had finished giving his instructions as to the brewing of the kava these baskets were shifted back to their original positions and the little open track again closed up. This is called *fakamaopoopo* or *fakalelei*, to gather together, or to arrange or put right. The matapule who had been doing the calling then gave the large lots of kava roots, which had just been presented with the food and were on the ground in front of the *alofi*, to another matapule, Takapu, who thereupon ordered all the food and kava roots between the Queen and the bowl to be taken away, and they were removed clear away to the side. Previously, four bunches of ripe plantains wrapped in banana leaf had been brought [262] out, and opened, and plantains presented to those in the *alofi*. A whole bunch was taken to Ata, without being opened. These were left before those to whom they were presented for a minute or so, and then collected, and taken away.

In the straining of the kava a very large fau fiber strainer was given to the man who did the straining, who after making the first straining threw the whole bundle of fiber on to a mat to his left and a little behind. Others then shook out the scraps of kava, divided the strainer into three parts, and then kept the man who strained going with a piece which had been shaken out. He himself did not shake the kava out of the strainer, but merely put the strainer down on the mat, when a piece already shaken out and clean again was at once given to him, and those who did this part of the job shook the just used piece. Towards the end of the straining he shook out pieces of kava from the strainer himself, but on to a mat on his right side. A man sat at the side of the bowl and scraped off on to the ground the dregs of kava that washed up on to the lip of the bowl as the kava was strained. The strainer himself gave a good sweep round that could have left very little on the edge, and then this other man scraped off to the ground any dregs still left. He sat on the right of strainer, and did not seem to bother about scraping any part except that which was quite conveniently close to himself. 276

The Queen's kava was served first. The Queen clapped her hands when her name was called. After the main personages had been served, others had a drink, amongst them some old ladies well down to the left in the *alofi*. The matapule did not know their names and would ask them as it came to their turn to be called. One old lady gave the name of Lelenoa, which is the name of one of Tungi's matapule, but this was not allowed, and she had to get another name. The name of Lelenoa can be used only on the right and not on the left hand side, as Lelenoa's place is on the right. 276 574 576 643 [551]

At the end, when the last cup was filled, the one who called said, "Koe toe oe taumafa" (The remnant of the feast), and it was given to someone. 276 574 576

Then Lamatau came and sat in front of the *toua* and said, "Fakafetai emau mau 276
kava" (Thanks for the kava). [Lamatau is related to Vahai.] 574

The matapule ordered, "Hiki ae toua" (Shift the people from behind the kava 576
bowl), and the *toua* accordingly shifted.

An old lady, Lizzy, who was related to Ahomee (perhaps a daughter of a [291]
former Ahomee), was turned out of the *alofi* because she wore a necklace as well as [301]
a shawl. She protested, saying that Ahomee, who is *fae* (literally, mother, but here [689]
mother's brother) of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court, could sit wherever he [602]
liked in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle. Ahomee himself could have sat in the
alofi, but none of his sons or daughters.

I heard of a woman, Pauline Tui Lalotonga of Nomuka Island, taking the seat of her deceased brother, whose name was Fotu. [I am not certain whether this is a title or merely a name.] At a *faikava*, Pauline's bowl would be called out for Fotu, while those of her two sisters would be called by their names.

PRECEDENCE IN THE KAVA CIRCLE

At an ordinary gathering, no attention is paid to position of individuals 276
according to rank, but in the formal kava circle everyone has a definite seat. 574
After the ring is formed, it cannot be broken except by the chief, Ata. At 576
his behest, the chiefs may arise and form the ring again should he consider 554
it too small and the members of it seated too closely. 622
643

Ata supervises the kava party of the Tui Kanokupolu. In this role he is called *pule* (governor). Veehala is the *leokava* (chief guard of the kava), [689] and his sons act as police who admonish a person sitting wrongly. Vahai's sons act as ushers. It is Ata's duty, should a chief take the wrong place, to send one of the sons or grandsons of Vahai or Veehala to inform the person of his mistake. "Chief, you are in the wrong place. Your seat is over there." If this is insufficient, Ata himself moves forward a bit, shifting his weight to his hands and remaining seated, for to stand would be an offense to the Tui Kanokupolu, and speaks to the chief. Should Ata's men (the offspring of Vahai and Veehala) who are back of the kava bowl see a person out of place they tell Ata, walking outside the circle in stooping posture; they have no right to themselves correct the mistake. A chief or [689] matapule who does not obey the order to move is liable to be pulled away from the ring, more or less manhandled, and forbidden to be present at that occasion. Motuapuaka, or Lauaki, can order one on his side of the ring to stand up and give his place to another chief.

Should either of the officiating matapules show incompetence, it would [689] be bad form for Ata to scold him in the presence of the Tui Kanokupolu, but he must have him to his residence later and there reprimand him.

The order of serving of kava on the occasion of the appointment (*fakanofo*) of the Tui Kanokupolu in 1918 was as follows (fig. 1, page 96): 276
574
576
643
554

(1) Lauaki, (2) Nuku, (3) Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte, (4) Motua- 276
puaka (?), (5) three persons on left side of ring, (6) Momotu, (7) three 574
on right side of ring (8) Kapukava, (9) Veehala (to his matapule), (10) 576
three on left, (11) three on right, (12) Maafu (to his matapule), (13) 643
three on left, (14) three on right, (15) Ata, (16) three on left, (17) three 554
on right, (18) Vahai, (19) three on left, (20) three on right, (21) Tungi (first in *toua* to get kava), (22) three on left, (23) three on right, (24) Vaea, (25) three on left, (26) three on right, (27) Tolo (in *toua*).

The entry Tui Haa Takalaua in figure 1[A] probably means some Haa Takalaua chief, as to-day there is no Tui Haa Takalaua. If there were, he could not sit in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava ring, because of his higher rank, but he could either sit outside of the circle altogether, or be president of it. If president, the kava circle would become the Tui Haa Takalaua's. The status of the Tui Tonga would be analogous; a kava party of the Tui Kanokupolu's with the Tui Tonga or Tui Haa Takalaua in the ring is inconceivable. On the other hand, in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle there do sit chiefs related to the Tui Haa Takalaua (Luani and Fotofili, for instance) and to the Tui Tonga.

An account written by the late John Panuve Maatu, the lord of Niuatoputapu, gives a somewhat different order for the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle:

> Motuapuaka or one from his family or Afu Haa Laufuli or one from his family sits on the right hand side of His Majesty. Then next is Niukapu, then Luani. Then Lavaka, then Tui Haa Teiho, then Lasike, and then Fohe. In between every two chiefs a matapule must sit, for it is not right for two chiefs to sit together. Then at the appointed places of this side sit Maafu Tukuiaulahi and his matapule, and further away from this place sit Vahai and his matapule. Near the kava makers is Tupouleva and the children or grandchildren of Motuapuaka and Afu. They fill in the places of the chiefs of this side.
>
> On the left hand side of His Majesty sits Lauaki or one of his family. Then next sits Nuku, then the Tui Lakepa, then the Tui Haa Ngana. Then comes next Fotofili, and thereafter Tui Afitu. The Tui Pelehake and Maatu please themselves for a place to sit, on either the right hand side or left hand side, but they cannot sit in the appointed places of Niukapu and Nuku if they are there; and the same with the chiefs of the Fale Fisi. They have no appointed place, but they cannot take a place already appointed to someone else. In their appointed places sit Veehala and his matapule and further away from this place sit Ata and his matapule. And the children or grandchildren of Lauaki, or the fishermen and navigators, fill in the places of the chiefs of this side.

If a chief such as Ata, Veehala, Maafu, or Vahai is absent, his place 276
may be left vacant. The station of Vahai's sons who act as police is behind 574
the bowl (fig. 1),[A] and with them sit the sons of Ata, Veehala, Ahio, and 576
Kapukava. During the ceremony only Vahai's sons may get up and then 643
only for "police" duties as Ata's messengers. The relatives of the highest 622
chief (the president) sit behind the bowl. This sitting outside the ring is 554

[A] [See category 116, p. 96--Analyst]

out of respect to the highest chief. Thus Tungi's sitting outside the coronation kava ring in 1918 was to show respect to the Tui Kanokupolu (Tungi's wife). Tungi had a matapule near him, however, a departure from the custom of the preceding Tungi. 276 574 576 643 622

Veehala, Maafu, Ata, and Vahai are chiefs who hand their kava to their matapule. Both chiefs and matapule receive the kava with both hands held low. Each matapule sits on the side of his chief away from the king. When the chief passes his kava to his matapule, he does so with one hand, so that the back of the arm is toward the king. The matapule receives the kava with both hands, holds it a while and then returns it to the chief, who receives it with the same hand with which it was passed. The chief then drinks it. The handing of the kava to the matapule is a sign to the one serving that the matapule must not be overlooked. To do so would be an offense to the chief and would be a cause for war. 554 276 574 576 643 622 624 554 721

Precedence is very important. If there are, for example, two Moala in the ring and the matapule who is serving does not know their distinctive appellations, both may clap their hands when the name Moala is called. The serving matapule then calls for two cups to be filled. If one of the Moala wishes to argue over the matter, he calls for the servers to stop. The order of precedence is then discussed and settled. 276 574 576 554 624

All food and kava, brought in *haamo* fashion (on shoulder poles) was deposited before the president in a long row, horizontally facing him. When placed before the president, his matapule chanted, each in his alternate turn, at time intervals of a few minutes: "Fakafetai toho kava; fakafetai fanga puaka; fakafetai ngaue" (Thanks for the *toho* kava; thanks for the pigs, thanks for the ovens of food). 276 579 264 624

FUNERAL KAVA CEREMONIES

The following account of funeral kava ceremonies for a great chief is derived from a manuscript by the late John Panuve Maatu, chief of Niuatoputapu: 276 574 764 622

> At a funeral, Lauaki serves at the kava parties till the time of the placing of small stones on the grave (*lanukilikili*). Then Motuapuaka takes his place. Thereafter the kava and the cooked food are brought to the grave.
>
> This is the way of thanking the matapule one after the other when all is ready: "Thank you for *kava-noo* (kava bound together). Thank you for *kava haamo* (kava carried on the shoulders). Thank you for *kava hula* (huge kava). Thank you for *kava toho* (kava too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)." 276 574 576 764
>
> This is the manner of thanking for the work, one thing after another: "Thank you for *ngaue* (a word applied to the preparing of food in a native oven). Thank you for the *feiumu fakahunga* (very large food). Thank you for the *feiumu hula* (huge food). Thank you for the *feiumu toho* (food too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)."

This is the manner of thanking for the pigs: "Thank you for all pigs [except 276
puaka haamo]. Thank you for the *puaka hoamo*. Thank you for the *puaka hula*. Thank 574
you for the *puaka toho*." 576

If there are any ripened bananas [bananas ripened by wrapping in banana leaves], 764
"Thank you for the ripened bananas." Then next is the Tongan pudding (*faikakai*), [262]
then next is the *too* (shellfish), then the melons, and all things from the land and lastly
other things from the sea.

If there is a kava for the women, then this is the order of the thanks: first is the *kie* mat, then the *fihu* mat, then the *kumi* black tapa, then the white tapa (*ngatu taahine*), counted in the thanks for tapa making. Then next are the *fala* mats, then the *efu* mat, then the *kie Tonga* mat. And the last word of thanks is said, "Then thanks for the work done. Thanks for the goods."

After the thanks, the matapule who directs the activities says, "Come, look at the cooked food." Then the thanks are said like this, "Yams, good work."

If there is to be any kava drinking at the funeral then the officiating matapule says: "Get all your things in the *toua* ready." Then after that he says, "Someone come. Keep that kava to be made."

But first he asks the president (Tui Kanokupolu) which kava is to be taken and made.

After the kava is beaten the matapule expects the kava to be made known. Then he says to the persons in the *toua*, "Come, let the work be shown" (so that the king can see the kava better).

After that the man who makes the kava turns sideways and says, "The food (drink) is ready." Then the directing matapule, if it is plain to him that the kava is enough for the kava bowl or kava drinkers, says "Deliver, it is ready. Slow, till mixed. Turn, you two; call for water." When the matapule thinks there is enough water, he says, "First water." Then one stops pouring the water and holds it out. Then it is understood by the matapule that there is enough water and he says, "Stop the water, and mix. Examine and fix the strainer of the kava ready to serve." After he says, "Stop the water," then the remaining unused water is taken away. And when the kava strainer is ready, the matapule says, "Mix below and give him the strainer for the kava."

During the time the strainer is in use Motuapuaka takes the opportunity of talking to the people or one of his family does so, or Lauaki or a navigator, if it is his turn for directing. If the king says the kava is not sufficient, then the matapule asks the kava maker, "Is the kava ready or is there not enough?"

If it is answered, "It is not enough," he will say,

"Put the strainer in the kava bowl, bring it to the front, and someone come and take more kava."

The matapule knows when enough kava or too little is in the kava bowl and it is plain to the matapule whether or not to serve the kava in a banana-leaf cup. He will ask this way, "Is there enough kava in the kava-bowl?"

If it is answered, "The bowl is not big enough," he will say,

"Look for another bowl." And that is brought and one of the men from the kava makers divides the kava and takes it to the new bowl.

Then the order is given from the chiefs near the bend of the kava ring, and it is not allowed for Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule who do the announcing) to speak standing up.

Then their remarks are prefaced like this: "I am going to say a few words. Tapu [554]
[used by inferiors to superiors, meaning "sacred to thee"] for the Tui Haa Mounga
who attends and tapu for the Haa Siulangopu and Latu Hifo, and tapu for the Maliepo [195]
and Molofaha, and tapu for the Haa Vaea and tapu for the Haa Ngata Motua and Haa
Ngata Tupu, and tapu for the Haa Havea, and tapu for the Haa Maafu, and tapu
for the chiefs all present, and tapu for the *toua* chiefs." [The *toua* is the place behind

those mixing the kava, where sit the relatives of chiefs.] Then he starts his speech. 276
And when the strainer is in the kava there is no speech and it is not allowed to talk at 574
the time the reigning prince (*hau*) is drinking, for it is for him they are making the 576
speech.

After the straining of the kava, the strainer is thrown again to the kava bowl and 764
the matapule who directs says: "You come, make the cooked food good." When that is finished he says, "Count the cooked food."

And this the way of counting the work. They start with the food to be carried called *umu kaveetau*, next the food called *umu fakahunga*, next the food called *umu hula*, next the food called *umu toho*. Then after that the pigs are counted. First he counts the pigs (*puaka*) in the earth oven, next the *puaka haamo*, next the *puaka hula*, next the *puaka toho*.

The same counting is done with the kava, just as explained above in the "thanks." Then after it is counted and the quantity is made known, the matapule is informed by the king to keep one oven of food (*feiumu*) to eat when they are drinking kava. Then three other ovens are assigned. The oven in front is kept for the king and Motuapuaka who divides for the chiefs of one side. The second oven is kept for Lauaki who divides for the other side. The third oven is kept for Veehala, beyond the bend of the kava ring.

They first fix up the oven of food for the king (Tui Kanokupolu) and Motuapuaka and when that is finished they then turn out the oven that has been kept for the side of Lauaki.

Then Motuapuaka speaks, saying, "Someone stand up and bring three yams, also the back of the pig and put it in front for the kava-drinkers." The head of the pig is the relish (*fono*) for Motuapuaka. Then the relish is divided amongst the chiefs of his side. And the same is done for the side of Lauaki and his chiefs, but the first chief [King] gets the back, as Motuapuaka gets the head for himself.

It is allowed for the matapule who sits between the chiefs to call someone from the kava makers to get the relish (*fono*), leaving aside the king's share for a certain person to take or leave. The relish that is kept for Veehala is turned out on his side, and the rest is taken to Maafu Tukuiaulahi where it is divided. For Ata and his side the same is done. Then the rest is taken to Vahai and thereafter the basket is thrown out.

When they clap hands for the kava, the matapule who delivers the kava says, "Young men come, prepare the kava and serve the cooked food. Keep it for the kava of (naming person to receive it) and set it to the side." And after taking the kava aside, they deliver the kava and this is the way of delivering. If the kava and cooked food are served together, the king drinks the first cup. If the kava and the cooked food are not served together, the king drinks the third cup, but as to that the king lets them know, for he can do what he likes.

First the chiefs drink, then the matapule in between. After four of each side drink then Veehala's kava is next. After that one of each side drinks, then Tolo's kava is next; but if Matafahi is absent, they also omit Fakailoatonga's kava and he drinks later when it is delivered to him.

Then one from either side drinks, then Maafu Tukuiaulahi is next. Then one from either side drinks again and Ata's kava is next. Then one from either side drinks and next is Vahai. And after that two from either side drink then the kava of the Haa Havea in the *toua* is served. Then two from either side drink. Then next is the Haa Ngata Motua, then two from either side. Then next is the kava of the Haa Ngata Tupu and so on; but the matapule who delivers sees that the two sides drink together. And so he continues this way of delivering for all the chiefs until the kava is finished.

When the kava is finished, then one comes from the side of Vahai to the middle and says: "That is all of our kava we can offer." Then the matapule who delivers says, "Take the *toua* away." Then the kava drinking is finished.

LAND OWNERSHIP

Regarding the ancient systems of land tenure in Tonga, Alexander (1) 423
writes;

> On passing from the three other western groups [New Zealand, Samoa, Fiji] to
> Tonga, we find a remarkable and striking change in political institutions, in land tenure,
> and in social customs. In a word, we are politically, though not geographically, in eastern
> Polynesia. We find no organized village communities or clans, holding lands in common, [621]
> but a fully developed feudal system, and a strong centralized government. The patriarchal [614]
> head of the clan has become a landlord, and the clansmen, bound to their chief by the tie [612]
> of blood relationship, have become his tenants and subjects. From Rev. L. Fison we learn [613]
> that the nation was divided into four main tribes, two of which were further subdivided [619]
> into subtribes.
>
> From the Rev. Thos. West we learn that "the lands were held in fief." The great 643
> landlords held them by hereditary right, but subject to the king, and they in turn sub- 622
> divided them among their kinsmen and followers. It was on the great chiefs that the 423
> king depended for military support, which they willingly rendered him, as the title by [701]
> which they retained their possessions. Through them also the king received a general [651]
> tribute from the people. The chiefs, also in the order, claimed the service or property of [565]
> their tenants. The lowest order was ground down and oppressed by that above it. The [421]
> "Tuas" could not call anything they had their own. The great chiefs could seize on
> whatever took their fancy. Besides, the king or his representatives could assess labor
> upon the whole community whenever he pleased. The chiefs also claimed a share of all [466]
> the fish taken by their tenants. The most servile homage was rendered to them as in the [226]
> Society and Hawaiian islands. On a father's death his property descended to his children. [171]
> On the mother's death her property remained with her husband and children, not excepting [428]
> her *dower* land, which did not revert to her own kindred as in the other western groups,
> where Tribal tenure prevailed.

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 412) says:

> The orders, or classes, amongst their Chiefs, or those who call themselves such,
> seemed to be almost as numerous as amongst us; but there are few, in comparison, that
> are lords of large districts of territory; the rest holding their lands under those principal
> barons, as they may be called. I was, indeed, told, that when a man of property dies, 428
> everything he leaves behind him falls to the king; but that it is usual to give it to the 643
> eldest son of the deceased, with an obligation to make a provision, out of it, for the rest
> of the children. It is not the custom here, as at Otaheite, for the son, the moment he is [171]
> born, to take from the father the homage and title; but he succeeds to them, at his
> decease; so that their form of government is not only monarchical, but hereditary.

MODERN LANDED NOBLES

Thomson (54, pp. 230, 231) has the following to say concerning land 423
tenure:

> Chief among the purely Tongan enactments of the new code were the land laws. In 423
> former times the soil of Tonga was vested in the Tui Tonga—the spiritual chief. The 643
> great nobles and small cultivators held their lands from him, and he had theoretically the 565
> right to dispossess them at will. When the office of Tui Tonga became vacant, and the 178
> title was absorbed by the present king, the people readily adopted the idea that all the land 622
> was vested in the Crown, who had the power to grant holdings in return for taxes. But
> in 1888, Mr. Baker, acting either under pressure from the chiefs, or spontaneously wishing [427]

> to create a landed aristocracy, foolishly caused the king to grant large estates, which he 423
> called "inheritances," to a number of hereditary lords, who were to receive from the 643
> tenants a rental of $1 per annum for each holding of about eight acres. In dealing with 565
> the land I could not hope to rid myself of these superfluous landlords, but I could, without 178
> evoking dangerous opposition, deprive them of all power over their estates. I determined 622
> to make the Crown collect their rents and pay it over to them, while reserving to itself all 427
> rights of granting allotments and evicting tenants. Thus for all practical purposes the land still belonged to the State; for so long as the rents were paid to the lords of the manor, the Government was virtually the landlord, and the king had voluntarily made over to the Treasury all rents due upon the lands not included within any "inheritance."

The following is the list of "hereditary" lands (*tofia*) granted, not in 423
1888, but on October 24, 1882, and increased by George II on August 24, 643
1894. These seem to include the ancient seats of the chiefs involved. In 622
other words, George I merely confirmed the great chiefs in the holding of their forefathers' fiefs. For example, Fonoifua Island anciently belonged to a Tui Afitu (26, p. 68), on whom it was bestowed by his wife, a Female Tui Tonga; Tungua Island anciently belonged to Tui Haa Teiho. Through a list published by the Tongan Government on March 3, 1919, Queen Charlotte again confirmed the holders of "hereditary" lands in their fiefs. Figure 4 shows the hereditary lands (*tofia*) of the island of Tongatabu.

1. Tungi. From Mua following the road (or trench) straight to the weather 423
shore in the northern part of Hahake. Havelu, Fatumu, Lavengatonga, and Haatakalaua belong to this estate, and Fuaamotu, Kaiavale, Haatui, Navutoka (which Malupo 643
gave up), and Toi. All are in Tongatabu Island. 622
2. Kalanivalu (Fakaua). Lapaha, Hamula, and Toloa are included, but not Hoi, 551
Nukuleka, and Haameneuli. All in Tongatabu. Pangia is now the holder. 103
3. Fatafehi, the Tui Pelehake. Pelehake in Tongatabu, Haatalafale in Haapai, and Haatalafale in Vavau.
4. Nuku. Kolonga, Poha, and Kotongo, all in Tongatabu Island.
5. Niukapu. Fangaleounga, Foa Island, Haapai.
6. Maafu. The inland side of the road to Tokomololo, and Vaini, Tongatabu Island.
7. Lavaka. Fualu and Pea, Tongatabu Island.
8. Fielakepa. Havelu, Tongatabu Island.
9. Ata. Kolovai, Tongatabu Island; Atata Island.
10. Veehala. Fahefa, Tongatabu Island, and Pangai, Eua Island.
11. George Ulukalala. Hihifo, Vavau Island.
12. Tui Haa Teiho. Tungua and Matuku islands, Haapai; Haateiho, Tongatabu Island; Haateiho, Uiha Island, Haapai; Haateiho, Vavau Island.
13. Tui Haa Ngana. Haano, Pukotala, and Muitoa, Haano Island, Haapai.
14. Malupo. Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai; Takaamoatoa and Teleki, Vavau Island.
15. Fotofili. Alele and the western side of the road in Angaha; and Ahau, Palau, and Haahoko, Niuafoou Island.
16. Maatu. Vaipoa and Hihifo, Niuatoputapu Island; but Falehau and Matavai, Niuatoputapu Island, and Tafahi Island, are not included.
17. Luani. Nakolo, Malapo, and Fetoa in Tongatabu; Tefisi, Vavau Island.
18. Tui Lakepa. Talasiu, Tongatabu Island; Ofu and Okoa islands, Vavau group; and Vasivasi, Hunga Island, Vavau group.
19. Tui Afitu. Makave, Vavau Island; Holopeka, Lifuka Island, Haapai; and Fonoifua Island, Haapai.
20. Vaea. Houma, Tongatabu Island.

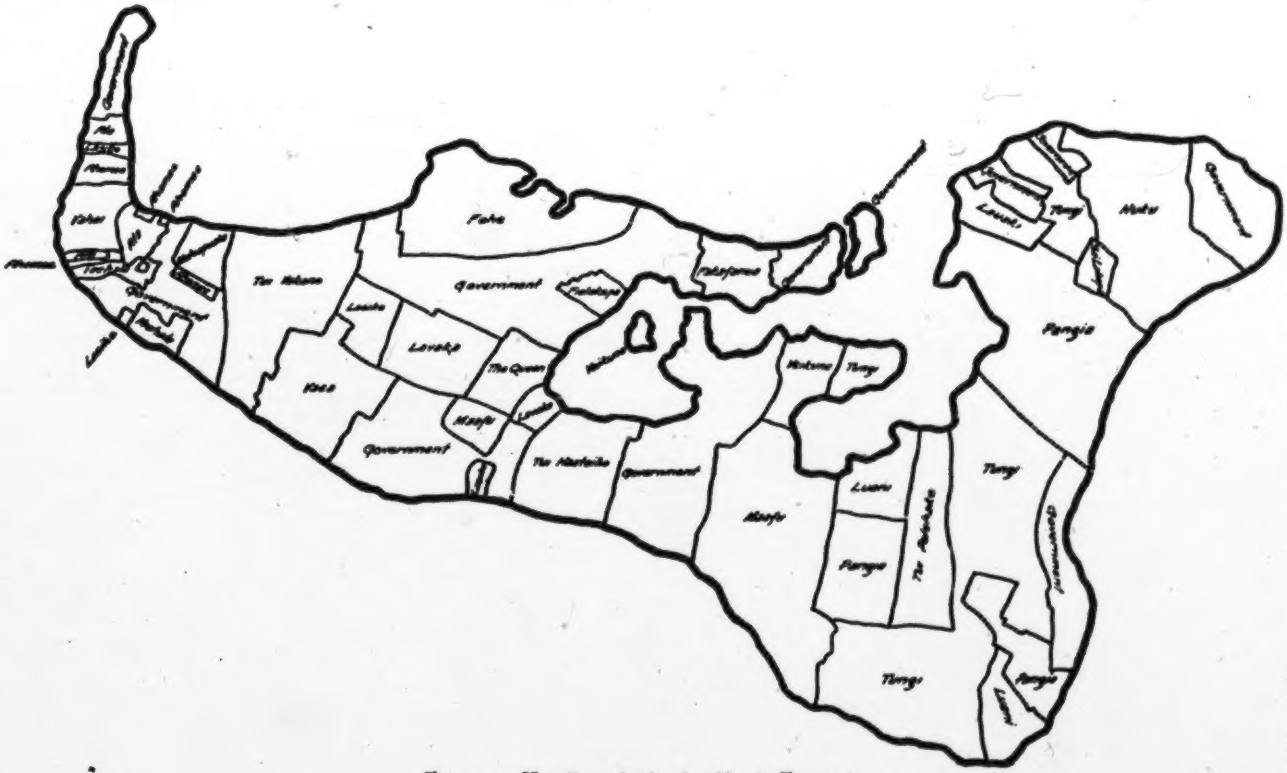

Fahe
Government
Lavaka
The Queen
Maafu
Government
Tu'i Haateiho
Government
Maafu
Luani
Fangupo
Tungi
Tungi
Tungi
Tungi
Luani
Motu
Government
Government

FIGURE 4.—Hereditary lands of nobles in Tongatabu.

102
423
131
643
612
103

21. **Fakafanua.** Maufanga, Tongatabu Island; Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai; and 423
Ngaakau, Vavau Island.
22. **Vahai.** Foui, Tongatabu Island; Taanga, Vavau Island. 643
23. **Tui Vakano.** Nukunuku, Tongatabu Island. 622
24. **Ahomee.** Haavakatolo, Tongatabu Island; Utui, Vavau Island. 551
25. **Fulivai.** Hunga Island, Vavau group; Fangalepa and Lotouiha, Vavau Island. 103
26. **Lutui.** Falevai, Kapa Island, Vavau. (Lutui now called Fakatulolo.)
27. **Tangipa.** Mahinafekite, Niuatoputapu Island.
28. **Fusitua.** Faletanu and the eastern side of the road in Angaha, and Maufanga, Niuafoou Island.
29. **Tuita.** Kolokimuli, Tongatabu Island; Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau; Utungake and Haafakahenga, near Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai; and Futu, Niuafoou Island.
30. **Fohe.** Puke, Tongatabu Island.
31. **Motuapuaka.** Teekiu, Tongatabu Island; Haufolau, Utungake Island, Vavau.
32. **Lauaki.** Talafoou, Tongatabu Island; Masilamea, Vavau Island.
33. **Afu.** Haalaufuli, Vavau Island.
34. **Fotu.** Leimatua, Vavau Island.
35. **Tuuhetoka.** Haafeva Island, Haapai.
36. **Akauola.** Taunga and Fonuaoneone (see below) islands, Vavau.
37. **Lasike.** Lakepa in Ahau, Lakepa in Neiafu, Lakepa in Haatau, Lakepa in Kalaau, Lakepa in Haamea, Lakepa in Navutoka, Fonongahina, Tafangafanga in Hahake, Tongatabu Island; Lakepa in Eua Island.
38. **Veikune.** His hereditary lands in Tongatabu group: 1, Longoteme and Matamoana, Tongatabu Island; 2, Oneata Island; 3, Kanatea Island. His hereditary lands in Vavau: 1, Paleaoau at Fongotofe, Vavau Island; 2, Talahuo, inland side of road of Fongotofe; 3, Lolopipi, between Ngaakau and Vaimalo; 4, Longomapu; 5, Kolotahi Island; 6, Haakoka and Fangaeva.

In the reign of Queen Charlotte, "hereditary" lands were granted as follows:

36. To Akauola, the island of Fonuaoneone, Vavau group.
39. To the great chief Tupoutoa (formerly John Mateialona), a portion of the island of Eua.

Of 39 "inheritance" holders, all are chiefs except Nos. 26, 31, 33, 34, 423
and 36, who are matapules, and No. 35, who is conflictingly classified as 622
both matapule and chief. 565

It is said that neither the Tui Tonga nor the Tui Haa Takalaua granted 643
fiefs to their matapule. The modern matapule hold fiefs given them by King 423
George I to show his gratitude and to show that he "acted differently" from 644
his predecessors, the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Informants were agreed that anciently all land was the Tui Tonga's and 643
was bestowed by him upon the various chiefs. It seems to have been the 423
custom that land so bestowed remained indefinitely in the recipient's family, 622
each succeeding holder of his title being confirmed in tenure. Much the [624]
same scheme seems to have held for the tracts allotted to matapules and com- [644] [565]
moners. The normal procedure was for the sons to live upon the land where [428]
their father had dwelt. A chief, however, could dispossess his commoners [591]
at any time, or transfer them from one part of his land to another, even [565]
though they opposed the move.

though they opposed the move. A chief's *fahu* might share in the land of his deceased mother's brother if he wished. There seems to have been less value set on land anciently than at the present day. 643 622 423 565 604 178

From the standpoint of tenancy the tracts comprise (1) *tofia,* "hereditary" lands of the chiefs and modernly of certain matapules; (2) *api* (rendered *abbey* by some early writers), field either with or without an enclosing fence; (3) *api-kolo,* town lot—a modern development. The term *lotoa* (*ladore* of some earlier writers), designates a fenced enclosure smaller than an *api* and usually next a dwelling. A fenced *api* is called *lotoapi.* 123

The following anecdotes exemplify the Tongan attitude with regard to the sovereign's ownership of all land. 643 423 622

When parcelling out and confirming the tenure of the lands now held by the various nobles, King George I asked Ata (great-grandfather of the present Ata) where his hereditary lands lay. Ata replied that he had none, that all land belong to the king. The king then told him to take certain portions of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and to call his place of residence Kolovai. Formerly Kolovai was called Pangai and was the seat of the earlier Tui Kanokupolu.

A man named Lolohea parcelled out land on Foa Island among the people at the request of King George I. A piece called Pangai was left over. The king assigned this to Lolohea, saying: "It belonged to your forefathers."

The island of Koloa, Vavau, once the Tui Tonga's personal property, was given by George I to Toamotu, a chief, in reward for war services. There is a long series of similar allotments apparently based on ancient practice. Such allotments did not entail alienation of the land. It was still the king's, but was to be used by the subject to whom allotted. Even cemetery sites were bestowed by George I. [729] [555] [764]

THE PERSONAL LANDS OF THE TUI TONGA

According to a list compiled for King George II by Tafolo, scion of the Tui Tonga family, tracts specifically set aside as personal lands of the Tui Tonga comprise 7 on Tongatabu Island, 12 on Lifuka Island, and 7 on islands in the Vavau group. There are similar personal lands of the Tui Kanokupolu. 643 423 103

Tui Tonga tracts in Tongatabu Island are: Fangaoneone in Mua, Utuleva in Mua, various tracts near Lapaha, Veifoa, Ualako in the Hahake district, Pipi, Haameneuli.

Tui Tonga tracts in Lifuka Island, Haapai are: Otufanga, Ahofakasiu, Vainafa, Talaufanga, Vailupesia, Vaiola, Olovehi, Matamoana, Utulaaina, Finevalapililolo, Vakataumai, Nakolovou, all of which except Nakolovou are near Tongoleleka—a part of the modern village of Hihifo. Nakolovou is near the modern village of Pangai.

Tui Tonga tracts in the Vavau group are: Koloa Island; Vaipoa, Vavau 643
Island; Tamamualoto, Vavau Island; Vakataumai, Kapa Island; Pulinitu, 423
near Haalaufuli, Vavau Island; Hauofa, between Haakio and Lafoou, Vavau 103
Island; Lavengahau, near Ngaakau, Vavau Island.

BOUNDARIES

In Tonga trees and ancient roads commonly served as boundary marks 423
instead of stones, which are too readily moved. Land hunger is one of the [685]
failings of the Tongans and to-day, when a noble dies, his neighbors, if [768]
possible, encroach on his *tofia*, making haste to do so before his successor
is appointed and trusting that the new owner will be ignorant of the true
boundaries. Many present day nobles are averse to having their hereditary [659]
lands surveyed by the government surveyor because this would prevent
further boundary shifting.

The *ngatae* (*Erythrina indica*) seems to have been the favorite tree for 423
marking boundaries because it grows rapidly. Coconut, *koka* and *buko* 814
trees formed more permanent boundaries, usually replacing the *ngatae* when [137]
it died. I heard that the word *ngatae* is a modern rendering of *ngatahe*
which means boundary and anciently designated the tree as well. Thus
when the Tui Kanokupolu allotted a piece of land to a follower, he said
"Ngatahe," meaning that the follower should mark the boundary by planting
ngatahe trees.

ABSENCE OF TRUE COMMUNAL LANDS

Anciently there seems to have been no lands that were, strictly speaking, 423
communal. Perhaps the nearest approach to a communal tract was the [311]
malae or green in proximity to the house or houses of a chief, an enclosed
lawn which was used as a place of ceremonial meetings, dances, and entertainments,
such as boxing and wrestling. As now used, the term *malae*
applies to a chief's burial place (the common use in eastern Polynesia) and
to the lawn area adjacent to any house.

An example of modern communal tenancy was noted in Lifuka Island. 423
Although the tract (*api*) Fiehua belongs to the Queen, in 1920 it was used 311
as a communal field for the village of Pangai, each man in Pangai having
a small section in which to plant sweet potatoes. When the potatoes were [651]
harvested, a number of basketsful were presented to the queen. However,
the coconuts which grew in this field were not the property of the townspeople.
Copra was made from the nuts by the queen's caretaker, a matapule [245]
named John Tuione, who usually received half of the proceeds, sometimes [644]
all.

FISHING RIGHTS

The nearest approach to true communal rights lay in fishing grounds. 423
The rights to fishing, whether close to shore or further out, belonged to 226
those living on the adjacent coast. Most chiefs had land fronting on the [622]
water where their fishing operations were conducted. Every "commoner" [565]
who lived on a tract bordered by water could fish along his waterfront.
The inland man without a waterfront on which to fish usually had "*tofia* [438]
brothers" (men under the same chief) living on the shore who supplied fish
in return for yams, fruit, taro, and other inland products.

Sometimes an inland man poached at his own risk on another's waterfront. 423
If apprehended, his traps might be destroyed and his fish confiscated. 226
Sometimes, if fish were hard for inlanders to obtain, a large party 685
would fish in force and depend upon their allied strength to protect them.
But even then, the poaching would take place on the waterfrontage of the [622]
poachers' own chief.

If, as sometimes happened, a man fished in a canoe before the lands of 423
a chief other than his own, he would then present his first catch (a large 622
number of fish) to the chief, who might then allow the man to continue 226
fishing for the day. A story is told of an inland man who fished in a
canoe before the *tofia* of the first Tungi. When he landed his canoe, Tungi
himself confronted him, bit each fish on the back of the neck and said,
"These fish are mine."

At variance with these assertions are the statements of Okoa informants 423
that the people of their island might fish anywhere in Vavau, and that 226
claim to a fishing place is established by setting up on the reef a stick with
a leaf attached—such a statement probably pertains to modern conditions
only. Another example of communism at Okoa, which is probably modern, 423
is the use of a boat of one or two tons burden which belongs to the whole 226
village. The boat may be used by individuals for fishing. If the catch is 501 621
large it is shared with fellow villagers, and in any event the mayor is given 622
part of the catch.

The stone dam (*pae*) built across a channel outlet to a pool on the reef, 423
to trap the fish seeking the sea on the outgoing tide, was said to be the 226
property of the family group occupying the adjoining tract.

COMMUNAL FENCES, CISTERNS, AND WELLS

Another example of communal effort, at least in modern Tonga, is the 423
fence (*afonua*) which surrounds some villages to prevent the pigs straying 417
into the neighboring plantations and uprooting the plants. Each taxpayer 361
in a village has a certain length of fence to keep in repair. 231 621

Cisterns (*lepa*) for conserving rain water for drinking purposes were 312
no doubt shared by several families, though owned by the chiefs. The an- 423
cient type of cistern, which has now been replaced by a concrete cistern, was [622
a hole about ten feet deep, dug near a house. The sides and bottom of 178]
this hole were beaten with the trunk of a banana tree until they were hard
and waterproof. Water was lead from the roof of the house by means of [414]
spouts made of bamboo sticks split in halves.

Dug wells, like clay-lined cisterns, were owned by the chiefs. (See p. [622]
124.) These were used as bathing places, fresh or brackish water for this [515]
purpose being much appreciated. Each chief usually had such a bathing [565
place near his residence. He might allow his matapule to use it also, but 565]
not his commoners. Women had special bathing places. A well or cistern [562]
for bathing was called *vaikaukau*. Many of them bore names (25). One [515]
just northwest of Nukualofa belongs to the chief Lomu. [552]

NOTES ON LAND HOLDINGS

EUA

It is said that originally the northern part of the Eua Island was held 423
by Manumua, anciently a chief of Eua, who was attached to the court of 622
the Tui Tonga, and the southern part by another chief named Vakauta, 173
but that later chiefs from Tongatabu other than the governors sent by the 103
Tui Tonga obtained portions. Both original owners seem to have assigned
portions of their holdings to later comers, as the following records show:

Tuanuku, a tract at the southern end of Eua was so named for Havea Tuanuku, younger brother of a former chief Nuku of Tongatabu, who came to Eua in the Eighteenth Century to be matapule to the governor Tukuaho. Manumua gave the tract to Havea Tuanuku and it is held to-day by one of Havea's descendants.

A Tui Kanokupolu came to Houma in Eua Island on a vacation (*takataka i Houma*; literally, walking about in Houma) and begot by a Houma woman a son whom he named Tupou Takatakaihouma and who was called for short Taka. Manumua gave the lad Houma, the north end of the island for his *tofia*.

Manumua gave as a *tofia* to Hama, a soothsayer (*tongafisi*), who came from the Tui Haa Takalaua, a tract which included Ofilei and Sipangai and adjoined that of Taka. Hama also had an *api* called Halahu, at the southern end of the island. The particular spot where he lived is called Matakiata (Seeing-to-Ata), because in his capacity of *tongafisi* he discovered Ata Island. He told his son to go to Ata.

The modern chief Hafoka of Eua, a relative of Veehala of Tongatabu, says that the holdings that were once his forefathers' are now vested in Veehala, who receives the rents from them. Kalau Island, south of Eua, once belonged to Hafoka and was utilized by the people of Haaluma, a former hamlet in Hafoka's *tofia* near the southern end of Eua. It was deserted in Christian times and its people now live in Ohonua.

TONGATABU

Formerly all the Haa Havea chiefs, as well as the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, had pieces of land in Hihifo. The Haa Havea chiefs received their

land as descendants of Mataeletuapiko, the third Tui Kanokupolu, the Haa 423
Ngata Motua chiefs already having land there. The tracts formerly belonging 622
to the Haa Havea have now passed to Ata who is the hereditary lord. 103

The tract Vaoleleva, which is situated near Huatolitoli in the Hahake 173
district, Tongatabu, was given by the Tui Tonga to Lavaka-vaoleleva and
Ahomee. It was named after Lavaka-vaoleleva in gratitude for his hospitality
to the Tui Tonga on the occasion when the Tui Tonga's preparations
for a voyage to Vavau were delayed by a great famine in Tongatabu. On [251]
this occasion the meals were prepared from two great (breadfruit?) storage
pits, of which there were many in the tract.

Following the slaying of the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea in 1799,
a man named Tongalava is reputed to have removed the body to Mua from
a rock on which his slayers had placed it. At Mua it lay in state in a [764]
funerary house (*tolia*) for six months, while the royal tomb Langi Loamanu
was being erected. After the funeral the relatives of the deceased gave three [764]
parcels of Mulikihaamea's land to Tongalava, in gratitude for his service. [431]
The parcels are the tracts Toutai, Toutai II, and Tatai. These were to be
forever the property of his descendants, the donors said.

HAAPAI

The following narrative concerning land ownership in Haapai is told 173
by Tevita Tunai, of Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai. 643
648
484
431

> When they were preparing for the Tui Tonga's trip to Samoa the people gathered presents for this trip and then Helu brought the presents and the chiefs sailed. When they arrived in Samoa they distributed the presents and the Samoans were pleased with the presents that Helu gave them. When the expedition returnd to Tonga, the
> Tui Tonga told Helu to choose anything he liked as a reward for his efficient services. 643
> Helu told the Tui Tonga just to give him a little piece of land. The Tui Tonga said, 431
> "Come and carry me." Then they went up to a hill called Toloke in Haano Island,
> and they turned back from there and then the Tui Tonga asked, "How is this?" Helu 423
> replied, "Go on to the promotory (*muifonua*) at Fakakakai." 173
>
> Then Helu said, "Give me the promontory Houmatala," and Helu was satisfied when this was done.
>
> Helu died and was buried in Lotofoa in a cemetery called Monotapu. The first [212]
> Tungi told Tooi and Niulala to remove Helu's bones to Houmatala to bear witness that that is Helu's land, and then they cut a stone and inscribed the name and the date and the year. This stone was set up as a witness that the promontory was Helu's. The Tui Haa Takalaua was the immediate overlord anciently. The brother of the present Helu (who is mayor of Lotofoa) was matapule to the first Tungi, who replaces the abolished Tui Haa Takalaua line.

VAVAU

Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu, claimed unsuccessfully the island of Ma- 423
fana in the Vavau group upon the following basis: 428
173

> This island belonged to Tokemoana, the son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II. 423
> The son of Tokemoana was Toutaitokotaha. The son of Toutaitokotaha was Sisitoutai. 428
> The daughter of Sisitoutai was Tongahaapai. The son of Tongahaapai was Joel Maatu 173
> (father of the Maatu of 1921). Mafana was claimed by Maatu, who is in the female
> line, because male descendents of Tokemoana were lacking.

Ulukalala, one of the great chiefs of Vavau, tried also to claim it, saying 423
that his father Matekitonga owned it. 173

Other stories of land titles in Vavau follow:

> Near Makave, Vavau Island, is a peninsula called Utuatea, connected with the mainland by a low isthmus. It is said that formerly this connecting isthmus was absent and the peninsula was an island called Utuatea. When the chief of the district, Tui Afitu, held a big feast of any kind, both Makave and Utuatea had to prepare ovens of food for him. The people thought this to be too great a drain upon them, so they decided to make one place of Makave and Utuatea. This they did by filling in the channel between the small and large islands in a single night and planting trees on the filled area in the morning.

Another version of this story is told:

> The island Utuatea was formerly owned by a *toutai* (navigator or fisher) of the Tui Tonga whose name was Fia. Tui Afitu, chief of Makave, wanted to possess this island, so he had his people work all one night to fill in the dividing gap. The trees were planted on it on the following morning. When Fia heard of how Tui Afitu had established his claim, he was afraid to complain and left it in the chief's possession.

A Vavau informant, Tea, told of the bestowal of land upon one of his forefathers:

> Atulutuhepalelei had two children who were Teala and Muka. Teala had a daughter
> named Siuvakalelei. On one occasion they went out to sea to fish for bonitos with [226]
> hook and line. They were caught in a squall and drifted far to sea. Fortunately they sighted land. This land was the island of Vavau. They went from there to Tonga and lived with the Tui Haa Takalaua. Siuvakalelei grew up to be a beautiful woman. The Tui Haa Takalaua fell in love with her, so he asked Teala for the hand of his daughter. They were married and after a while Siuvakalelei gave birth to a boy who was called Tupouutamolalo. The two old men (Teala and Muka) asked the Tui Haa Takalaua to name the boy Atulutuhepalelei, after the Tui Haa Takalaua's navigator. He did so.
>
> Motuapuaka's seat at the kava drinking is on the right, so the Tui Haa Takalaua took a *tuaniu* (the hard stem which supports the individual leaves in a coconut frond) and stuck it in the ground at the left. This is why Atulutuhepalelei was called Lutui, as his navigator. Atulutupalelei married and begot offspring. The first one was Teala to whom Falevai on the island of Kapa was given by the Tui Kanokupolu Tui Halafatai, who was saved from drowning near Vavau by this Teala. Tui Halafatai's ship was in a distress at sea near Vavau when Teala went to the rescue and took the ship's people to Falevai. The chief appreciated this noble deed, so he turned and said to Teala, "I have no wealth to give you as the token of our gratitude, but I shall give you Falevai here in the Vavau group; the *api* called Haatua at Nukuleka in Tongatabu; and the *api* Tokelau in Nomuka Island, Haapai. Another grandson (presumably brother of Teala) of the Tui Haa Takalaua was called Inukavaatua. Tokemoana gave his wife to marry Inukavaatua, that he might get a matapule from their children. Lapulou (wife of Tokemoana?) later gave birth to a boy who was called Abraham, to one who was called Veamalohi, and to one who was called Tupatongafisi. Still later she gave birth to another male child who was called Lutui. He was the youngest. This

Lutui was the grandfather of the present Lutui. Veamalohi or Tokelau Malohi was 423
the ancestor of Tea of to-day. 173

INHERITANCE OF PERSONAL PROPERTY

Wealth (*koloa*) took the form of mats, tapa, and other manufactured 428
articles. When a man died his *koloa* was divided by his father's sister
(*mehekitanga*) or his oldest living sister, among the near relatives on both
sides of the family, the sister's son receiving the biggest share. Sometimes
the relatives came and picked out what they wanted. All *ngatu* tapa and [764]
ngafingafi mats were buried with the dead. This buried wealth is called
koloa kekekele.

ADMINISTRATION

The north-south trend of the Tongan archipelago renders communication 643
easy during the time that the Trade Winds blow. Wilson (66, p. liv) 484
says that most, if not all of the islands, were regularly visited by the [132]
"sovereign or commander in chief" and that the rulers kept in touch with
the rank and file of the population in remote islands, not only through the
local governors and stewards, but also by personal visits. Much the same
scheme prevails in modern Tonga, for occasionally the sovereign, and more
frequently high officials such as the chief justice, voyage to the parts of
the kingdom remote from Tongatabu. 621

Although commoners had absolutely no voice in governmental affairs 643
they were assembled in what is called a *fono*, to hear orders from the chiefs. 642
Anciently the *fono* was employed as a means for telling the people what to 565
do in connection with work or war. Every adult in a district had to attend. 622
At such gatherings the chiefs and their matapules did the talking; commoners [641]
could not speak and had no representatives. Such also is the practice [624]
in modern Tonga. Chiefs and sometimes matapules had a voice in decisions, [624]
though usually it was the duty of the matapule merely to convey the chief's
orders to the people. It is obvious that a Tongan *fono* was different from a [171]
Samoan *fono*, which was a deliberative parliamentary gathering.

The chiefs of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu would have an independent 622
fono so far as work in Hihifo was concerned but would probably 621
consult the chiefs of the Hahake district and the Tui Tonga in a subject 643 634
concerning the whole island, as for instance, war.

There were meetings (*fakataha*) of chiefs and of matapules to discuss 622
arrangements for various undertakings, such as a funeral feast. A meeting 624
of this nature was not a *fono*.

Compulsory labor (*fatongia*) dates from early times. No pay was 466
given but apparently food was supplied. It was a sort of corvee system

administered by superior chiefs anciently, and now, by the established 466
Government. It was no doubt the system by which labor was requisitioned
for the construction of the great royal tombs, the pigeon mounds, the great
trilithon, and other works for royal or public purposes. The account of
Matauvave, the Tui Tonga's steward in Haapai, is a good example of the
working of the system. (See p. 69.) A rebellion against the oppressive- [669]
ness of this system in early times is cited by Thomson (54, pp. 294, 300).
Wilson mentions the *fatongia* (*fadangyeer*) or tax on labor and states that [622]
inferior chiefs sent men two or three times a week to labor for the Tui [643]
Kanokupolu ("Dugonagaboola"). He also says (65, p. 384, liii):

> In improvements and civil government the people of the Friendly Islands appear superior . . . their lands better cultivated, their roads neatly maintained, and their country generally enclosed with reed fences; property also appears more protected, and no arbitrary exactions noticed; . . .

In 1797, according to Wilson, there were three main districts in Tonga- 622
tabu, each governed by an absolute ruler; the northwestern, Hihifo (Aheefo) 634
district, ruled by the Tui Kanokupolu; the middle, Mua district, ruled by Fatafehi (Futtafaihe) probably the Tui Pelehake; and the southeastern, Hahake (Ahoge) district, ruled by Vaharlo. Subdivisions of these districts were ruled by inferior chiefs. Perhaps in some measure the boundaries of these three districts coincided with the three modern districts (*vahe*) of Hihifo, Loto (middle), and Hahake. To what extent these districts were administrative rather than purely geographic is not clear.

The following account of the origin of the name Pukotala gives a pic- 622
ture of the method of transmitting orders from a chief to his tenants: 203
173

> On the island of Haano there are four villages. Starting from the northwestern 103
> end of the island, they are Muitoa, Haano or Lotohaano, Pukotala, and Fakalakai. The lord of the island, known as Tui Haa Ngana, holds sway over the first three, but Fakalakai never had a chief and as its name indicates is made up of people from different parts that have settled there. In the olden days when the chief desired to give notice to the people of some new arrangement, he summoned his attendants and matapule to Haano and told them what he wanted accomplished. A runner was dispatched to Pukotala to acquaint the folk there of Tui Haa Ngana's intentions. On the outskirts of the village was a big *puko* tree ("cottonwood") and up this the runner used to climb and yell out at the top of his voice his chief's wishes. It was from this circumstance that the place derived its name: *puko*, cottonwood tree; *talo*, to tell.

The early voyagers mention portable houses set up at convenient places 342
485
near anchorages for the reception of visitors. At the abodes of great chiefs 344
were special houses, open on all sides where meetings were held, public affairs transacted, and foreigners received in state. Tasman pictures such a house, which he describes as a raised and roofed platform (30). This is probably the type of structure designated by the Tongans of today as *falehau*.

LAW

I use the word "law" in reference to transgression of custom and punish- 671
ment therefor. The combination of patriarchal and feudal ideas, coupled 121
with the inequality of individuals, makes the study of Tongan jurisprudence
very difficult. Perhaps the greatest difficulty arises from the modification of [177]
legal procedure resulting from the century of Euro-American influence, [797]
chiefly of the churches. No doubt the best picture is to be drawn from the
accounts of voyagers, yet that is an imperfect picture. Such information as I
gleaned firsthand is necessarily very fragmentary.

Certain tapu breaches were thought to bring with them supernatural 784
consequences; certain others were punished at the order of the overlord. 688
There was no judicial branch of government in ancient Tonga. Judges 692
and police were lacking, except in so far as a chief might settle a case and 693
his armed followers execute the judgment. Trials like those in Samoa 625 622
before a parliamentary gathering seem not to have taken place in Tonga. 695
A chief at times acted as arbiter and meted out punishment. 622

Anciently there were no jails and apprehension of a wrong-doer was 681
followed immediately by punishment in one of three ancient forms: *haha* 697
(beating), *hai* (leg and arm binding), and *tamatei* (execution); *hai* con-
sisted of binding the arms straight behind the culprit or binding the legs, a
punishment which lasted for two or three days.

Two Tongan words, *hia* and *angahala*, are translated as "sin," perhaps 673
in the light of Biblical teachings. Anciently *hia* seems to have signified [682]
murder, or adultery with the wife of a man who was the equal or superior [684]
of the adulterer in rank. The word *angahala* has a much less definite mean- [565]
ing. It apparently signifies "fault, a habit or mode of action which is [183]
amiss," and also means prostitution. [548]

Whether or not a murderer's family was jointly responsible with him 682
for a killing was not definitely ascertained. One aged Vavau informant 672
thought that only the murderer was responsible and was uncertain whether [602]
punishment was meted out directly by the injured family or only through
the chief. One informant said that the murder of one commoner by an- [578]
other resulted in a vendetta between their respective families which con- [627]
tinued until their chief or chiefs ordered it stopped. If a chief killed a [622]
commoner no blood vengeance followed, as a rule. If a chief ordered a [565]
commoner to kill another chief, it might or might not be done.

Assassinations and other executions for political reasons were exceed- 682
ingly common in Tonga. Mariner records a series of executions ordered 687
by his patron, Ulukalala II, and the accounts of the Tui Tonga give others.
A very distinctive example is the assassination of the Tui Tonga Takalaua

and the subsequent apprehension and cruel punishment of his murderers 682
(26, p. 34). 687

Many fights occur at *pola* fishing (p. 146). Some young man on the outside 226
of the fishing fence, where all except the officials belong until the signal 578
is given to cross it, seeing his enemy close at hand among the *kauleo* deliberately
crosses the fence and fishes on the wrong side. His enemy strives to
break his spear and drive him back. Other young men take sides and use
their spears for purposes other than fishing. It is the duty of the older men [887]
to stop such fights (*toutakoo*).

To call a person *matapapanga* (flat-faced person) constitutes an outrageous 576
insult to the man or woman so denoted. 578

A sort of preemptive right to all the women of their districts was accepted 622
by the people as a chief's prerogative. The late Ata used to lie in wait 837
for women beside the road, and none dared complain, because he was a high 634
chief.

A great chief, whose daughter or other female living with him was 622
seduced, would order people to bring the culprit, and the chief himself, or 684
someone delegated to do so, would beat the man over the face and body 565
with a branch of *loholoho* (coconut stem from which small nuts hang), and
send him home. The girl would be beaten also and might be sent back to
her seducer after a beating in public or in presence of her family. A seducer
was beaten even though a chief, provided the girl he seduced was of higher
rank and provided marriage did not follow at once.

A man who had intercourse with a young girl before her first menstruation 684
would be beaten severely or killed, according to the extent of the anger
of the girl's relatives. The father of the girl or her maternal male relatives [593]
avenged her, but not her brothers.

No compounding for the crime of raping a young girl was tolerated. 684
If a daughter of a high chief was raped and the culprit knew that the chief 622
had knowledge of the fact, the man would go and tell his whole family 565
of what he had done. The family would ask the grandson of the chief to 684
intercede, and wearing girdles of *ifi* leaves around the neck and waist, 622
would go to the father of the outraged girl. The man and his family 603
would sit down outside the chief's house, bow down their heads and send 565
his grandson in to him. The grandson would call out the chief's name and
say: "Excuse me. These people have come here with me. Excuse me,
don't be angry, or if you are angry do what you like to me, but let these
people go free." The grandson and not the son of the chief would be the [593]
interceder because the son must show respect to both father and sister, while
the grandson may take liberties. If the chief were clement, the affair was 684
ended. No gifts were given, for if he accepted gifts it would be disgraceful, 622
as it would look like encouragement of the act. It was customary for 565

a chief to forgive, even if the offender was a commoner; other chiefs would 684
laugh at him if he did not. But perchance the seducer were not forgiven he 622
would be killed at the first opportunity. 565

Regarding theft, the opinion of all early voyagers is expressed by Wilson 685
(66, p. 385). "In their propensity to theft they [the Polynesians in [171]
general] too much resembled each other, though the Friendly Islanders seemed the most daring." Unfortunately we know nothing of the extent of thievery among the Tongans themselves, but presumably it was rare.

LIFE CRISES

BIRTH

When the time is nearly arrived for the delivery of a child, a messenger 844
(usually the husband) is sent off for the midwife and should the first person the messenger meet be of the female sex, it is said that the child will be a girl, and vice versa. (Note from W. H. Murley.)

For the first ten days after childbirth the mother's diet was exclusively 846
yams and hot coconut milk (*veifua*). At childbirth both mother and child 302
were painted with turmeric (*enga*) and oil immediately. Collocott says (10, 386 [844]
p. 418) that the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five days.
Each day for two or three months the mother and child were given a [853]
sponge bath and repainted with turmeric, said to keep the mother and child warm and to induce the mother to produce milk quickly and plentifully.
The use of turmeric is today yielding to fuller's earth. The following tale 846
refers to the use of turmeric: 773 302

> Mahina was a hero who lived at Vaipoa in Vavau. Mahina had a god who guarded 386
> the water (a little bit of the sea) where Mahina bathed. A woman who had recently borne a child, and was therefore painted with turmeric, bathed in this water. The god disliked the smell of the turmeric in the water and shifted his quarters. He gulped the water up into his mouth and set off. Near Makave, Vavau, he met another god who made him laugh, and he spilt some of the water, which gave rise to the water called Finekata. Nearby he spilt some more out of his mouth which gave rise to the water called Veengangana (literally, spilt water). He went on to Tongatabu and established himself on the weather shore near Vaotuu, but another turmeric-painted matron disturbed him by bathing in his water, and so he packed up again and finally discharged the water at Tufumahina, Tongatabu.

That perhaps the newborn child was regarded as of supernatural origin 858
is suggested by the word *louuluotua* (hair of the god), applied to the hair on the head of a child when born.

The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial 846
spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.

There is a mound at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, known to be the place 846
of burial of the umbilical cord of a woman of rank, named Mafitoutai.

Nothing was learned of any special attitude towards twins (*mahanga*), 845
except that they were thought desirable.

An attempt is made to flatten the nose of the infant by pressure fre- 856
quently applied with the fingers. Large calves and small ankles, which
are regarded as a mark of beauty, are sought to be developed by frequent
massaging of the flesh of the child from the ankle upward and from the
knee downward.

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

A lock of hair over one temple (called *fangafanga*) was worn by young 302
girls until virginity was lost. Thereafter the hair was cut short (shaved, 852
one informant said) from the forehead straight back to the neck. This 836
was done as soon as the loss of virginity became known, and whether the 884
loss was due to marriage or illicit relations. The daughter of a great chief [622]
might wear all her hair of her head at full length until her marriage, but [565]
not thereafter. The term *fakahaalavaka* was used to designate the particular style in which a chiefly girl of the Haa Havea wore her hair as a sign of virginity. Baker (2) uses this term as the designation of long hair worn as a sign of virginity by any girl.

Chiefly families still observe the ancient ceremonies connected with the 881
incipiency of womanhood. These observances were formerly general. When [565]
the first period of a daughter of a great chief arrives, her mother is notified
and then her father informed. The mother will say to him: "Our daughter
has commenced to menstruate today." The girl is then forbidden to bathe 881
during this first period, because of the belief that it would stop the flow. 841
She is painted all over with turmeric by her mother on the first day and [515]
then put to bed, as though she were sick, to remain for the rest of the [302]
period. While she is lying in bed a big feast is held, given by her father, [574]
but supervised by the father's sister. Gifts are distributed by the mother. [431]
When the flow ceases, the girl bathes. She is accompanied by an old [515]
female attendant. She and the old woman chew *tuitui* (candlenut), *langa-* [824]
kali flowers, *nukonuka* flowers, and *pako* grass root, or other sweet-smelling
plants. These masticated plants are rubbed over the body before bathing [302]
and the candlenut is used as soap.

No deity had charge of the girl during her period. Girls were not [776]
married before first menstruation. [582]

The first period of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was marked by the 643
following observances. The girl was painted with turmeric, she was for- 881
bidden to bathe, and she slept on and under black tapa to hide the blood [515]

and because that kind of tapa was stiff and would stand away from her 643
body. Presents were brought by all the surrounding country people and 881
presented to the Tui Tonga. The men brought kava and food. The women [515]
brought mats, tapa, baskets, wooden pillows, and other valuable articles. 643
The gift was called (both men's and women's together), *katoanga oe ngata* 881
(literally, the finishing feast), probably in reference to the termination of 431
childhood. The permanent gifts went to the Tui Tonga and his family;
the food gifts were distributed among the people gathered to celebrate the
occasion. There was no confinement of the girl or food tapu.

During menstruation in general, women took care of the flow by 841
means of a piece of tapa rolled up and inserted between the legs, where it
was held in place merely by leg pressure. Any piece of old softened tapa
would be used for such purpose.

BOYS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

The *tope,* a long lock of hair, worn by small boys over the temple was 881
cut off at puberty, perhaps on the precise occasion of "circumcision." One 302
informant stated that a boy entered manhood, when his voice changed and
hair began to develop on his body and face, and that then his lock of hair
was cut off. Two other informants were certain that a youth's hair was
cut man fashion immediately after the tapu following "circumcision" was
lifted.

Circumcision, or better supercision because of the character of the 304
operation, usually took place between the years of twelve and sixteen, but 881
is said to have been performed on boys as young as six years in age. All [643]
males were circumcised except the Tui Tonga. The adoption of Christianity [797]
seems not to have in any way curtailed the practice except that the Hebrew [178]
method has partially displaced the Tongan method.

The terms *tefe* (the vulgar word) and *kaukau* (the word of polite so- 304
ciety) are the precise designations for the Tongan operation which con-
sists in making a longitudinal slit in the upper surface of the foreskin.
The term *kamu* is also applied, but means truly to circumcise (cut around)
and might be applied to a hand or a tree. It is a term of little respect and
is applied to the Hebrew form of circumcision. Both operations are now [657]
performed for the male population by the Government medical officers.

Supercision was regarded as a sign of manhood and any youth who 881
declined to be operated upon would be forbidden to eat with the other [626]
members of the household, must not touch another's food, and would be (6
spurned by the girls. An uncircumcised person is called *kou* or *taetefe.*

Boys were usually operated on in groups called *lango mamalu.* I recall
such a group in the Government hospital at Nukualofa in 1921. A chief's

A chief's
son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was 881
no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son. 622

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He 881
was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be 304
an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, [157]
previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire con-
fidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but [593]
might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the [605]
community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator [604]
who was to officiate. [887]

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the [515]
sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates. The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called
hekeheka. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual [516]
tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to [412]
have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the operation:

> A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.
>
> Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some
> of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled [824]
> back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kavakava-* [752]
> *ulie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.
>
> The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one 881
> might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They 784
> could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in
> the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered [831]
> from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopeanga*) suspended
> from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything [262]
> sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.
>
> In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the 514
> body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, 881
> while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This 881
bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without 515
anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them 752
and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is
said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *haihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout 881
the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was 574
lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present [264]
of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers [789]
of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast [593]
in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation,
as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present [431]
for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one [761]
of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. [784]
Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to [752]
have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but 58
it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some 114
particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fatongia* 581
(duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To 595
marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states:

> [837]
> [684]
> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem 548
> to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. [171]

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a [837]
person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her
paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

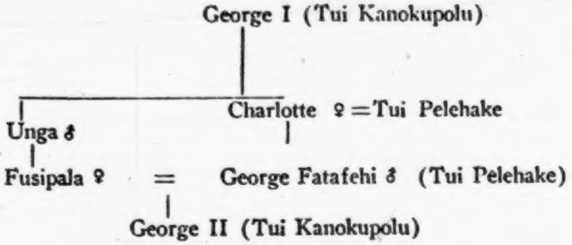
The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people 584
is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the 604
marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans
of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of 584 572 562
a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is 585 593 431
presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced 587
in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage 582
of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among [622] [565]
chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her
cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins
was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata
Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

(p. 281). An example of marriage of a man to his mother's brother's 582
daughter follows. It is said that the other form of cross-cousin marriage,
i. e., to the father's sister's daughter, occurred, but was rare.

[601]


George I (Tui Kanokupolu)
Charlotte ♀ = Tui Pelehake
Unga ♂
Fusipala ♀ = George Fatafehi ♂ (Tui Pelehake)
George II (Tui Kanokupolu)

Cross-cousin marriage is metaphorically called *takaifala* (rolling up mats),
for it is said of the woman that she goes to roll up the mats of her father's
sister's son. In cross-cousin marriage it was the sister's child who held the [593]
higher rank in the marriage on account of being *fahu* to his spouse. Cross- [605]
cousin marriage is to-day called *mali* (English marry) *fatongia* (duty); that
is, a marriage of duty, referring to the duty of the brother's children to look
after the sister's children.

A *fokonofo* is a supplementary wife or concubine brought by a bride to 595
her husband. Should a bride select her *fokonofo* from within the family,
which was the custom, they were either younger sisters, persons from the inferior or mother's side of the family, or the daughters of the father's younger brothers; apparently the daughters of the father's sisters who were superior relatives could not be taken by a bride as *fokonofo*.

The *sinifu*, or concubines, of a great chief usually occupied a single large 595
house, where they might be visited by the chief, or whence they might be 622
taken to the chief's house. At the chief's house lived his favorite or the 565
wife of highest rank (*maitaki*). The term *sinifu* refers to the relation of 595
the woman to the man, while the term *fokonofo* refers to the relation of the
inferior co-wife to the superior co-wife.

Open conversational flirtations were the prevailing form of social inter- 521
course between a man and a single woman, but never openly between a man 834
and another man's wife. There was no indiscretion, however, in a man's [837]
making a social call upon a woman at her house while her husband was absent. [574]
The house door was always open while any of its occupants were at home,
except on occasions when some peculiar tapu might rule otherwise.

When a man met a beautiful unmarried girl on the road, it was customary
for him to carry on a flirtatious badinage of words with her in addition to
the ordinary greeting. He could tell whether she were unmarried if she [302]

were a stranger to him, only by the way she wore her hair. If she were not a married woman, but one who was no longer a virgin, there would be no means of distinguishing her from a married woman by her appearance; only a personal knowledge of the facts would give the man a right to speak to her as an unmarried girl. 521 834 302

A girl, when going out into unfrequented places, providing she should be a virgin, took a child along as a chaperon. This child, of either sex, might be a brother or sister or a neighbor's child. The protection was based upon the fear of scandal, as the child could not be expected to keep a secret. 834 857 [858]

Among the chiefly people a virgin was called *taahine,* or more specifically, *taupoou.* Among common people a virgin was called *finemui.* A chiefly girl, when she ceased to be a virgin, was still called *taahine* but not *taupoou.* The daughter of a high matapule might also be called a *taupoou* and also bore the name *taahine.* The term *taupoou* was not applied to only the oldest virgin in a family, but to any and all virgins in the family. A commoner girl no longer a virgin was called *finemotua.* 836 565

If a young man refrained from cohabiting with women previous to his marriage, he was not highly desirable among the unmarried girls. But if a young man was reputed to have a wide sexual experience previous to marriage, regardless of his physical attractions or lack of them, he was held in high estimation by old and young and was especially admired by young unmarried women. Girls were warned to keep away from him, intimately, but taught to admire him. Such a man was said to be wise and was expected to treat his bride with more consideration during the first nights of married life. 836 58 554

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

The marriage ceremony is to-day called *katoanga mali* (*katoanga,* festival; *mali,* English "marry"). 585

The ceremony was divided into two parts: the first taking place before and immediately after cohabitation; the second, when the first born child was sufficiently strong to be moved, if necessary, from one village to another (generally when it was about two months old).

This second part of the ceremony was always held at the home of the man's father, who designated the time. The child remained at the house of his mother's people during the entire performance, taking no part in it whatsoever. In this respect the affair seems to be complimentary to the parents rather than strictly in honor of the child itself.

The following is a description of the first ceremony, the marriage proper:

> Preceding the festival, a large representation of relatives of both the bridegroom and the bride assembled at the village or community where the bridegroom's father resided. The young man took up his temporary residence with his father, if not already

there. The prospective bride took up her temporary residence at a house specially set 585 up by, or donated to the use of, her people. If she chanced to dwell in the same community as the bridegroom's father, no special temporary abode would, of course, be required.

Both bride and bridegroom were presented with the detergent candlenut (*tuitui*) [515] and tapa towels (*helo*) some days previous to marriage, so that they might prepare themselves for one another, the length of time depending on when the guests were to arrive. These things might or might not be used and some were given away afterwards to relatives.

Preceding the day of the beginning of the ceremony, the fathers of the bride and groom each assembled a large gift, including tapa, mats, and oil. The particular father notified all his relatives and all his wife's relatives of the coming ceremony and asked for contributions. He did not himself contribute unless the poorness of the lot of gifts made it seem necessary.

On the morning when the ceremony began, the principals prepared for the occasion, each at his or her father's place of residence. Each was attended by a man and a woman, [602] both called *fae* (mother), and related to each through his or her mother. The person's own mother never acted as *fae* in marriage ceremonies. Each family had a related family [593] whose members were to act as *fae* when occasion demanded. The family acting as *fae* called the family to which it acted *eiki*, and in return was called *tua*.

The *fae* bathed the bride and bridegroom, anointed them with coconut oil from [515] head to foot, and clothed them with many mats, whose number and fineness of quality [302] depended upon the rank of the families represented. Often as many as ten mats were [291] wrapped about the waist. [554]

The complete name of the "mother" was *fae eveeva* (mother to walk for pleasure). When ready, the bride waited for the bridegroom at her father's house. The two *fae* stood at her sides, the male *fae* at her right hand and the female *fae* at her left. Each had a coconut leaf basket in which there was a quantity of *fetaaki* (unprinted tapa) and a gourd of oil. Every few minutes the *fae* would anoint the bride's arms, neck, face, [302] and exposed parts of her legs with the oil, while all the spectators would shout, "Tue! tue!" (to shout, to triumph over).

When the bridegroom was ready, he started out toward the bride's house, walking 585 slowly, his *fae* accompanying him, arranged as were those of the bride. They also were 431 equipped with *fetaaki* and oil and stopped the bridegroom about every ten steps to anoint [302] him. Then the crowd following would shout as above. Behind him followed his people in procession carrying the gifts of foods and manufactured articles gathered together by his people.

When the bridegroom and his people arrived at the place where the bride and her people waited, the gifts from the groom's relatives were presented to the bride's, being deposited before the house in two lines running parallel to the house front. The line closer to the house consisted of the manufactured articles (*koloa*) such as tapa and mats, furnished by the women of the bridegroom's people. The outer line consisted of oven (food) gifts and kava called *ngaue* (work), furnished by the men of the bridegroom's people.

After the presentation of gifts everyone repaired to the bridegroom's house. The processional order was: (1) the bridegroom and bride accompanied by the four *fae*; (2) carriers of the presents from the bride's people to the bridegroom's people, the *koloa* preceding the *ngaue*; (3) relatives of bridegroom and bride not occupied in carrying the presents, surrounded and followed by the crowd of friends and spectators. When the procession reached the bridegroom's house, the presents from the bride's people were placed before the house in the same order as were the bridegroom's presents at the woman's house.

(On August 12, 1920, while passing along a Nukualofa street about 3 p. m. I saw approaching a procession of people bearing mats and tapa. Many had the articles

wrapped about their waists so that their arms were held far out from their sides. Six 431
men carried a huge bundle of tapa and mats by means of three long poles. Eight 585
women carried a huge mat, probably 12 feet wide and 40 feet long. The procession [285]
moved slowly and was bound to the house of George Kupu, who was married the day [482]
before.)

Then a kava circle composed of relatives was formed, the bridegroom presiding, the 585
bride seated at his left, each of them seated upon the lap of either of their two officiating 276
fae, the bride usually sitting on the lap of her male *fae*. 574

Only one bowl of kava was served. Following that came the distribution of the 585
presents (*wahewahe*). The *ngaue* was first distributed among the assembled relatives of 431
the bridegroom. The bride's relatives later received their share of the bridegroom's [276]
present to her people, at the hands of the bride's father or other officiating family representative. In this distribution of food the ranking members of the consanguinary group [554]
received the best parts, and so on in ranking order. If there was not enough to go around, the lesser representatives of the group went without, or the bridegroom's father might feel it his duty to supply food for these from his own oven.

Then the *koloa* was divided into two equal parts and distributed, but not until the bridegroom had selected in proportion to the amount a number of articles to be used in his own house. The bride also chose a like share of the man's presents to her people. In distributing the presents, the bridegroom's father or other official representative of his people (according to some informants it was the father's sister who distributed the wealth) had in mind what each person had donated toward the present that had been given to the bride's people, and each got his original gift returned in double quantity. In accomplishing this return, the distributor often stripped his own house of all its 585
possessions, counting the social prestige of his family of greater value than his material 554
property. If he should fail to complete the traditional remuneration to all concerned, his 431
unmarried sons and daughters and the progeny of his married children lost face and might consequently fail to contract desirable marriages. If the distributor had insufficient goods to meet the demands, he set his household to work making tapa, mats, baskets, oil, and other articles required.[5]

A similar distribution was made of the presents of the bridegroom's people to the bride's people.

If there was great inequality in the size of the wedding gifts, the group making the smaller donation was shamed and lost social prestige to the other group. It is not to be implied that this portioning out of the *koloa* took place in one day. It began immediately after the breaking of the kava circle, but it often lasted a month and even two months.

Throughout an entire marriage ceremony, the bridegroom's father, or nearest paternal relative if the father were dead, was vested with peculiar authority. This office 585
is said to have had no name. He was the proper one to announce the date on which the ceremony should begin. He denied the bridegroom the privilege of consorting with the bride until an appointed time. On the first night (third night?) after the exchange of gifts, he instructed the bridegroom to test the bride with his finger to determine if she were a virgin. This testing was called *mohcakii*. If her virginity was confirmed, this [554]
man stated the period of time that must elapse before the bride and bridegroom might
live together as man and wife, anywhere from three days to two months, the length of [565]
the period of continence being in direct ratio to the bridegroom's social rank. A *tua* slept with his wife on the first night.

The specific night on which cohabitation took place was definitely determined by the progress of all preparations. The presents had to be apportioned, food for the following feast had to be ready, and minor details of preparation had to be attended to. Near the end of the prescribed tapu period, the father determined through his wife when all preparations would be complete. He then informed the bridegroom that the night was at hand when he should assume family duties. On that night the bridegroom's mother 585 assembled all the leading elderly wives of the two interested family groups, in particular the female *fae*. These prepared the nuptial bed of many thicknesses of sleeping mats [513] covered with several thicknesses of white tapa. Up till this time one of the *fae* slept with the couple.

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[5] Suggestive of the potlatch system of the north Pacific coast of America.

On the appointed night the bridegroom and his father sat outside the house until a late hour, avowedly until everyone should be asleep. The old women selected for the [515] occasion crowded into the house and washed and oiled the bride. After she had [302] retired to the bed, these old women remained in the house. It is said that they went to sleep. They were designated as *haatuukau*, a term defined as "to watch, to have in charge; a watch; one who has charge of a chief's wife." Any unmarried sisters of the bride were sent away from the neighborhood to spend the night. When the bridegroom's father judged everyone to be asleep, he instructed the bridegroom to go into his wife.

On this night the bridegroom made only a partial insertion, lest the bride should 585 experience suffering and pain. Only a *tua* would be inconsiderate of his bride in this 833 respect. The bride would make an outcry if she were a virgin and awaken the *fae*. [565] When the group of old women saw that the act was finished, they examined the white 585 tapa bed covering. If it were stained with blood, they shouted and made a great disturbance. When the bridegroom's father heard the noise, he knew his daughter-in-law to have been a virgin and he set about to arouse the entire community. If the tapa bed covering should be free from blood stains, the old women departed quietly, and no further celebration or ceremony was in order. A story is told of a chief's daughter who had committed indiscretions before marriage and who made no outcry on her bridal night. In the morning upon discovering the state of affairs, the *fae* took some sharp-edged grass and cut the girl's legs to produce the required blood.

The awakened community opened ovens, previously prepared for the occasion, and brought the products to the house of the newly married couple (the house of the bridegroom's father). Meanwhile the old women bathed the bride, oiled her body, and dressed [515] her. Then they carefully folded the soiled white tapa, wrapped it into a bundle, bound [302] fine mats about it with *kafa* (sennit) cord and set the bundle to one side. It was called *kofokofo*.

Food being brought, those awakened and assembled by the father also gathered about and joined in the feast. The mother of the bride was widely praised as a good [836] mother, to have kept her daughter a virgin till the day of her marriage. [593]

On the following day a feast completed the celebration. The *kofokofo* was presented to the bride's mother by the elderly woman who had witnessed its soiling. It constituted a material compliment to her as a mother possessed of honor and wisdom.

After all was over, the *kofokofo* was quietly buried, inconspicuously, without ceremony, and in no particular place. The burial place was not named or in any way marked.

The following information was recorded by Tukuaho, as recounted by 585 his father Tungi I. The account was given me by Tukuaho's son, the present 565 Prince Consort.

> Supposing that there is a chief's son and a chief's daughter, and the chiefs are [584] agreeable to their marrying, then the women-folk [presumably sisters or fathers' sisters] of the chiefs go to talk the matter over. If the girl's relatives consent, a night is fixed, the bridegroom is adorned, and goes with a large crowd of companions, as many perhaps as five hundred, so that there shall be many for the *aituo* (shout of jubilation). The party halts at a little distance from the bride's house, and the bridegroom advances, accompanied by Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the two principal matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu). The bride, too, is prepared, and, as the three approach, the light in the house is extinguished, and someone asks, "Who is that?"

The reply is given, "We, Motuapuaka and Lauaki; we have come in attendance on Vaoloa" (or whatever may be the bridegroom's name). Then the maiden comes out, and goes with the bridegroom, and this [untranslatable] invocation is uttered, "Tula-no lomai-saiena, tietia i le tafatusema. Singano e tu'u, fa'a mumuni, sa pule mo sa manatu." And they call the names of the bride and bridegroom, "Vaoloa e, Vaoloa e, Takala e, Takala e," or whatever they may be. Individuals have more than one name, but the names used on this occasion are those that are held in esteem. Then they cry, "Mimisoe, mimisoe, alaimafae, alaimafae, asapae, asapae," following this with a loud shout. Someone keeps shouting, over and over again at the top of his voice, "ai, ai, ai, ai," until they come to the bridegroom's house, where an abundance of food has been prepared. Kava is drunk at the bridegroom's house, the bride being the president of the ceremony. If Lauaki and Motuapuaka each has a daughter, the daughters distribute the kava, and continue to perform this duty until the end of the marriage ceremonies. If Lauaki and Motuapuaka have no daughters to do this, they themselves control the distribution. One basket of food (*fono*) is brought to distribute with the kava, the remainder of the food that has been prepared is taken to the bride's home. Every day there are presentations of food and kava (*pongipongi*) until the marriage is completed [or this might be rendered, until the marriage is held]. If the man is not wealthy the festival is held quickly, but if he is illiberal it is delayed for a long time. [Meanwhile, of course, the stingy bridegroom is obliged to entertain the guests.]

585 565 [551] 585 565 276 574 431

Part of the bridegroom's duties is to attend to the building of the *fale manava*, the house on, or near, the green (*malae*) where the marriage festivities are held, and which serves as a dressing-room for the bride.

585 565

On the night before the day on which the marriage ceremony actually takes place, the bridegroom's sisters come with kava, and with some of the bride's people drink kava on the *malae*. This is called *kaihaa malae*, stealing the green. The green is swept beautifully clean. A chiefly man is brought to prepare the kava for the ladies.

[276]

Early in the morning the drum is beaten for the ceremony and the bride and bridegroom are adorned in dresses provided by the bridegroom. The bride's dress is called the *puke* (seized). It consists of one of the mats called *fihu*, two of the mats called *ngafingafi*, and any specially fine or notable mat (*kie*) which is available for her to put on. It is said that she has been "held" or "seized" with the fine mats. This dress is the *vala fetaki*, dress of going hand in hand. The two go to a house on the *malae*, where there is a great pile of native cloth, provided by the bridegroom, and cloth bound round with the fine mat called *fihu*. This is the *epa* (a sort of bridal throne). They then return to the dressing-room (*fale manava*), and change their dresses, putting on garments provided by the bride. In these fresh garments (called *vala toonga*, consisting perhaps of one each of the mats known as *fihu* and *ngafingafi*), they go again (presumably to the house where is the *epa*) without clasping of hands. When they return this time the dress called *vakai* is put on the bride, and she goes, without the bridegroom, to the house on the green, and sits on her throne. Here she is anointed with turmeric (called the *vala vali*, dress of painting). Then the bridegroom's sister utters an invocation, "May you bear children, yea even twins." Then the bridal kava is served, accompanied with large quantities of food.

585 565 292 585 565 [302] [276]

After that the drum is beaten for the native dance, and the woman goes and puts on other mats and returns and walks about. After the dance, the drum is beaten for the couple dance (dancing in pairs). Then comes the night dance which lasts until dawn of the next day. Sometime during the night the *piha pongipongi* is held, and the basket of food is brought which is called *lomi piha*. It is portioned out. Food is also portioned out to the dancers.

[264] 585 565 535

Is there anything that has not its food ceremony? Each food ceremony has its meaning. The coconuts to be cooked are brought green and in bunches. This is the food brought by the woman's party. The coconuts are gathered in bundles and the cooked food is gathered in bundles. These are the special baskets of food: the *veifua*, which is

585 565 264

brought uncooked and is provided by the bride's people; the *vai*, also brought uncooked; 585
and the *umu manava*, which is cooked. 565

The second day of the marriage is the day of purification. The woman is bathed [264]
with candlenut as detergent and afterwards presides at her kava ring. Then her bundles [783]
of mats and native cloth are brought and disposed of as she desires. Then these games [524]
and dances are held: (1) *tafoe*, a game; (2) *lanumanga*, a game; (3) *meetuupaki*, a
dance. The third and last day of the rejoicings comprised: (1) *lave*, reciting and singing [535]
of poetry; (2) dances: *laufola*, *meetuupaki*, and other dances; (3) and various [538]
games. [533]

DEATH

Burial seems to have been the only method of disposing of the dead in 764
Tonga. It seems possible that some embalmment was practiced in which
interment of the corpse was deferred several years. Collocott has sent me a [127]
note gleaned from the journal of an early Methodist missionary, now in the
keeping of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, which refers to the period from
1831 to 1837 and speaks of "a party celebrating *putu* (funeral) for a child
who died seven years ago, but whose corpse was not interred until last week,
which was the third and final mourning."

The body of a chief is anointed with scented oil, laid out in state, and [622]
fanned with a long-handled fly switch (*fue*) of coconut fiber. It was possibly
in connection with embalming that the undertaker (*haatufunga*) removed the
brains and apparently the intestines of the chiefly dead. Apparently, however, embalming was very rare in Tonga. The accounts of the burial of
great personages such as the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga given by
Wilson (65) and Mariner (40) give no hint of embalming or preservation
over long periods.

The undertakers of Tonga are of the matapule class and are appointed 767
like other matapule, great chiefs having as attendants during life the men 565
who will perform the funerary functions for them at death. The chief [622]
undertaker of modern Tonga is Lauaki, one of the two great matapule of
the Tui Kanokupolu. The Lauaki who functioned at the funeral of King
George II in 1918 was still living in 1921. He is chief of the Haa Tufunga [613]
or "Lineage of Undertakers." The first Lauaki (Maliepo) is reputed to
have been the paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and to
have descended from the sky with him. Apparently the funeral duties of [644]
Lauaki are a development following his transfer from the Tui Tonga's court
to the courts of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu. Lauaki seems
to have had no mortuary duties for the Tui Tonga, for whom this service
was rendered by the Tui Folaha.

Funeral matters were regarded as of great importance. In the court of [764]
the Tui Tonga a considerable number of matapule of the Falefa (p. 66) [644]
had special funerary duties to perform upon the death of the Tui Tonga.

The principal undertakers of the Tui Tonga in the time of the first Falefa 767
were the matapule Aholangamaka and Mailau, who were under the Tui 565
Folaha, the supervisor of stone vault construction. In the time of the second 644
Falefa, at least Tui Loloko, Tui Matahau, and Tui Talau, and presumably
also the fourth, Tui Amanave, had funerary functions.

At the present time the Tui Haa Teiho appoints Fiefia and Ngalu as his
undertakers, while the Tui Kanokupolu has the great matapule Lauaki and
the lesser matapule Mailau and Mau as his undertakers. Ulukalala of
Vavau, like other Vavau chiefs, has no special undertaker, but when he dies
it is likely that Lauaki or Mailau, or some other *haatufunga*, will look after
him. There are many chiefs without undertakers. [622]

The undertakers now in Vavau are: Kata, grandson and representative 767
of Lauaki; Vatuvei, formerly appointed by the Tui Tonga; Aholangamaka 551
of Falevai, the son of Vatuvei.

Lamátau (full name Lamatuuaki: *lama*, to watch the end of life, and 767
tauaki, almost dead) was also a *haatufunga* to the Tui Tonga. His duty was 643
to watch beside the dying man, sitting with a *kie* or *ngafingafi* mat to spread 763
over the corpse. The mat was supplied by the family of the dying person. [551]
After covering the corpse with it, the watcher removes the mat and goes off
with it, retaining it as his property.

Preparation of the body for burial may be done also by relatives of equal 764
or superior rank to the deceased, such as the *fae* (mother, real or classificatory) or the *mehekitanga* (father's sister, real or classificatory).

Mailau was the title of the matapule who supervised the cutting and 764
moving of stones for the construction of royal tombs. Such work was seen 643
by Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 150). Modern royal tombs are built of con- 767
crete; formerly they were of coral limestone. The Tui Tonga Laufilitonga's 349
tomb, Langi Foou, is built of concrete on top of the ancient Langituofefafa. [644]
A list of royal tombs called langi is published (25, 125). The modern
kings, the Tui Kanokupolu George I and George II, are buried in great terraced concrete tombs in the Malae Kula at Nukualofa.

Upon the undertakers the *nimatapu* (hand-tapu) was imposed for five, 767
ten, or fifteen days, which meant that they could not feed themselves for 784
that length of time after handling a corpse—being fed by others. The period 264
varied with the rank of the deceased. The penalty for touching food was [565]
said to be punishment by the highest chief of the family. A *haatufunga*
might or might not be a relative of the deceased. That the hand tapu on [565]
the undertaker followed the handling of the corpse of persons of scant rank
is not certain.

Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*. Anciently a 764
commoner's corpse might or might not receive such attention, and it was 565
767

likely that a relative would attend to it. Now relatives of the deceased dig 764
the grave, but the *haatufunga* supervises. Every funeral has its accompany- [565]
ing feasts and kava drinking. All who attend a funeral partake of [767]
the feast. At a chief's funeral the *haatufunga* officiate at the feast, giving [622]
out the food. The head of the largest pig goes to him. Food may be taken [767]
home after distribution or eaten at once. The feast is not in the house
where the deceased passed away, but nearby on the same premises. There [535]
is no dancing at the present day funeral feasts.

It is incumbent upon the family of the deceased to pay the *haatufunga* 767
with native wealth (*koloa*). A chief will have many fine mats and
tapa which are used in payment. Ten, twenty, thirty, or sixty days elapse
before payment is made to the *haatufunga*. The reason for the intervals was
not given, except that the higher rank of the deceased, the longer the pay-
ment is deferred, and the bigger the payment. Anciently non-payment by a
chief never occurred. Nowadays if no payment is made a lawsuit follows. [686]
Commoners, as well as people of rank, must pay, but no prearrangement of
the amount is made with either.

For ten, fifteen, or twenty days there are morning kava ceremonies and 765
small feasts following the big funeral feast. The *haatufunga* is present at 276
these. At the first of these kavas, two or more *haatufunga* have an argument 574
as to which of them is highest in rank—a purely formal traditional pro- 554 767
ceeding.

The funeral feast is called *feipulua*, the breakfast served by the family 764
of the deceased on the morning after the burial, *fakapongipongi;* the funeral 765
of a chief, *meafakariki*; the funeral of a commoner, *putu*.

The Female Tui Tonga managed the funeral of the Tui Kanokupolu 764
Mumui (66, p. 241), though doubtless the *haatufunga* officiated also. On this 643 768
occasion two of Mumui's widows were strangled. 644

Tradition says that occasionally a *haatufunga* was imprisoned in the vault 764
with the body of the chief or king he was interring (16, p. 77). At Houma, 767
Tongatabu, when the vault of the chief Vaea was opened in 1903 the skeleton 782
of a chief was found in proper position, lengthwise, and in one corner was
the skeleton of a *haatufunga* who had been shut in the vault.

Each adult individual had a mourning song, called *tangilaulau*, to be sung 765
at the obsequies of a relative or close friend. This song consisted of a 533
definite tune, a simple theme oft repeated, and a lament, also oft repeated, extolling in a simple way the virtues of the dead and very tragically mourning over his departure. Such a lament was permanent with each individual, excepting for the interchange of such words as father and son, as occasion demanded.

These songs began immediately after a death and continued, more or less spasmodically, until the completion of all obsequies. They never were used

on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task 765
called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201). 533

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or matapule. [565]
Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so
mourning for him.

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as 765
a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was 622
removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to 302
whether matapule followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have [622]
cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga
or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The [593]
heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign
of respect and mourning.

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in 765
rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common 554
to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits [784)
in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is [602)
not long.

The term *fakakoloa* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A 764
great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. [554]
This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of [462)
the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served
to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga,
Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to
carry it.

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought 763
to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for 343
this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his matapule and
retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief 764
should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. 343
The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in connection [565]
with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the official
and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or
the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of
dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as- 768

sembled for the chief's use and comfort while he lived, were disposed of. 768
After the *fahu* took the pick of these, the *haatufunga* distributed the remainder among important chiefs and matapules, retainers, and relatives of the deceased, but kept a goodly share for himself, however.

The house built over a chief's grave was also called *faletolia*, according 765
to my information, which is perhaps in error. Its practical purpose was to 349
shelter the ornamental grave design (*fungaputu*) from wind and rain. The purpose avowedly ascribed to it, however, was that of protecting the dead chief from the sun and rain. There was no priest or caretaker in such a house, nor was food put there. Tapa and mats might be placed in it by way of remembrance. Such objects might be replaced with fresh ones from time to time. Sometimes a coconut leaf screen was put around the grave within the house.

The *falefeao* was an inferior dwelling house built near the *faletolia* of 342
a dying chief, and used as a dwelling by his attendants. Some houses might 763
already be located conveniently near the *faletolia*; others were especially constructed on the spot or moved from a former site. Baker's definition of *falefeao* as "the house built near the god's house for the reception of the sick" (no doubt when seeking divine intervention for a cure) would seem a more apt definition for *faletolia*, however. He says also that the *falefeao* may be any house built or used for those attending a superior's wants on some special occasion.

When one was about to die and the people were sent to fetch the sand 763
for the grave, one person was sent to get a branch of the *aveave* and put it in the place in the cemetery where the sand from the beach was to be deposited. This was termed *ae aveave* (to plant the *aveave*). This branch was not removed but allowed to grow.

The digging of the grave is the last of the preparations and is never 764
done while the sick person is still alive. Should the burial be postponed after the grave has been dug, the grave is filled up and the same site dug out afresh on the day of burial.

The funeral lights which are burned at night about a corpse are called 764
takipo. A high chief has more lights than a commoner. There are three 416
people to a torch, one to hold it, two to replenish it. The torch holders face the body, but are not near it. The earliest traditional mention of the *takipo* is afforded by the story of the death of the famous Tui Tonga Tuitatui who reigned about 1200 A. D. (26, p. 45).

Old, torn mats (*tauangaa*) are worn as a sign of mourning for a near 765
relative. For a remote relative who is not a chief a good mat may be worn. 602
The mourning mat worn by a chief over his tapa garment is called *fakangafingafi*. 292
The generic term *taovala* applies to *tauangaa* and *fakangafingafi*. Neither tapa nor modern textile cloth may be so worn.

The word *sia* (25, p. 199) refers to any mound, artificial or otherwise, 764
including grave mounds; but a chief's tumulus was not called a *sia*. It was 622
called a mountain (*mounga*) as a compliment to the high rank of the interred.
The burial places of the Tui Tonga and Tamaha were called langis; [643]
those of lesser dignitaries were called *faitoka*. The langis were rectangular, [644)
the *faitoka* circular tumuli. Such tumuli are common and contain burial vaults. The chief's retainers were sometimes buried in the mound around the vault, thus giving rise to the erroneous modern idea that the word *faitoka* means a cemetery, rather than a single tomb.

McKern (42) treats fully of these burial vaults. Two ancient tumuli 764
which I observed on Eua Island were respectively 10 and 15 feet high and had shell and coral on top, and in the higher of the two, the stone slab covering the vault was exposed.

Black volcanic pebbles (*kilikili*) were used, among other things, to decorate 764
the graves of chiefs, their relatives, and matapules. The graves of 565
commoners were said not to be so decorated anciently. The mound over a [531]
commoner's grave was called *tanuanga* and the excavation for the burial of a commoner *tanunga*. There is at Koulo, Lifuka Island, Haapai, a graveyard for commoners. It is called Anatatangi. There are said to have been no graveyards for commoners formerly. The *tua* was buried anywhere convenient, usually in the tract where he lived, and his grave was not cared for beyond the generation of those relatives living at the time of his demise. In the bush to-day are to be found many remains of the ancient rural population of commoners.

The term *fakafalekakai* refers to the burying of a child or dearly beloved 764
relative in the dwelling house. This was done for sentimental reasons,
"so that the deceased might still sit with them in the home circle." It seems [565)
to have been practiced only by commoners.

Cave burial was sometimes resorted to. I saw near Houma, Eua Island, a cave in which the people were buried in rows. Formerly the entrance was closed by a slab. A tidal wave smashed it and stirred up the bones within. Vakauta, my informant, said that the people in the cave were people who dwelt with Falekaono, a Vavau chief who had a tract at Tufuvai, in Eua.

The decorating of the grave top took place from several days after a 765
burial to two years thereafter. Black volcanic pebbles, red coral, white 531
coral, and sand were the principal materials used in the decorating. The grave decorating was followed by one day of feasting. The actual work of decorating and the accompanying feasting were called *lanukilikili* (*lanu*, color; *kilikili*, black volcanic pebbles used in grave decorating). No ceremony took place at the grave in connection with the decorating, the

work being practical in its scope. Bottles of coconut oil seen at modern 765
graves are to oil the black pebbles to make them appear even blacker. 531

The *kilikili*, or other decorative materials, were always placed on the grave [462]
by women, among whom were the female relatives of the dead and all
neighboring women who contributed their work as *meaofa* (thing of love), [476]
which would later be reciprocated. The work and the feasting were accompanied and intervalled by mourning and crying. It is customary to hang
wreaths and girdles called *sisi* at graves. Food is not offered to the dead, [261]
but mats and tapa may be.

If the dead were of chiefly rank, the ranking male representative of that 765
chiefly family acted as director of the *lanukilikili*. He set the time for doing 531
it and authorized his official matapule to gather materials and perform other 565
necessary work. His wife, or, in the absence of a wife, the closest female representative, directed that part of the work to be done by women. If the dead was of matapule rank, the chief to whom that matapule owed allegiance directed the work as above, the actual managing, of course, being placed in the hands of an appointed matapule.

The following is an account of a recent interment of a woman of high 764
rank, as witnessed by E. E. V. Collocott: 565

> Mary Siliukitapu, widow of the late Premier Tukuaho, and mother of the Prince Consort Tungi, died on the 29th of July, 1921, and was buried Saturday, the 30th of
> July in the same grave with her late husband. When the time came for the body to [767]
> be placed in the vault a large piece of tapa was put up as a screen so that
> none but the *haatufunga* could see into the grave and behold the remains of Tukuaho. [533]
> A work song (*tauaalo*) was sung whilst the body was being placed in the grave.
>
> A boy told me afterwards that he had assisted in the burial of a child related to 764
> Valu of Utulau. A vault in which a person had been previously buried was opened for the occasion. The boy said that he and others dug the sand off from the top of
> the vault, lifted the stone slab, and then retired to a distance, so as not to see into
> the vault. A *haatufunga* man alone was allowed to see the remains already there. [767]
> When the covering slab was lifted he concealed these remains with tapa. He took the body of the dead child and put it in the grave.

Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker witnessed the opening of the vault in the Langi Olovehi at Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The vault was in the form of a truncated pyramid with four sides. Its base was about 8 feet long, top about 5 feet long, and depth 4 feet, the stones which formed the sides were about 1 foot thick. The vault was covered by stone slabs about 2 feet thick and 7 feet square which overlapped its mouth. These stones were of a yellowish coral and had a level surface. The body of Tuita which was to be interred was wrapped in fine mats and tapa; it was lowered feet first into the vault, as the opening was too short to allow it being put straight
down. Passed round the edge of the slab were ropes for moving it and [784]
these were pulled by men standing on the ground below the tomb, as they were not allowed to stand on the terrace, because of the tapu. Only

Only
the *haatufunga* were allowed on the top of the tomb. The many bones found outside the vault were called the bones of the *fakafeao* or attendants of the great people buried within the vault. Interred in the vault are also Nanasipauu (Female Tui Tonga), Manumatuongo (son of Tui Tonga Laufilitonga), and Makahokovalu (the late Tuita's father). 764 [784] [767]

The construction of some royal and some chiefly tombs took place during the lifetime of the prospective occupant, if traditions are to be relied upon. The kings seem in this regard to have evinced something of the interest of the pyramid builders of Egypt. The great Tui Tonga Tuitatui and Uluakimata I (Telea) directed the construction of their own tombs (26, pp. 38, 49). A chief named Lavakahaatuukau had earth transported from Fiji to build his tumulus at Maufanga, near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. He had moved his residence from Mua to Maufanga where he died. The tumulus is about 8 feet deep at its center and 75 feet in diameter. The priest Makaui had constructed at Fakakakai, Haano Island, Haapai, a three-compartment stone vault for the interment of his body, in order to deceive enemies who might attempt to secure his corpse. 764 349 643 622 764 349 793

Cemeteries other than royal tombs seem to have been utilized by the people of a locality whether or not they were related to one another. Certain cemeteries seem to be used principally for people of the lower orders, while others hold the remains of people of quite different ranks. No doubt Christianity has had a quite democratizing influence in this respect. Husband and wife seem to be interred in the same cemetery as a rule, with the exception of the commoner wives of high chiefs, who were buried apart. 764 565 [177] [593]

ALBINOS

The prevalence of albinism in Tonga was not determined. I saw an albino child in Haapai. An adult named Manumanu was reported as living at Muitoa, Huano Island, Haapai. Napaa, a man of Lofanga Island, Haapai, was reported to have two albino children. Nothing was learned from informants as to any special attitude towards or treatment of albinos. However, a story recorded (26, p. 192) attributes, at least to the female albinos concerned in the story, anthropophagous habits. Whether this was a general ancient conception I cannot say. 143 826 [266]

BERDACHES

Little could be learned about berdaches (*fakafafine,* a word which Baker defines as "a monster"). Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island, vouchsafed information concerning them. He said that anciently "there were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tonga- 838

838 [701] tabu. The informant knew of no special activities of berdaches, except that they took part in fighting like men. The informant conceived the *fakafafine* as hermaphrodites rather than as real males with feminine tendencies. Two adjectives, *fakafefine* and *fakafafine,* are used to characterize "men who have the habits of women and do the work of women."

WARFARE

701 Some father lengthy accounts of the campaigns of King George I Tupou, both before and after he became Tui Kanokupolu, were obtained, but very little concerning the earlier Tongan armies:

> 701 726 In a large army (*tau*) the commander-in-chief merely gave orders and was not expected to participate in the actual fighting unless he so wished. The Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea, who was killed in the fighting in 1799 was carried in a palanquin when travelling with his army and was actually slain in it when hostile troops (*tangata tau*) surrounded him. It is said also that in the army of Vahai of the same troublous period, Vahai did not lead the troops in person, but merely gave orders. In much of the fighting by Taufaahau's (King George I) army, he himself was not the leader on the field of battle. Perhaps the organization of the Christian Tongan legion which fought in Fiji (54, p. 361) under Maafuotuitonga gives some idea of how Tongan armies were officered. The informant Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, who fought at Matuatu, near Taviuni, Fiji, said that there were two hundred men in the Tongan force. The head of the expedition was Maafuotuitonga, of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. He took no part in the fighting and Vainikolo, a chief of medium rank, was the actual commander (*eikitau*). Vainikolo had several aides called assistant war-chiefs (*tokoni eikitau*) who transmitted his orders. Of these, one was Kisione Vave, a matapule; another was Tui, a chief; and a third was Takulua, a man of uncertain rank. Guns were used by this expedition. [411]

701 565 Troops were mixed as to rank, comprising lesser chiefs and matapules as well as commoners. The *eikitau* (commander) was the strongest and best fighter. Ability seems to have played a greater part than nobility in the matter of military leadership. However, the commander-in-chief was usually a person of high rank, but the commanders of the *kongakau* (regiment) and *matanga* (company) seem often to have been matapule men rather than chiefs. Thus Takai, the famous one-eyed leader of Pea, is said to have been a matapule, as was his brother and successor, Fae. Moeakiola, son of Takai and successor of Fae, was also a matapule. The builder of the fortresses of Koloteekiu and Kolovai, Tongatabu, constructed about the beginning of the nineteenth century, was Ohuafi, son of the matapule Motuapuaka. Because Koloteekiu was not large enough to accommodate his people he built Kolovai. Kolonukunuku, near Nukunuku, Tongatabu, was built by a Tui Vakano, chief of Nukunuku before the time of King George I. (The term *kolo* means fortress.) [712]

701 643 173 The earliest traditional Tongan account (some traditional Samoan accounts antedate it) of a war expedition, to capture the assassins of the Tui Tonga Takalaua, makes Kauulufonua, who later became Tui Tonga, the

leader and also a participant in the fighting. Similarly, the prince Laufilitonga, 701
before he became Tui Tonga, engaged in considerable campaigns against 643
Taufaahau, who became the Tui Kanokupolu. So far as Tongan tradition 173
goes there seems to be no record of a Tui Tonga engaging in warfare while
in office.

In addition to the commander-in-chief, the commander, and the assistant 701
war-chiefs of a force, the braves (*toa*) seem to have been important. Warriors [302]
of high repute were privileged to wear their hair in a style called [714]
malumalu, a fashion wherein the hair is allowed, or rather trained, to hang
down over the forehead to such an extent as to virtually mask the eyes.
When such a man entered the fight his enemies would say, "This must be 701
a great warrior; I wonder whom he can be." Just as he met and engaged 725
the enemy, the warrior would throw his head back, tossing his hair away
from his eyes and so disclose his identity to the enemy. This element of
mystery and startling disclosure gave the warrior a moral advantage.

Scouts preceded a Tongan army when it took the field. The wooden gong 701
or drum called *lali* was used as an announcer of war and also to announce [534]
the taking of prisoners, special beats indicating to the listeners the nature of [202]
the news. (See 17, pp. 139, 140-143.)

Although no accounts of actual naval battles are extant, it is obvious that 505
the transport of troops by sea was developed to a high degree. Besides 701
the innumerable troop movements between the three Tongan groups there
are traditional accounts of movements to other archipelagoes and islands.
The famous cruise of Kauulufonua I to the various Tongan islands and 721
then to Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna is a good example. Tongan troops in large 505
numbers must have been transported overseas in order to subjugate Samoa 648
in the time of the earlier Tui Tonga. Then there is evidence of attacks on
Niue, certain of the Ellice Islands, and even the Gilbert Islands (22).

The Tongans placed great reliance in fortifications which usually comprised 712
an encircling ditch, earth wall, and fence. On the low islands such
fortresses were usually on level ground. In hilly islands advantage was taken
of naturally strategic locations, as for example a ridge between two canyons.
A fortress was called *kolo*, a word now applied to a modern village. Nowadays
a fortress is called *kolotau* to distinguish it from an unfortified village.
McKern (42) describes the various types of fortresses. The fortresses bore [552]
names, as did usually each of their gates.

The word *kapafoli* (to environ, to surround, to besiege) applies particularly 725
to the Tongan practice of laying siege; *kapasia* (to be stormed, 726
taken, besieged) refers to the attackers climbing the walls or forcing the gate
of a fortress, a thing which seems to have been occasionally done. The storming
of Kamba, Fiji, in 1853, by Tongan troops is a good example (54, pp.
363, 364) and illustrates also a customary type of boasting "that the troops

did not see the wall." The term *alaipuke* means "to take the outer works of 725
a fortress"; *tele* means "to charge the enemy from the rear." 726

Public boasting by individual warriors before a combat was a common 701
practice. An important brave would brandish his club before the commander 726
and tell what he would do. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on [276]
the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge [574]
themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast
that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged
him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of [276]
the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, the chief's own cup (17, pp. 142-143). The first slain enemy was called the *uluafi* (literally, head of fire).

A particularly vindictive and insulting way to kill an enemy was to render 726
him helpless, then drink a coconut while sitting on his prostrate body. This was done by Tupoutoa in slaying Tupouniua in Mariner's time, to avenge the assassination of Tupoutoa's father, the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. The victim was killed not in battle, but was caught unarmed after a bath.

Bodies of troops were classified as *matanga* (company) and *kongakau* 701
(regiment). The number of men in each is not known but it seems likely that *matanga* was the smaller body, as it was comprised of troops commanded by a single chief, and that a *kongakau* presumably comprised two or more *matanga.* However, Baker (2) defines both terms as "regiment" and the Catholic dictionary (46) gives the added meaning of "people of a locality" for the term *kongakau.* The term *kapisi* denotes the wing of an army.

Three *kongakau* are said to have existed anciently in Tongatabu, the *kongakau* of Haamea, of Utulau, and of Matakehe, each consisting of the men of a whole district. King George I made a new *kongakau,* that of Haa Vakatolo. The *kongakau* Matakche belonged to the Tui Tonga. The other two ancient ones may have been under the Tui Kanokupolu or Tui Haa Takalaua. In a manuscript by the chief Maatu I find references to what may be bodies of troops.

> Haa Vakatolo and Lolopaongo [near Foui, Tongatabu?] are the people (regiments?) who belong on the side of the Tui Kanokupolu. Haamalo [near Lapaha] is on the side of the Tui Tonga. Haamalo Matakehe and Pelehake [near Alaki?] are the people (regiments?) on the side of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

In the early nineteenth century at least, the practice of eating some of 727
the slain enemies had arisen, due, so Mariner (40) says, to Fijian influence. 266
The corpse of an enemy was contemptuously referred to as *pakola,* a Fijian 177
term said to signify "underneath."

The term *fakaulu* denotes the custom of bringing the slain troops of one's 727
(according to a modern informant) own army and placing them before the

house of their god. Thereafter they were buried. Mariner's description (40) indicates that enemy dead were presented as offerings to the gods. 727

The slaughter of male prisoners, even of those wounded, seems to have been frequent and Mariner gives instances. Near Pea, Tongatabu, is a tract, Fakaveleatenge, named in commemoration of a killing which took place at the order of the war leader Takai. Some of Takai's men had been foraging and decoyed a body of the enemy into a fight, perhaps an ambush. Some of the enemy wounded were brought to a house on the tract mentioned and there slain.

The following quotations from Wilson (66, p. xlvii) refer to the state of the country when Tasman and Cook visited it. 411

> No weapons were seen by Tasman at Tongataboo; which circumstance, as well as their unsuspicious conduct toward strangers so formidably equipped, indicates that they had been accustomed to a state of general peace and security. No quarrel occurred during this interview; and the Dutch, after having obtained abundance of provisions, but very little water, proceeded to the adjacent islands to the northward. [609] [177]

In Cook's time "weapons of a very formidable nature were then found among them, although they usually went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a very dangerous manner and their clubs very curiously carved."

In Mariner's time warfare had become general and weapons were much in evidence. In addition to clubs and spears, bows and arrows were then used, which seem likely to be an adaptation from Fiji, rather than a fundamental Polynesian weapon the use of which survived only in Tonga. [177]

A short text about the two great matapule, Maliepo (Lauaki) and Molofaha (Motuapuaka) refers to weapons as follows:

> And if the land is dark (at war), then Maliepo and Molofaha will speak to the regiments in case they come along with their burdens, the spear with stingray barb (*taofai*), the headed spear (*taotala*), the owl-headed club (*uolulu*), the eight-faced club or eight-barbed spear (*likuvalu*), the paddle-shaped club (*moungalaulau*), the club (*tui tapavalu*), and the toothed club (*nifoosi*).

Holes (*luoto*) with pointed stakes at the bottom were dug in trails along which it was thought enemies might approach. 725

WAR STORIES

The following campaign stories obtained from the lips of modern informants and from manuscripts are arranged so far as possible in chronologic order. The fighting in the period between the assassination of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho in 1799 and the appointment of his son Tupoutoa in 1812 is not included because already covered by other writers. The following accounts deal chiefly with the campaigns of Tupoutoa and his son Taufaahau, who was appointed Tui Kanokupolu in 1845, and later became King George I. 669 [124] [127] [128] [173]

[ca. 1812]

THE WAR OF TAKAI AT FELETOA, VAVAU*

Ulukalala [II] died in Vavau and was buried at Feletoa. His son, Moengangongo, ruled, assisted by the brother of Ulukalala called Naufisi [Finau Fisi]. While Haapai was given to Tupoutoa, the son of Tukuaho, but Moengangongo did not rule long in Vavau. He died very soon and Naufisi ruled in Vavau. He was assassinated by Halaapiapi who then ruled in Vavau. Halaapiapi was assassinated by Paunga, a chief of the Tui Tonga family. 173 669 726

Paunga stirred up war at Vavau against Tupoutoa, who had just been appointed Tui Kanokupolu, because Tupoumalohi, who was Tui Kanokupolu after the besieging of Nukualofa by Ulukalala [II] who is buried at Feletoa, abdicated and retired. And Takai dwelt (or ruled) in Pea, and ruled in Tonga. He spoke to Maafu, Lavaka, and the chiefs of the Haa Havea and Haa Ngatamotua, to Ata and Veehala, to bring Tupoutoa, the father of Taufaahau, and make him Tui Kanokupolu. That was the reason why he was made king [in 1812].

And Takai gave his daughter Pule in marriage to Tupoutoa and they went and dwelt at Lifuka. Paunga of Vavau prepared war against Tupoutoa and they fought and fought but neither was victorious. Tupoutoa went to Haapai on his way to fetch warriors from Takai in Tonga. When Pule heard that Tupoutoa was going, she sent a message to her father Takai: "Tupoutoa is going over to ask you for warriors. See that you grant them." That message was brought and Takai held a promulgation (*fono*) at Pea. He told the people to prepare to receive the visitors and the preparation was made at the green called Vakataumai at Maufanga, Tongatabu. The visitors arrived and food was collected and prepared, and the green was covered with the baskets of of food so great was the quantity. It was portioned out twice, then told to be portioned out three times, and finally the dividing reached seven times. That reception was called Lofitu (seven times).

After the reception Takai arranged with Tupoutoa for Tupoutoa to go to Haapai, while he prepared his warriors and then he would follow. Tupoutoa went to Haapai and assembled all the Haapai troops at Lifuka. Word was then sent from Lifuka to Nomuka that as soon as the canoes arrived from Tonga a message was to be sent. When the voyagers arrived at Haapai everything was ready. A house had been built on the beach, half by the people of Huluipaongo and half by the people of Koulo. [Huluipaongo and Koulo are respectively at the southern and northern ends of Lifuka Island.] And they cooked the pigs and cut them up. All the backs of the pigs were taken and put on the top of the ridge of the house. They wanted to outdo the reception Lofitu.

After that, they sailed for Vavau and upon reaching it commenced the siege of the fortress of Feletoa. When Takai knew that they had conquered the fortress, he asked Tupoutoa, "What is to be done? Are they to be exterminated or taken alive?" And Tupoutoa answered, "Let them live." The fortress capitulated and its inmates were taken alive. [727]

And Tupoutoa said, "Takai, I have nothing to reward your army with. I will leave it to the people of the fortress to seek something for you." They [presumably Takai's troops] destroyed all the look-out places, like Kafoa, and they split the stones, which caused the chiefs [of Feletoa] to be angry with them. And they [the people of the fortress] arranged to assassinate Takai and his people. When it was dark an old woman came and awakened Takai and said: "Oh, Takai, you sleep, but here are the chiefs of this fort arranging to assassinate you in the morning, when you go to the morning kava. In the morning, when it was beginning to get light, Takai called an old woman, his servant, to come. He scolded her, and passed his club to and fro. The people saw and said: "The club of Takai has a longing for food." Suddenly he hit the woman and killed her, and cut her up. The guilty chiefs and people were ter-

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* Translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker, from account as told by Malio Ahio, and recorded by Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc (33, pp. 77-80, August, 1906).

[1812-1845]

rified, and said, "Takai knows about the intended assassination." They tried to 173
pacify Takai and took refuge with the priest and those whom he favored. 669

But Takai was satisfied and he said: "Tupoutoa, we did not come to Vavau to seek 726
wealth, but as your warriors, and here are you preparing to assassinate us. I will sail for Otea, and if you have a man let him come and we will fight." And they loaded and sailed for Otea and waited there. And Vavau and Tupoutoa were more afraid than ever at what Takai had said. And they decided to try again for reconciliation with Takai.

They talked and talked and decided that Vuki should ask permission to sail with him to Haapai and Tonga, because they were afraid lest Takai should go to Haapai and destroy everything and kill the people. So Vuki went to Otea. And Takai granted Vuki's request and after about five days they left. Vuki went with them to Haapai. Takai did nothing there because of his love for Vuki. They stayed a very short time at Haapai, then left for Tonga. Two or three years after the war at Feletoa, Takai died, [presumably about 1815 or 1816], and his younger brother [Fae] ruled in his place at Pea.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU TUPOUTOA AND HIS SON TAUFAAHAU, 1812-1845[1]

I will not relate in this narrative the wars that were fought in former times, because that was the way of this foolish land, as though they ate the war as food.
But we will talk about the war that was fought by the heathen. The war that 173
Tupoutoa, the lord or father of Taufaahau, fought was waged during the time of a 669
great epidemic called *ngangau* (pain in the head). That sickness was brought by a 164
vessel from Fiji. The vessel's name was Uluvalu. The sickness raged badly in the 731
three groups, Tonga, Haapai, and Vavau. It is said that they were not able to carry 726
the dead away and bury them. It was at this time that the war came to the remnant
of people that escaped. 726

The army faced from Hihifo towards the middle district of Tongatabu and it 173
is said that the army was instructed by the chief Vaea of Houma to have the heads 669
of their warriors bound with coconut fiber rope and fastened with a wedge, so that
their heads should not be smashed with the club. The armies met at a fortress called [714]
Teekiu. Then a very strong army of the famous warrior Takai of Pea, came up
behind them and the army of the Tui Kanokupolu was surrounded. Suddenly a great 173
applause was heard and the king's warriors disputed and turned around. The people 726
said that they had not applauded but that it was the gods that had applauded. Any- 669
way, that was the way that the king's warriors knew that they were surrounded. Tupoutoa commanded that the bands of warriors should turn back to back so that the front lines should face the fortress and the back lines face the enemy at the rear. As they did so the armies clashed. They fought towards the fort, but the army at the back was pressing strongly on them, even though the warriors were not afraid, because they had confidence in Vunivalu's command, which was good. If they had been few in number and afraid, or if the king had not been there to lead, it could not have been done. This was the king of the family of Lolopaongo [Vahai] and Haa Vakatolo. The army of Takai was badly hit by the band of warriors at the back. The army facing the fort also did good work. It is said that Takai was badly wounded in this battle. He would have been killed had it not been for his brave
warriors. After the battle Tupoutoa asked for a reconciliation, and they had peace. [728]
Each chief went with his own people and dwelt in his own fort, and Tonga was left to the rule of Tupoutoa.

There were wars that were fought at Vavau and which originated perhaps by the uprising of Vavau. After a time Tupoutoa became angry, collected the warriors of Tonga and went and fought Vavau and conquered it. He removed the chiefs and took

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[1] Upon the request of J. Jiosaia Heu, the scribe of Wellington Tupou-Malohi Ngu (King George II's mother's brother, who would have been king had he lived), this narrative has been dictated by Peter Vi (3).

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812 - 1845]

them to Tonga and Haapai and appointed a ruler there; but Tupoutoa was the king 173
over all and he came and dwelt at Haapai. After a short time Tonga rose up and 669
the different chiefs of the different forts united. The chief Takai was the strongest
so he ruled. After a little while he became ill and died, and his brother Fae ruled 726
in his place. The chiefs of the forts, Pea, Houma, Nukualofa, Hule, Kolofoou, Vaini,
and Fuaamotu and some others were still in union. Tupoutoa brought the warriors
of Vavau and went and again fought Tonga. That battle was fought at Pea. The
king moved and dwelt at Ango and kept on the fight against Pea. It is said if they
had been at a distance from each other they would have been overcome, but because
they were so near, the people of Pea were like lions fighting.

There were some Europeans with the king and his army and they told him how [177]
to make European guns by splitting the nut trees and hollowing them out; then putting
in gun powder to shoot into the earth fortification of the fort, so that it would slide [713]
and then the warriors would be able to enter the fort. It was done. There were three 173
vessels with the Talinofo, the vessel of Haano. They did a lot of work. They tied 725
them as is done in the making of the fence of a fort, so as to be strong when the 669
shots came from the fort. They tried to undermine the fortifications. The people in 726
the fort tied reeds and coconut pods together and set fire to them and threw them
so that the sappers were burned and were not able to undermine the fortifications. If it
had not been for this they might have succeeded.

One vessel which was not firmly fastened was almost drawn into the fort. There [411]
was a gun in the fort and the chief Otunuku of Haano was wounded by it in the
face and died. That chief was the strong man of that band of warriors. He was
brought away and Fuapau commanded that he be taken to Haano. He was taken in
his canoe by the brave Mohuniu and that took away many people to do it. Then the
vessel returned to Tonga. And it is said that the siege by vessel continued because the
use of the vessel was drawing it to plant fences in a line. In one battle there was
a party of Pea warriors lying in ambush and when returning they met the scouts of the
king's warriors from Haapai, who killed the brave warrior from Pea of whose bravery
they boasted. His name was Fakahau (like a king). He was killed by Longani (*longa*,
a resting place; *ni*, this). And there was another brave warrior named Tuuiahau who
was very swift footed. For the least thing he would club a person. He was killed by
the warrior Telasili. Many were killed from the army of Pea. And when Tupoutoa 173
saw that so many of the famous warriors of the fort were killed, he ended the war. He 669
made peace with the enemy, but it was not a true peace, because neither side was beaten. [728]

The king's army was disbanded and some went to Vavau and some to Haapai; [727]
and the king brought his vessels and drew them up at Mua. The Tui Kanokupolu
was taken sick and lay down and continued to get worse, so he commanded that he
should be taken to Maufanga, the city of refuge, and he and his attendants removed 173
there. He knew perhaps that he was dying for he sent privately to the chiefs of his 643
party who were at Mua for them to draw down the vessels into the sea. It was 763
done, and the vessels were launched, but they were afraid that there would be war.
As soon as the vessels were launched they loaded at once, as he had sent word that
they were to go to Pangaimotu. It looked as though he knew the time that he would
leave this world. He sent word that a small canoe was to be sent for him, and it
came towards evening. He was taken at once to the canoe and few knew whether he
died at Maufanga or in the canoe or at Pangaimotu. This occurred in 1820.

And I would say that Tupoutoa did this out of love for his people lest they 173
should be held at Tonga if it became known that he was dead. He did this so that 643
his people could get away to Haapai. Then word was sent to Tonga that Tupoutoa 764 -
was dead. Then all the vessels came and anchored at once. One army came from
Hihifo. They came to carry down Tupoutoa's body, but when they arrived all was
ready and the chiefs thanked them for coming and told them to return to Hihifo
as they would take Tupoutoa's corpse to Uiha themselves. And it was reported that
[the people of] Tonga would come, but they only came for the ceremony of preparing
cooked coconuts for their dead king, whom they were taking away; but the people

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of Nukualofa, the friends of Tupoutoa were like the seaweed that is taken by the 173
current, they separated themselves and stayed as though they had joined Tonga. Only 643
Ulakai, the paternal half brother of Tupoutoa, came with a few men. When the 764
fleet arrived at Uiha they took Tupoutoa's body on shore. And after the *toloveifua*
ceremony (presentation of gifts to bereaved) and the *ta-mee* (dancing) and the ceremonies
of the funeral were over, Ulakai was appointed king at Veilupesia (in Uiha).
That commenced the disturbance at Haapai. 173

Neither Haapai nor Vavau had any love for Ulakai, because of the separation 669
of Nukualofa from them. Fuapau joined Tui Haa Ngana and they took Ulakai to 726
Haa Ngana as though they had joined together; and Uhila stayed at Uiha and the
Lulunga (western Haapai) people went to Tungua. The Lofanga people went to
their own island. Laufilitonga (later Tui Tonga) went to Velata and dug strong fortifications 173
there. Tuita went to Pangai and Ulukalala went to Toa. Each dug his 669
fort. They did not dig fortifications for war but for protection, as no one had been 712
appointed as supreme ruler over them. They did this while waiting for the *toloveifua* 726
that was said to be coming from Tonga. Taufaahau (later King George I) was [884]
still going about as a youth with Ulukalala, because he had not reached his thirtieth
year. Vavau rose up and dug fortifications: the forts of Lua and Vuki at Feletoa
stood for Haapai. Tonga waited, then sent three vessels. It was not war, they 173
came only to see Ulakai. They chose the bravest warriors in Tonga to come. The 669
ship with three houses on deck (*falevakatolu*) and the canoe with two houses on [501]
deck (*falevakaua*) and the ship with eight houses on deck, all had come because
Haapai was in confusion. The Tui Haa Teiho sided with Fuapau and Ulakai. They
had come trusting to that perhaps. They all assembled at Haano, the vessels from
Tonga, Haapai, and Ulukalala's vessels from Vavau. Ulukalala's vessels went perhaps
to see what the other vessels were doing. There was an entertainment which was [574]
called *mangisi* (feast prepared for strangers) because there was a vessel that had
just arrived from Fiji.

The vessels were prepared and approached like the *veli* (a water insect like a 173
centipede). They said, "Fight," and Fuapau answered, "Fight." Fuapau was not
still siding with Ulakai and the vessels from Tonga, but with Haapai's party. But 669
Tui Haa Teiho still sided with Ulakai and his vessels and was one with them. Ulukalala 726
and his vessels stayed at a distance at Loloko and did not go to the feast.
Only a few of them went and the war was suppressed. After that Ulakai returned
to Tonga. Then Haapai settled down in peace. Vessels were prepared to take Ulukalala
to Vavau and all Haapai went. Some people of the chief Vuki were murdered
and there was nearly war. But Ulukalala's people were crafty and soon they were
reconciled, and Ulukalala went and dwelt at Feletoa. The Haapai people returned to
their own island. And they dwelt thus as though Vavau were submissive to Vuki.
They watched each other like two male turtles, smooth on the surface only.

One day Vuki went down to have a bath in the stream Tufutele. When he came [515]
out of the water he met Ulukalala in the road. They conversed pleasantly, and Ulukalala
invited him to go with him to his place and have some kava. Messages were
sent to Ulukalala's people to come and make the kava and Vuki was asked to stay
in the inclosure of Finau (Ulukalala) while men were sent to club Vuki's people,
the people that had clubbed Taliauli-Malohi. Vavau subsided and proved the truth
of the saying of Taufaahau: "Vavau is like a handful of dry sand." They let down
Vuki whom they had upheld, while they turned and upheld Ulukalala. It is true what
Satulo says, "I will not be friendly with a double tongued people." Vuki was banished
to Haapai and Finau (Ulukalala) was supreme ruler at Vavau. He portioned out
the land at Vavau and he gave each of the chiefs a piece of land. The piece of
land called Leimatua belonged to Taufaahau. Finau (Ulukalala) knew that that piece
of land was Taufaahau's, so he ill treated the people. Taufaahau knew that the people
were ill treated because of him, so he sent word to the elders (or principal men)
to go and tell Finau that he had given back the land to him, to please himself as to
whom he would give it. It was done, and Taufaahau withdrew. Just about that time

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a vessel arrived from Haapai to tell Finau and Taufaahau of the marriage of Halaevalu 173
Mataaho (Taufaahau's sister) to Tui Haa Teiho. That seemed to show the ill feeling 669
of Ulukalala because he would not let a good vessel, or anyone as sent from him, go
to the feast. But Taufaahau went in the Lofanga vessel that had brought the news. 726
He went in the small vessel called Fungahaafuluhao and they were Ulukalala's own relations, Matetau and Fakatulolo and some others who accompanied him. Ulakai came from Tonga with two vessels with a great number of people. All Haapai assembled at Tungua for the ceremony. After that the people of Vavau were sent back, but Taufaahau remained at Haapai and dwelt at Pangai, Lifuka.

It was apparent that Taufaahau's disposition or ability was not hidden from these two groups. If we refer to ancient games, there was no one like him. At all the games of the different entertainments he was the best, the handsomest, and the most ready to perform. The Tui Tonga [Laufilitonga, who was actually not yet Tui Tonga] dwelt with a great number of people in his fort of Velata, Lifuka, and strengthened it. It was awful the way that Taufaahau and his few people were treated. Taufaahau could not stand it so he went to war. Foa Island sided with the Tui Tonga and the warriors of the Tui Tonga acted discreetly. They were afraid lest Taufaahau's warriors would rush upon Fangaleounga, Foa, so they therefore sent a *tokoikolo* (person familiar with the place) there. That night Taufaahau's warriors forded 173
over Makapulepule (the reef connecting Lifuka and Foa islands), and lay in ambush 725
outside the fort till it was dawn. When it was nearly dawn they climbed over the 726
fence and killed the people in the fort. The *tokoikolo* was also killed. Many escaped 669
and were saved, but many were killed. They burnt the fort and returned to Lifuka.

After that they sat and watched each other, the Tui Tonga in the fortress Velata and Taufaahau's warriors at Pangai, Lifuka. At this time Taufaahau was appointed Tui Haapai. Suddenly the warriors of the Tui Tonga from Velata made a rush, thinking to storm the fort of Tui Haapai at Pangai. They came one day at noon. It was a big army, as nearly all Haapai was there. Tui Haapai's warriors tried to withstand them. The battle raged and they shouted from the seaside of the fort that they were nearly overcome and Taufaahau went to their assistance and turned out the enemy. A little while after they shouted from the land side of the fort that they were nearly overcome and he rushed to their assistance. Others shouted from different places. Taufaahau always went to their assistance. Just like a god was Taufaahau in this battle, in his fighting for his fort. They fought till night and the fort was not taken, but the enemy seized Taufaahau's vessels and said, "We will leave the taking of the fort till tomorrow morning." But that night Taufaahau sent a vessel to Malupo at Uiha with a message, saying, "Here am I left alone. I expect the fighting to be renewed at dawn." The warriors came that night and in the morning the fort was in an excited state for war. The enemy thought they had received reinforcements, as there seemed a great number in the fort and a gun shot was heard.
But it was only Taufaahau's little army of the day before. They were few and had [411]
no guns, but he was able to withstand the army of the Tui Tonga, although they
were many and had guns. The first man to be shot was Malu and he died. Then [411]
they [the Tui Tonga's troops] knew that Taufaahau's troops were in the fort, as there
was a European gun. They all retreated, taking shelter behind big *puko* trees. They [177]
kept shouting for the garrison to come outside the fence and the garrison shouted in return for them to come into the fort. They kept up the fighting from outside, but it was no use. And at last it was known to the warriors from Tungua, Nomuka, Haafeva, and Lofanga islands and they entered Taufaahau's fort as reinforcements. Now Velata began to get into difficulties.

Ulukalala at Vavau heard that there was war and they (he and the chiefs) 173
consulted together to put an end to the war. And Taufaahau and Laufilitonga 728
agreed and the war ended. Finau said that Taufaahau was to be Tui Haapai (ruler 669
of Haapai) and that Haapai was to be his, but he was to be peaceful and go and dwell at Uiha and the other islands and leave the Tui Tonga to dwell at Lifuka,

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because if they dwelt near together their people would not dwell in peace but would 669 create discord. Then there would be another war. The Tui Haapai listened and 173 they were reconciled and then he went to Uiha. Ulukalala did this perhaps because 728 he thought that Tui Haapai would not be contented to live at Uiha, but Taufaahau went and dwelt at Mataaho, Uiha, and often went to Lofanga. There he built his 173 ship called Lolohea. When it was finished he brought it to Uiha to make its sails. 669 After some time he sailed to Tonga and went and lived with Maafu and had dancing 726 entertainments with the children of Maafu. But the people of Tonga did not like that as they were afraid, for they knew that he was a strong man. After staying some time, he went to Eua on a friendly visit to Kaufana. He took with him two fishing canoes. He returned from there with three guns. He came and stayed some [411] time in Tonga, then prepared to sail for Haapai. Some thought that when he reached Haapai that there would be a disturbance. Some men went with him from Tonga.

When they came it seemed that the people of the Tui Tonga wished to cause strife. If their vessel went to the outer islands, they caused a disturbance. It was too much for Taufaahau to stand.

He prepared the biggest vessel in Haapai for him to sail to Tonga and it was [501] called the Uluvalu (*ulu*, head; *valu*, eight). More than a hundred people could go in her, and he sailed from Lifuka and stopped at Haafeva. And Taufaahau said that there should be a vessel from the Tui Tonga's fort sailing with him. His brother (or cousin) Fuatalevu was a chief that had been to Fiji, and Taufaahau loved him. That was the way, as it is now, with Taufaahau—his love for his enemies made him fight only when driven to it by aggression. He did not wish to take the vessel. Taufaahau's warriors were very angry and crashed their weapons. They went on board their vessel with him and returned to Uiha. The other vessel remained. When they reached Uiha the Tui Tonga was there with his people. They came and pushed Taufaahau's people. That day passed and still Taufaahau did not wish to fight the people of the vessels of Laufilitonga.

Next morning the people of the Tui Tonga went on board their vessels. Had they all gone it would have been all right, but the warriors were told not to sail to Tatafa Island but to go overland there. They went and pushed the warriors of Taufaahau, who were at the land's end, to the sand and both sides said, "Velo! (Throw the spear), Velo!" A man called Kuli, on the Tui Tonga's side, threw the spear. Moalatea was killed. The warriors from Velata (the Tui Tonga's warriors) were chased and they went over the ford connecting Uiha and Tatafa. Taufaahau was then told that it was war. He pursued them over the ford, but the army of the Tui Tonga had reached Tatafa. Taufaahau gave chase but the enemy was too far ahead. The guns were fired from the Tui Tonga's side and killed one of the warriors of Taufaahau. Taufaahau's warriors chased them till they escaped in their vessels at the end of the land at Auhangamea (the northern end of Tatafa Island). But one vessel's anchor caught and it was dragged on shore. The rest of the vessels sailed for Lifuka. Taufaahau's warriors ran back to Uiha. They ran and put food into their vessels at Veitupu. I should think that they ran nearly three miles and the vessels sailed and chased the enemy to Lifuka. If their vessels had been near they might have caught the Tui Tonga's vessels and killed the people or killed them at sea. But when they reached Lifuka all the warriors had gone to their own places and they fought from outside. And Lavulavu was sent to the Tui Tonga's chiefs to tell them they had chased them at their own wish. It was for what they had done, but they had escaped here. "Well let them stay and take care of their land, while we go back to our island." They set sail and returned to Uiha.

A message from Taufaahau was sent to the outer islands as far as Nomuka for them to assemble, as it was to be war. It was as though the army of the Tui Tonga had gone mad. They each became drunk and went to Foa to attend to other things. They thought that war would not start so soon, but after about five days all the different islands had assembled and Taufaahau led or steered the fleet. The fort (Velata, the Tui Tonga's fort) knew that they were coming and all

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assembled at the seashore to receive them, but Taufaahau's side had arranged before they came that should there be any shooting they would not stop the paddling and the pushing of the canoes, but would continue till they reached the shore. They came and the army on shore fired on the army in the vessels. Some were killed but they continued. Taufaahau's vessel backed to the land and his warriors landed and chased Laufilitonga's troops, who scattered. A man called Meakaifolau (food for the voyagers) killed the first one and then they killed and chased the fugitives till they reached Velata. The fugitives entered the fort in confusion.

While the army of Taufaahau was still in disorder, two chiefs from Foa came down with their band of warriors. They attacked Taufaahau's army on the flank. The dead floated in the sea. Another part of Taufaahau's army surrounded the warriors from Foa, and killed many of them. They nearly exterminated them, but the two chiefs were good leaders and led the small remainder to Laufilitonga's fort. Night came and Taufaahau's army withdrew and slept at Pangai. Next morning Taufaahau and his vessels went to Foa to see if the people wanted war. If they did then they should die. Anyone wishing to live must not fight. When they arrived they found that all Foa had assembled at Faleloa and Taufaahau wished them to be allowed to live. That report was taken to Haano, that the Foa people were not to be killed. The same was done there (Haano). Whoever wanted to die was to prepare to fight and who wanted to live was to remain peaceful. The vessels went and anchored at Kanokano and Tui Haa Ngana (chief of Haano) sued for pardon for himself and his people. But Taufaahau's warriors wished to continue the fight and not to grant the pardon. Tuita, a chief in Foa, sued for mercy from Taufaahau, that they might live. He asked Taufaahau to remember how Fuapau and Otunuku had sworn to live and die for Tupoutoa (Taufaahau's father, who was buried at Uiha), when he made war on Vavau, and also on Tonga. And Taufaahau through his love pardoned them. And those from the vessel and those that had been pardoned went to Malae Kilikili where a fort had been built. The barricade was made of coconut trunks, breadfruit trees, papau trees, banana trunks, etc. They starved out the fort. There were many European guns at this fort, and many of Taufaahau's people were killed and wounded by the guns, because they would try to dodge in front of the guns. After a while there was a battle and a chief, who was a brave warrior of the fort, came out with his men. His name was Fangupo and they fought with Taufaahau's warriors. He was speared by a man called Paul Tapu. He was taken into the fort and died of his wounds. And Taufaahau wished the war to cease because Fangupo was wounded, but no one came out of the fort. After the burial of the young chief, the warriors came out. The Tui Tonga told them to go out and leave the fort, and they did so. Each man went to his own relations, and the Tui Tonga came to the fort [Velata?] and had it levelled, and there was peace.

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Sometime later Ulukalala arrived with all the Vavau vessels. It is not known whose side he would have joined had he arrived while the fort was still standing, but when he arrived the fort had been taken and nothing more was done. And Finau (Ulukalala) said for the Tui Tonga to go with him to Vavau. Taufaahau said that the Chief (Tui Tonga) was to please himself what he did. If he wished to go to Vavau it was all right, or if he wished to remain it was all right. He (the Tui Tonga) wished to go with Ulukalala and he went and a great number of people went with him. The man Maheuliuli who was always wanting war went with him. The people of Haapai remained. Since then Haapai has been deserted and Taufaahau the only ruler. [Laufilitonga may not yet have been appointed Tui Tonga, though so referred to.]

After all this had transpired Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) sent Lausii in the vessel called Vahaafonua (Between lands) with all the brave warriors to Kaufana at Eua with a present from him. The ruler of Eua received them kindly and they were there two or three nights. Then they went to Tonga. When they arrived there Nukualofa was being fortified. They went and helped with the digging of the fortifications. A report went forth that the Haapai warriors had come. After the fortifications were

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finished the vessel returned to Haapai and reported that the fort of Nukualofa had been dug. Taufaahau told the men to go and beach the vessel at Haano and repair it. It was then brought and they went to Vavau. The name of the vessel was the Tausala. The vessel arrived at night and all Vavau assembled to receive it. Taufaahau told of the report that had come from Tonga concerning the digging of the fort. He also told them that he was going at once to Tonga. They stayed one night, then sailed (after the Sabbath). They anchored at Fakaamumei, Lifuka Island, landed there, and went to Pangai. Tutoe was told to go and have the Sabbath at Haano and return early on Monday and Taufaahau told Lausii and many of the warriors of Taufaahau to proceed in the vessel Vahaafonua to Haafeva and that he would follow in the Tausala. We anchored at Haafeva. From there he told us to sail to Tungua. There we took on board a man called Vaea and some others. Then we set sail and went to Tonga. That was New Year's Eve. 173 669 726

At dawn we were tacking between Pangaimotu and Fafa islands. It was difficult because there was a north wind. The vessel of the king turned and went before the wind past the sunken reef near Maufanga. The people from the fort went down to the shore and beat drums and shouted abusive language. They shouted, "The surprise attack has been overtaken by the day." We arrived at Nukualofa and remained quiet as it was the Sabbath, although all Tonga had assembled at Maufanga during the Sabbath. [502]

The army landed at Fongoloa when the tide was out. One was wounded but none killed. We cleared the outside of the fort and after that we went up to Takoto. When we returned it was dark. In the morning we went and brought the chief Fohe from Puke and then we rested a little. A message was brought that we were to go to the mount (*sia*) in Nukualofa; i.e., to Mt. Zion. There the army was told that they were to storm the fortress Ngeleia. And Taufaahau spoke and said to leave Ngeleia to him and his vessels or warriors. While Nukualofa's army went and looked from the *tavahi* tree to see if there was any army coming from Maufanga, Taufaahau's army went to Takoto and Taufaahau again spoke to the army there. He told them to raise their hands and swear that there would be no one allowed to escape from the fort (Ngeleia). They were told to go by the marshes and then to rush into the fort. It was a dangerous place that the army rushed into, marshy and overgrown with prickly grass and difficult to walk on. Notwithstanding this, they stormed the fort and all the people of the fort were killed. The brave warriors from Pea that were hostile to Nukualofa were killed. Kaufusitua who left Haapai because he was angry with Taufaahau was killed. Taufaahau's warriors took all the wealth (mats, tapa, etc.) and seized the spoil and returned to Nukualofa. [This massacre took place in 1837, at least eight years after Taufaahau had become a Methodist and two years after he had preached his first sermon.]

After a time we were told one day to go to the sand banks on the way to Hihifo, and to go openly. We were seen by the fort called Hule. They waited till they had heard from the other forts, so as to know all about the army that was outside the fort. A large vessel was anchored near the sand banks. It was a ship that Vuki had brought from Fiji. They were told to burn it with fire and the army went on to Teekiu. They went openly, not secretly. They went up from the sea and rushed on the fortress of Motuapuaka called Kolovai (in Teekiu). It looked as though the [people of the] fort had overslept themselves. There was no shouting or shooting or spearing. We bruised and took them alive. Only one man was killed and he because he was abusive to Taufaahau because he came so often from Haapai. Another was shot by Salo. The people were led captive through the sand banks and the spoil was taken away. There was much wealth in the fort (tapa, mats, etc.). The army was pleased with the spoil. But Taufaahau spoke and said, "You must pardon, but you must collect the goods of Motuapuaka and his friends and bring them here, because they are poor. Bring the goods for them to have." No one took anything away. We came to Nukualofa and repaired the fort and dwelt there. We did not seek any more war. 173 727 669

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But the armies of the heathen came down to Nukualofa and dwelt at Takoto and made war. The king's army did not at first know that there was an enemy's army near. A small band of warriors with Taufahema and his younger brothers went forth for a walk to the place that is called Malama, which was near where the heathen troops from Mua were stationed. They had destroyed the gardens. They met the small band of warriors with Taufahema. It was difficult perhaps for this brave warrior to return to the main army, so he stood and received them. The enemy pressed forward and Taufahema fell. It is said that his younger brother tried to shield him and he was shot and fell also. While the fight was going on, word was brought to Taufaahau at the fort. As quickly as possible the king and his warriors went to their assistance, but Taufaahau was not in time to catch the enemy. He chased them, but did not get many of them. Only a few were killed. Among the slain were Fiufiulelei and a few people. But the army of the enemy had fled. If Taufaahau's army had been able to catch the enemy that would have been the end of the army of the heathen. Taufaahau and his army returned lamenting that they were unable to find the enemy and said, "Lament the blessed [dead]. The enemy is not found."

The Tui Kanokupolu (Aleamotua, Josiah Tupou, or Tupou i Faletuipapai) sent word to the chiefs of the fort of Hule and told them that he loved them, but what were their wishes? Would they accept Christianity or would they not? But it was like ridicule and mockery for them. So they replied that they wanted to fight and this reply was told to the king. Then Tupou (the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah) sent word to Taufaahau that he was to please himself, as he had sent a message to the fort but that they only mocked him. Then Taufaahau sent word to his army to prepare and to assemble at the green called Tuniloa, where he spoke to them. Then Taufaahau said to Vaea Mataele (Tui Vakano), "You will go, Tui Vakano, to your friends and see them and speak to them, in case they love you and wish to live." Tui Vakano answered, "Oh, Taufaahau, don't be unkind to me and tell me to go to them that have deserted me. If they shoot me what will I do. Speak the word that hands are to be held up as a sign that none are to be allowed to escape (or live)." Taufaahau assented, and the troops had to hold up their hands and swear that none were to be allowed to escape or live. "Take good care that all strike to kill, but don't get killed. Destroy the fence or fortification and destroy anything and everything." The brave warrior Longani boasted, "The fort is dead." The army then went forth and stormed the fort and chased and killed the defenders as far as Matahau. The army did not take shelter but approached in the open to the fort, and the warrior who had made the declaration rushed into single combat with the chief Ikahui of the fort, and Ikahui was killed. The [people of the] fort shouted but it was their last shout in this world. The army returned in a line to Naitohotoho where the dead lay heaped up like old coconuts. One man from Haapai and one from Vavau were killed there. [The massacre of Hule took place in 1837.]

Word was brought to Taufaahau that J. Lausii was wounded. Then Taufaahau said to allow none to live, if he was dead. They were to go and fight Houma also. Then word was brought that Lausii was not badly wounded. That was the reason why the army returned to Nukualofa. When they arrived there the army of Moeakiola from Pea and Maufanga were nearby at Haakuma, shooting all the time into the fort of Nukualofa. And the people of Taufaahau's army chased them and they fled to the distance.

After that attack on the heathen they resumed their march to Nukualofa but when the forts of Houma, Pea, Mua, Folaha, and Maufanga heard that the fort of Hule was destroyed they said, "It looks as though nothing that we do will be successful." And they consulted with each other to desert or abandon all the small forts. The reason was that Maufanga was preparing to evacuate and all the different armies were assembled there. They fired and shouted, fired and shouted continually, and laughed a hoarse laugh. That night they all fled. That was to conceal their

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preparation for evacuating, till all were removed from the fort. There was a man 173
called Malafu in the old fort (Kolomotua) of Nukualofa. He was a very good night
scout. At midnight he crept to Maufanga to see why there was no longer any shouting. 669
He listened at the fortification fence. There was no one making the slightest 726
noise. Then he jumped over the fence into the enclosure. It was deserted and he climbed back again and walked quietly to the lagoon landing place and swam to Folaha. Here he listened but there was no sound of men. He entered the fort and the pigs stampeded. The people had fled. Then he swam back and reported at Nukualofa that the two forts of Maufanga and Folaha were deserted and that their goods were left. Then the army was told to prepare to go and lie in ambush near Pea.

One day the warriors from Haapai and Vavau were told to lie in ambush on the upper road near Tufumahina, while the Nukualofa army went by the marsh. The Pea and Mua warriors came out of the Pea fortress headed perhaps to Nukualofa and they were preceded by their scouts. If it had not been for that they would have proceeded further forward and none would have escaped. Taufaahau's men rushed forward and fought the Pea warriors and there were killed the brave men who were called by the names Taufaahau, Keiano, Fakatene, and a great many other people. The enemy was chased back to Pea. Moeakiola, the young chief of the fort of Pea, came and stood at the gate of the fort and told all the Pea troops to return and take shelter on the inside of the fortification fence. The shooting continued from Taufaahau's army outside the fence. A shot went through the gate of the fortification and a man was wounded by it and died.

Taufaahau's army returned to Nukualofa and remained quiet. There was no war for some time. Fatu [father of Tungi I] came from Mua and made peace with the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah. Taufaahau and his warriors returned to Haapai and Vavau, each to his own land, and the Tongan warriors remained in Tonga and there was peace for some time. The army at Nukualofa dispersed, each man going to his own district.

Ata's family went and dug a fort at Foui and they dwelt there. But there was 173
not peace between Ata and Vahai and their children on the one hand, and the people 669
that had become Christians and who dwelt at Foui on the other hand, because Ata's
people brought their heathenish preparation for their *inasi* feast through the Foui 798
road. The Christians said that it was not yams to eat, but things for their gods. 726
So Vahai was very angry and killed Ahomee. So the fort of Ahomee took up arms and many were killed in that fight of the big fort of the heathens and the little fort of the Christians.

A message was again sent to Taufaahau at Haapai, that Tonga was at war 173
again. They were told that he was at Vavau, so they went to Vavau. Taufaahau
came with the vessel of Paul Halaevalu that had come from Tonga, and the two 669
vessels sailed for Haapai. On reaching Haapai he told Jioeli and Jiosai and all 726
Lifuka to launch his great war vessel and to follow in her, while he went ahead in the vessel that had come from Tonga.

The great warship was soon in the sea and about two hundred soldiers went on [501]
board. They sailed at once. But when they were nearing Nomuka they were not
able to bale out the water from the hulls fast enough, so they returned to Haafeva. [716]
When they reached there, there was a small sailing vessel belonging to Haafeva, the property of Havealeta. They arranged with the two men that a few should go in the small vessel to the war lest the big vessel might not be able to go. So Kavaefiafi and Kulitapa went in it to Tonga.

It was very stormy and rough at sea, and when they were near Tonumea the sail was torn and it was let down, while a small sail was put up. The big one was mended and they sailed with it to Tonga. They nearly failed to reach Haatafu because it was getting dark when they left Atata behind, but after a while they passed the small reef and on nearing shore they found that they were at the sand banks of Toketeke, so they tacked and headed back to Atata. When they had

[1812 - 1845]

landed the wind blew like a hurricane and in the morning they looked out and saw a 173
vessel anchored at Tufaka. They poled their vessel there, as they thought that it 669
was the Tui Haapai's ship. But it was only Paul Halaevalu's vessel. Then they 726
poled the two vessels from Muifonua (Land's-end) to Nukualofa. By now it had become calm.

Unexpectedly Veikune and Taufavaivai arrived from Vavau in the vessel called Tunulousi, so the vessels from Haapai and Vavau all came in one after the other. The army was prepared for the Hihifo campaign. They went and beseiged the fort of Hihifo and the people in the fort remained inside, while the armies remained separate. Some scouts from the Vavau army went out. One Haapai man called Soko, the son of Tahifisi, went with them. There were some people that came out of the fort. Among them was a very big man whom Soko killed. We heard them calling "Fight," as the place where we were was not very far away. We said, "It is with the Lord," as Taufaahau's army were Christians. There was a fight and a brave warrior called Tavalu rushed and beat upon the gate of the fort and the army surrounded it. Meanwhile the enemy remained inside. No one seemed to wish to come outside. Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) told the warriors not to wait till they saw a man before firing, but when a hand was seen to fire, or a foot was seen to fire,
or any other part of the body was seen to fire. Fire at anything seen above the [725]
mud fortifications. This was how the fort was treated. They came to make peace from Foui, and when they arrived the inmates of the fort did not fire, but stood round the fortification fence and talked of their strength. In the evening Tui Haapai told the warriors to go and surround the fort. Lest some should escape, he divided his forces, so that there was a watch till daylight and he told them should there be any deserters not to kill them. This was a very good idea. If it had not been for this the people of the fort would have escaped during the night. Any person coming singly they tied alive. There came out of Ata's fort a man and woman to flee, but when they got outside they saw that the fort was surrounded and so they returned into the fort. Only Vahai and a very few escaped. They came and looked about for any place where there was no sentry, then they fled at that point and went to Houma.
At daybreak the army entered the fort but no one was killed. Ata and Papa and all 173
the people of the fort were taken alive. Tui Haapai commanded that none should be 669
killed. Ata and Papa's goods were not taken and only a very few things were lost. 726
There has never been a chief in Tonga from the olden times that had war like that, in 727
which he saved the lives of the conquered and gave them back their goods. Their lives were saved and their goods returned. In former times should the enemy live their goods were confiscated by the victor. (The people of Haapai and Vavau were Christians and now they had taken from the heathen their bread.) Some youths stole, but it was not the wish of Taufaahau. Each went with his friend by the command of Ata and Papa to Nukualofa and that ended that war. As Mua was not in it or Houma, but only Hihifo, it was the war of Ata and Vahai.

Then the chiefs of Haapai and Vavau were told to return, but Tui Haapai and 173
a few remained at Tonga, lest there be another disturbance of the peace like the 669
war of Hihifo. Houma collected Hihifo's fishing canoes at the weather shore. It
was not known who smashed them, but they thought that it was Houma that did it. 726

The Hihifo people waited and planned a war on Houma. Taufahema, that brave warrior who was said to have died at Malama of the wounds that he had received on his face, still lived, and it was he that came and fought for Hihifo at Foui. He came in contact with the army of Houma and was shot as though it was a planned assassination. Then the Hihifo army was chased and Peter Ahomee was caught and taken alive to Houma with some others. That war did not last long, as Taufaahau did not like having war stirred up like that. It was done while Taufaahau was away at Vavau and the report that was brought to him was that the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah Tupou was dying. He sailed back, calling at Haapai. When he 173
arrived at Tonga, the king was dead, having died on November 18, 1845. After 643
the funeral the chiefs of Tonga waited for the coming of Taufaahau to appoint

[1845 - 1865]

him Tui Kanokupolu. The ceremony of the appointment was held at the Pangai 173
green at Kolovai on December 4, 1845. There is a saying, in reference to the 643
appointment ceremony, "His back has rested on the koka tree." Taufaahau, now
Tui Kanokupolu George Tupou I, dwelt at Nukualofa thereafter.

The following boat song (*tauaalo*) of Taufaahau's makes obvious the important part he played in Tongan affairs before he became Tui Kanokupolu.

Haapai 'e tefua ki Fanganono	Haapai assemble at Fanganono	[533]
Kau alu ki Tonga 'o fakatonu	While I go to Tonga to put to rights	[539]
Liu mai ke ta motulotu	Return and cut in two	

TAUFAAHAU'S GUNS ^A

Laufilitonga, who became the last Tui Tonga, lived at the fortress of 173
Velata in Lifuka, Haapai. Taufaahau lived at the same time in Pangai, 669
on the same island. Velata was a double-walled, double-ditched fortress. 726
A protracted struggle ensued between these rivals for power, ending in [712]
victory for Taufaahau. Taufaahau is said to have been the aggressor.
Many people were killed in the struggle, but captives were spared. With [727]
Laufilitonga was the important chief Tui Haa Teiho.

Whilst the war was being fought at Velata, Taufaahau went in a small vessel (*faalalo* or *tafaanga*) to Eua, to the chief Kaufana, to get some guns. He got the guns, left that small vessel in Eua, and proceeded in a vessel called the Tuingatu-ki-tonga. He arrived at Laulea, at the weather shore of Fatumu, Tongatabu. He went up to the place of a chief called Kanongataa to interview him, and when he arrived the place was deserted; the chief was away at Fuaamotu, preparing his warriors to receive Taufaahau. And Taufaahau went there to him with his men and they met and Kanongataa and the chiefs wanted to detain him for the night, while some food was prepared for them, but Taufaahau thanked them and said that he must go, as the mission was dangerous.

After they had left Fuaamotu, Taufaahau said to his men: "If there is a man amongst you, escape." Taufaahau was the first to reach Lotuma. He waited there till his men came. They went from there to Vaini to visit Maafu who was blind. Maafu asked them where they had been. Taufaahau replied that they had been to see Kaufana to seek guns. Maafu said, "Draw near so that I can touch you," and he wished that he could see him. In that year was born at Eua a grandson of Maafu, and he was called Amusia-ae-a (I envy those that see). (He was still alive in 1918.)

And Taufaahau went from Vaini to Nukuhetulu and he tried to get a vessel to bring them to Nukualofa. He entered a house in which a man was sleeping and awoke him. The man asked, "Who are you?" He answered, "It is I, Taufaahau," and the man fainted with terror. Then he shook the man till he revived. And he said to him, "Don't be afraid," and he asked him, "Do you know of a vessel." The man answered, "I know of a vessel that is anchored at Houmaniu (the shore of Nukuhetulu). Taufaahau said, "Cut the rope and come and take us." He told him to go straight to Pahau and they reached there. They went to the place of the king Aleamotua.

The sun had just risen and the king asked where had they been. Taufaahau answered, "We have been to Eua to seek some guns." Just then a small double vessel arrived from Haapai and they went on board and sailed for Haapai and finished the war at Velata with the Tui Tonga.

A /Taufaahau later became King George I Tupou--Analyst/
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[1829-1865]

When the fight at Velata was resumed, Taufaahau's warriors were having break- 173
fast, as Laufilitonga's men made a sortie. Taufaahau's men quit eating, Taufaahau 669
called for his gun. Malupo brought it and asked permission to use it. It was granted. 726
Malupo shot Laufilitonga's son. When he fell, the Tui Tonga's men fled, but they asked where they got the gun and gunpowder. Taufaahau's men replied from the *mato* (edge of precipice), referring to Eua. A well on Lifuka is named Onemato to commemorate this reply.

A tract at south edge of Pangai is called Matuku, meaning "the fight is over," in commemoration of the surrender of Velata to Taufaahau. Velata was a double-walled [712]
and double-ditched fortress.

Fakailoatonga was the name of the chief who treacherously speared Taufaahau in the calf during the siege of Velata. Taufaahau was not yet king when this happened. Taufaahau withdrew the spear and killed Fakailoatonga with it. Fakailoatonga was said to be his father's brother. There seems to have been a scouting expedition in which Taufaahau was accosted in a friendly manner by Fakailoatonga of the enemy's camp and then treacherously speared.

At the conclusion of the war Taufaahau put the Tui Tonga and his chiefs in a boat and told them to go and not land again in Tonga, but Kaunanga, the mother of Tungi I, took them ashore at Lapaha.

TAUFAAHAU AND ULUKALALA VERSUS THE HEATHENS OF VAVAU

In 1829 Taufaahau and Peter Vi, an early convert to Christianity, 797
introduced the Methodist church into Haapai. In 1831 Ulukalala IV (Finau Tuapasi), the great chief of Vavau, embraced Christianity, becoming a convert of the Methodist missionaries at the urging of Taufaahau, the Tui Haapai. Taufaahau had sailed to Vavau with a fleet of 24 large [716]
double vessels and peaceably induced Ulukalala to embrace Christianity. [501]
Now follows Peter Vi's (3) narrative of events at Vavau, of which he was 173
an eye witness. The siege of the fortress of Otea took place in 1832 and 797
lasted but three days. 798
669

I went to Koloa, Vavau, [in 1831,] and we prepared to sail in the vessel to Haapai. 726
We were only two nights there, when Taufaahau sailed again to Vavau to bring Halaevalu Mataaho. Then Taufaahau arranged with Finau [Ulukalala] for us to have service together on the Sabbath. Taufaahau went and took the kava of the god Taufaitahi to Afu, whose god he was, and they teased him, then burnt the god. Then we went and had our service with Finau. Vavau was in commotion and divided into two parties. Lua dwelt at Feletoa and Ulukalala dwelt at Neiafu and the people were divided between the two. Whoever were Christians went to Ulukalala, whoever were heathens went to Lua, each preparing for war. Taufaahau returned to Haapai, Vavau having accepted Christianity. Finau expected that I would be left with him. But Mr. Thomas [a Methodist missionary] would not let me remain, and after some time Jeremiah Kamoto was sent from Tonga to Vavau, and Taufaahau sailed again for Tonga.

When Tongatabu knew that the Vavauans had accepted Christianity and burnt their gods' houses it prepared for war and Taufaahau's vessel, which was at Tongatabu, prepared to fight. That war did not materialize and Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) returned. A message had been sent from Finau [Ulukalala], saying for Taufaahau to make haste and come to Vavau, as there would be war soon. And we sailed and anchored at Taunga Island, Vavau group, in 1832.

Lua had dug fortifications at Otea on the island of Kapa. Two vessels came, [291]
all the crews of which were naked (sign of war) and they asked, "Whose vessels are these?"

[1832]

"Taufaahau from Haapai," was the reply. Then they twirled their clubs and 173
said, 797

"Oh, we thought they were the ships from Fiji." 798

And we sailed on into the anchorage at Neiafutahi, Vavau, and anchored there where
Finau was. And we sent to make peace with the Otea fort. Moheofo and Tui Haapai 669
were the peacemakers, and the people (of Otea) destroyed their vessel. The chiefs 726
Luani, Siaakafoa, and Taukeilaolao were sent with them to Neiafu. Taufaahau told Finau not to let these chiefs return, but to hold them. This was done. Taukeilaolao and Teu were brought to us to guard, while the others were taken to Finau to guard. And early next morning we all assembled at Ngaunoho and the army was addressed by Taufaahau. Taufaahau and I jumped on shore while the troops all prepared, stayed in the boats. Taufaahau went and spoke to the army in the presence of Finau, while the Vavau (army) was present. After he had spoken to the army then I said, "Let us pray." After that we went on board the vessel and sailed for Otea. And when we drew near we saw a party of warriors lying in wait on the main road. We raised our guns, but did not fire. We sailed along the shore to their fort. Our vessels anchored and we disembarked our troops. Finau told Taufaahau to go to the fort and ask Lua what were his wishes. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] went and took shelter behind a big tree called *fotulona* and spoke from there and said, "Finau has sent us to tell you, for you to have love and not to be wrongly advised by your sons," and Lua answered,

"Man, why are you so unkind to me? Why don't you come and take me, your father (term of affection), to Haapai?"

And Taufaahau replied, "When did you tell me to? I came and anchored at that island; why did you not send a message for me to come, and take you to Haapai and I would have done so?"

Then Lua answered, "Come here, you unkind man."

Taufaahau replied, "I would like to come, but you might not be able to protect me from your sons, so I will speak to you from here." And we kept on carrying messages between Finau and Lua till it was dark, then we slept; and early in the morning word was brought that fighting had begun on land, as the people from the fort were pushing on the advance lines of the Haapai warriors. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] ran at once there. When we reached there, he said, "If there is any one that wishes to fire, then fire." After that he said, "You go into the fort till Ulukalala and Lua have arranged matters for their friends, and if it cannot be arranged then you young men of the fort come out to us young men and we will fight it out."

Just then a man from Ngutu shouted out, "Yes! Taufaahau kindly tell the Lofanga, the Haafeva, the Kotu, and other warriors to go."

And Taufaahau said, "You say for us to let go, as though this was the first time we had come to Haafuluhao (Vavau). Have we not been here since former times, and taken possession."

Then we went down to Finau and he commanded that we should raise barricades [725]
to starve out the fortress. And we cut down all kinds of trees with which to make the barricade. And we watched each other (the people of the fort and Taufaahau's warriors), and some of the Haapai warriors went scouting and caught Langikaihaa and two warriors. They were not killed, but tied and brought alive, and Taufaahau tried hard to make peace. One day he told us to remain within the fortification, for none to go outside, while he went to a place far away. They were going to call Tavake and Maheuliuli [of the enemy] to come for us to see them; and when they came out we were to come away, as if we thought there would be no war. If they came it was to be done [Tavake and Maheuliuli treacherously seized]. They came and they were told to come with me to our fortification and leave their fort. And when it was known at our fort, and their fort, that they had come, our army rushed into their fort, and pulled down the fort. Taufaahau brought Lua and the chiefs to his own house.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1832-1834]

Then Taufaahau went to receive instructions from Ulukalala. And Fin[illegible] said 173
Maheuliuli, Taufaeilaolao, Pomaui, Ngutu, and some others were to die. Taufaahau 797
said, "All right," and he came and told me the command of Finau as to the people 798
who should be executed.

I said, "It is more in keeping with you, that they should not die, as that is the 669
way of the new order of things, and they have been conquered by you two." 727

He replied to me, "Well! speak to Ulukalala, as the troops have come with [178]
weapons to put them to death."

And I sat down in Ulukalala's presence and said. "Finau!" And he turned towards me, and I said, "Pardon me while I speak. It is not in keeping for me to speak to you, but you must forgive me and remember our Lord and also Taufaahau and not let anything come to pass, because of Taufaahau and also yourself. Don't do any murder, as it is bad for Christianity. If it is desirable, let them sail for some other country."

And Finau answered, "All right! You and Taufaahau please yourselves, as you are wise, but how many are the warriors of Maheuliuli?"

Just then Taufaahau came and said to him, "You say to spare their lives. Did they not fight the Haapai warriors and did I not go and bring them like a man servant?"

And after Finau had spoken for some time, Taufaahau said, "I will go and come back with them." And Taufaahau went out and beckoned to some men to go and bring them. Tavake came and sat on his (Taufaahau's) knees and Maheuliuli rested [516] against his back and Lausii rested on Maheuliuli's back, while Ngutu squeezed himself under Taufaahau's knees.

While Taufaahau wept for the men, I sat and begged, "It is not in keeping with your profession for them to die, and it they are to die let them die somewhere else, so that we may be clear." And Finau in anger left and went to the beach, but he followed my suggestion, that they should be allowed to sail away. And word was brought that Finau had commanded that the Lofanga vessel should be got ready for Lua and his family to sail in and that the vessel from Leimatua was to be brought for us as it was bigger.

And early in the morning the chiefs went and sat with lowered heads in the presence of Finau, while Finau said to Lua, "Go to any place where you can get together a few warriors." He meant it chiefly for those that should have died, and after that the vessel was got ready by the Vavau people. Taufaahau was the one that was kind and gave them the vessel and the provisions and the chiefs were led down to the sea, and put on board and they sailed and they only knew when at sea, that the ropes were cut off the mast, so they called in at Hunga and mended them and then sailed to Moungaone and anchored there, then left for Tongatab[illegible]

[In 1833 Ulukalala IV died and Taufaahau was appointed Tui Vav[illegible] by the chiefs of Vavau, thus carrying out Ulukalala's dying wish.]

TAUFAAHAU'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST UIHA

Uiha Island, together with Tungua and Nomuka, was one of the last 797
of the Haapai group to accept Christianity. Taufaahau visited Uiha in 798
1833 and sought to introduce Methodism, but the chiefs and people declined to accept it. In 1834 he again visited Uiha and by a stratagem imposed the new religion. When he arrived many of the people were fishing. He professed friendliness and induced 160 of the men to sail to Vavau to obtain pigs for him. By prearrangement these men were made prisoners in Vavau. Deprived of the bulk of her fighting men, Uiha could not resist the destruction of her temples and the imposition of the new religion.

[1834]

TAUFAAHAU'S WAR CHIEF, HAVILI OF NOMUKA[8]

Havili was a chief and the greatest fighting man in Nomuka. Havili was a 173
heathen first, later a Christian. He was Taufaahau's "general." When Methodism 797
was first brought to the country it was pretty hard for Taufaahau to get the people
to be Christians. Havili was called to Tongatabu to aid Taufaahau in suppressing 798
the heathens. Taufaahau fought the Mua people first and won. Later he fought 669
Nukualofa and won. Then the Mua and Nukualofa people helped Taufaahau to 726
fight against Hihifo. Hihifo was too strong for them, so he (Taufaahau) sent for Havili to come and help him and then they won. After the war Havili returned to Nomuka. Taufaahau had come to Nomuka originally to get Havili and to assemble fighting men from Haapai. The fighting men collected on Taufaahau's ship and were brought to Nomuka where Taufaahau, Havili, and Maafu were waiting. Taifonoifua of Fonoifua was not a chief, but a great fighting man. Falase of Nomuka, was not a chief, but a great fighting man. These two were not matapule, but commoners (*matatangata*). Siulua of Lofanga, was a fighting man, but not a chief or matapule. These were all *matatangata,* men with great strength. The vessel went from Lofanga to Koulo in Lifuka and got Tavalu, another great fighting man who was neither chief nor matapule. These men were to be the *eiki tau* (commanders) of Taufaahau's army and were to command troops. Then the vessel left for Vavau to bring Tuimalohi, a commoner, and Pupunu, a matapule. From each place came one big vessel with the fighting men of the place led by one of the *eiki tau.* They sailed for Nomuka. In six days they all arrived in Nomuka and Taufaahau gave orders to leave next day for Tonga and assemble at Atata Island.

When all arrived there kava was brewed and served. The first bowl was Tau- 276
faahau's, but he did not drink it. He merely took hold of it and called out, "Who 574
is the strongest man here, the man who says he will reach the Hihifo fortress of 726
Kolovai first? Let him come forward and take my kava." 173

Then Havili stood up and said, "Give it to me. I'll drink it. I'll be the first 669
man to reach there." As soon as they finished the kava, they sailed straight to Hihifo in spite of the shallowness of the water, went as far as possible, dropped anchor, and the troops (*tangatatau*) marched from there over the tidal flats to the beach.

Vahai was the commander of Hihifo. He ordered his troops to keep a good 173
lookout on the beach, as the Haapai fighters would be sure to land there. The Haapai 797
and Vavau troops rushed in first. The Nomuka troops tarried behind. The Haapai 798
troops did not like the way Taufaahau was depending on Havili and Taifonoifua.
The Haapai and Vavau troops were driven back and many killed. Taufaahau was 669
frightened at seeing his troops driven back, so he turned and yelled out for Havili, 726
saying, "Why don't you assist the troops instead of mending sails?" Then Havili stood up, grabbed hold of a big stick called *okooka* and broke it in half, kept one half himself and gave the other half to Taifonoifua. They rushed at two of the enemy and Taifonoifua killed one, while Havili grabbed the other and carried him back to the vessel where Taufaahau was resting. He threw him inside the vessel. Taufaahau was frightened and sat up, saying, "What's the matter there?"

Havili said, "Have you already forgotten the kava that I drank on Atata?" Havili turned away, lifted his tapa garment and rushed at the enemy again. This time he rushed against nine men at a pond near the beach. They hid, but he killed the nine of them. Afterwards he named the pond Hiva (nine). Then Havili went
on further until he came right into the midst of the Hihifo soldiers. When he got [911]
there they all dropped their arms (*tafetei,* a spear; *kolo,* club; *mata,* knife of iron-
wood). The Hihifo troops were made to kneel down.

After six days the Haapai and Vavau troops returned home. When Havili and

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[8] Related by Albert Taufa of Nomuka.

[1834]

Taufaahau arrived in Nomuka a vessel from Lifuka was there with a message for 173 Taufaahau and Havili to prepare, for Lifuka was ready to fight Taufaahau. 797

Taufaahau then asked Havili and Taifonoifua to get ready and go with him to 798 Lifuka. "When you're ready, we'll start," he said. While Taufaahau had been fighting in Tonga, the Lifuka people had been digging trenches, preparing for his return. 669 Velata was the place where the trenches were dug. Taufaahau and his troops sailed 726 north from Nomuka. Three vessels went with troops. Taufaahau, Havili, and Taifonoifua with troops were in one vessel.

Troops only were in the other vessels. When Lifuka was sighted Havili sang out, "Sail the boats right up to the beach." Taufaahau was down below. Havili stood at the bow and yelled out to Taufaahau, asking for orders. Taufaahau was very quiet. Then Havili yelled again, "My wish is not to let any cockroach live, to kill them all." Shortly the vessel went right up on the beach. Havili jumped on to the beach, while Taufaahau was standing in the middle of the vessel looking towards Josiah Lausii's place, the chief of Haapai, his father's brother (*tamai*). He saw many people sitting down with heads bowed. They were asking Lausii to forgive them for what they had prepared. Then Taufaahau saw Lausii walking towards the ship. He came down and shook hands [*sic*]. Lausii told Taufaahau what the trouble was with the people bending over at his place. Lausii also asked Taufaahau to forgive him. Taufaahau told Lausii that Havili and Taifonoifua were determined to kill all the "cockroaches." Taufaahau said, "All right, I'll forgive them, but not again." Then Taufaahau told the Lifuka people that the fortress of Velata was to belong to the Nomuka people.

Shortly after they went to Vavau to accompany the Vavau men home. When they returned to Nomuka they found there had been some fighters from Mua, Tonga, who had slaughtered the people, women and children, and left the same day.

Havili was very much hurt when he discovered what had happened. He said to Taufaahau, "I'm going to Tonga to pay them back for what they have done. I won't go just now. I'll wait until the wind goes around to the south, so they won't be looking for me." When the wind swung to the south he started off. He arrived at night with Taifonoifua. They went ashore with troops. The people of Lapaha in Mua did not expect him. [524] They were having a game of *lafo* (played with coconut shells). In the middle of the house was a woman making kava. Havili and Taifonoifua were pleased to have arrived there in time to slaughter them. Havili had connection with that woman. Havili and Taifonoifua had told their men to stop outside. The two went in quietly and sat down amongst the men. No notice was taken of them for they thought that they were Lapaha men. The woman making kava turned around and looked at Havili. As soon as she saw his face she yelled, "We are going to be slaughtered. Havili and Taifonoifua are here." The people received a shock and looked around, but it was too late. As soon as Havili realized he was known, he and Taifonoifua were punching them down with their fists as fast as they could. There were thirty men and one woman. They killed all but one man who was wounded. Those who went out were killed by the troops. The woman was spared. Soon after, that same night, Havili and Taifonoifua sailed for Nomuka with a fair wind. They arrived safely.

Two days later they left again for Tonga to attack the Mua people again. When they sighted Tonga it was getting dark. It was about eight o'clock when they approached the land sufficiently to see lights. They could see several lights on the eastern end of Velitoa. Four men and four women were fishing. They were Mua [226] people torch-fishing. The Nomuka vessel anchored outside the reef. Havili said to Taifonoifua, "You stay aboard, while I go to learn who these people are." He landed on the beach and walked up to see who they were. He went quietly and hid beside a tree. The party were cooking fish now.

While they were cooking fish one of the men said, "Hurry, get those fish cooked or else Havili might come and take them from us." At the same time Havili was

hiding and hearing them. This made Havili wild. When the fish were cooked, Havili 173
got up with a log of wood, walked among them and asked, 797
"Whence do you people come?" 798
"Mua," they answered. 669
Havili was pleased. He said, "You're the people I'm looking for." He turned 726
and killed all. He packed up the fish, called for the vessel to come nearer, went aboard and sailed for Nomuka without going to Mua. The Mua people next day sought and found their missing party and took them to Mua to bury.

THE PEOPLE OF ATATA AVENGED [9]

To avenge the killing of the people of Atata Island, near Tongatabu, by the chief Havili of Nomuka, the chief Teukava of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, slaughtered the Nomuka people. Upon their arrival at Nomuka Teukava and his troops made an oven on the beach. They left pork and other food where they had been eating and hid some of their people nearby. When the Nomuka people came and ate the food, they surprised them and caught some of them. The others who escaped fled to the hill called Fungaloho and hid in the Anahui (Cave-of-bones). [103]
There the Tongan chief smoked them to death and that is how the bones came to be in that cave. (See p. 228.)

HOW TAUFAAHAU HELD NOMUKA [10]

The chief Lasalosi (son of Malupo) was brought from Uiha by the chief Taufaahau (later King George I) in order to hold Nomuka, because the chief Namoa from Tonga had taken up his residence in Oua Island and it was feared that Namoa might look towards (take possession of) Nomuka, for he had relatives in Nomuka who were awaiting his orders. They used to wait at the beach called Oua and because they used to wait there originated the place name Talikioua (wait for Oua). [103]
When Namoa came to take Nomuka, Lasalosi had already taken possession. Therefore, Namoa returned to Tonga, because he thought Nomuka had already enough chiefs in it.

FEUDS IN EUA ISLAND

Eua, with a population of but a few hundred or perhaps a thousand 628
anciently, was the seat of frequent feuds, some of which seemed to arise [162]
from offended dignity and questions of precedence. Eua is a hilly island
which rises to a thousand feet in elevation. The summits were often fortified [133]
with ditches and earthworks. I observed such a fortified summit in [712]
which the height from ditch bottom to earthwork top was still 12 feet, even though weathering had doubtless lessened the height. A ditch and wall ran across a ridge from one precipitous wooded canyon to another.
A parrot (*kaka*), *Platycercus tabuensis,* seems sometimes to have given [136]
unwitting warning in warfare. These birds are said to be very keen-sighted [825]
and to screech upon the approach of people still at a great distance.

Manumua, a relative of the Tui Tonga, seems to have been the chief 643
who held the whole of Eua most recently for the Tui Tonga. The present 622
Manumua controls but little territory on the island to-day, in fact holding 669
what he does only as a tenant. Veehala, a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua

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[9] Told by William Tupou, of Nomuka.

[10] Told by Daniel Kallalaku, of Nomuka.

with his seat at Fahefa, Tongatabu, is the recognized hereditary lord of a 643
considerable part of Eua. The remainder is held by the Crown. Vee- 622
hala's claim reveals again the ambitious efforts of the Haa Ngata Motua 669
chiefs and the Tui Kanokupolu. In 1922, a portion of the island was given to the newly created noble Tupoutoa.

Veehala's claim rests upon the conquest, by his son Kaufana, of the [425]
southern half of the island north to Ohonua creek (Telea). Kaufana fought Manumua and other Eua chiefs. Previous to this the whole island belonged to the Tui Tonga. Kaufana conquered it before Tukuaho was sent there as governor in the latter part of the eighteenth century, probably by the Tui Kanokupolu Mulikihaamea. (See 16, p. 9.)

Faivalava, paternal grandfather of my informant Fakatene (who fought 628
for the Tui Kanokupolu George I against the fortresses of Pea and Houma [712]
in Tongatabu), had a fortress named Loma. It was on level ground on the west side of Eua, not far from the present village of Kolomaile. Faivalava fought with the people of Ohonua, a village located at about the middle of the west side of the island. The war started through Faivalava's determination to maintain independence of the chiefs of Ohonua. He was defeated and left Loma and fortified the hill Teeveka. Takai of Pea, Tongatabu, fought there against Faivalava and his brother Foka, but without success. Takai returned to Ohonua and sent word to make peace. Foka came down to make peace and Faivalava stayed in his fortress to guard it. During the kava party to discuss peace Foka was murdered as he was drinking, but Takai returned to Tonga without further measures. The mention of Takai places this event early in the nineteenth century.

Heheu is an inland fortress strengthened naturally by a cliff. The com- [712]
mander of this fortress was Langilangi. He fought with the fortress Fangaata, whose commander was Tanakipusi. Fangaata was defeated. Langilangi was a son of the chief Hafoka. Fangaata was unwilling to pay Heheu the deference Langilangi required. Hence the war.

Tuutaki is a fortress inland from Ohonua. The chief there was [712]
Kaufana, son of Hafoka. He fought with his elder brother Talimalolo, whose fortress was Utumata in Ohonua. Talimalolo used to kill the people, and Kaufana stood forth as their champion and defeated Talimalolo. Kaufana sent Talimalolo to Tongatabu to his kinsman, the great chief Veehala in Fahefa.

Presumably these events took place after Kaufana had overcome Manumua as described earlier.

TUUTAKI, THE FAMOUS WARRIOR OF EUA

Tuutaki was born in the hamlet of Tuutaki, near Teemoa, low down on the east 773
side of Eua Island. Whilst he was small, ceremonies used to be held before the Tui 539

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tonga at Utulifuka, which stands on the south bank of the Vaitaki, an artificial channel which runs down towards Haatua. Teeveka stands opposite Utulifuka, on the north side of the Vaitaki. 773 539

On the occasions when the people of Tuutaki went to the ceremonies (a single stick show or something of that sort), they used to tell Tuutaki to stay at home and get the food ready and to mind the place. This would be done year after year, Tuutaki regularly staying at home. But on one occasion when the boy was nearly grown, the people went off as usual to Utulifuka, telling him to stay at home and do his usual job. The boy put the food in the earth oven, then went and dug clay (*umea*), washed himself clean, put on his tapa garment, got a coconut club, and went to the festival (*katoanga*). The people were there in two sides, one side from Tuutaki and the other from Ohonua. Tuutaki went and sat with the Ohonua side. In the games (*fetaaki*) that followed, he showed great prowess, nobody on the Tuutaki side being able to overcome him, and the Tuutaki people were beaten. He was not recognized by his own folk, because he was decked out very handsomely, and they thought he was somebody who had arrived by sea from Tongatabu. Afterwards he went off home to Tuutaki and put dust on himself and made himself dirty so that he should not be recognized as the champion of the contest. Later the defeated Tuutaki contestants from Utulifuka were brought home on stretchers, badly damaged. Tuutaki asked what had caused all the trouble. They told him a new champion had smitten them all. They told him to get the food for them and as he was doing his work they noticed a spot on the top of his forehead which he had not dirtied, and recognized their opponent. They thereupon determined to kill him, but Tuutaki hearing of this induced a girl there to elope with him. They two went and fortified themselves in the mountain fortress of Matakitau, towards the southeastern end of Eua. The girl was given one gate to hold and Tuutaki looked after the other gate. When the Tuutaki people attacked them, they could not defeat the two. Afterwards the two left Matakitau and went to Utukape.

At this place holes were dug and pointed stakes stuck in the bottom. Tuutaki fought with and destroyed the people of his wife's brother, who lived towards the weather shore, looking towards the rising sun. (For the sequel, see 26, p. 101.) He made holes in the rock and covered them with *kape* leaves (hence the name Utukape). When his opponents trod on these places they fell into the holes and Tuutaki then slew them. After the fight Tuutaki stuck his two-pointed spear (*tamataua*) into the ground at the edge of the precipice and rested with his back against it. He called his wife to bring water, which she did. When he put his head back to drink from the coconut shell she shoved him over the cliff.

CANNIBALISM

Very little new information was obtained concerning cannibalism in Tonga. The common belief among the Tongans of today is that their forefathers were not cannibals and that man-eating was exceptional, a view which fits well Mariner's remarks on the subject. 266

West (62, p. 270) says,

> There can be no doubt as to the existence of cannibalism in these islands in former days. It never became so prevalent as it once was in New Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character, as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however, in times of war. [171]

The following are a few references to cannibalism which I recorded. Father Deguerry of the Catholic church at Mua, Tongatabu, referred to a

cave 500 yards from Toula village, Vavau, which is reputed to contain 266
human bones which are the remains of cannibal feasts. This cave has an entrance at sea level and slopes upward to 50 feet elevation. It was not examined, but might well prove to be a burial cave.

Kaifakaau, an ancient chief of Utulau, Tongatabu, was said to have been a man-eater.

Nomuka Island, Haapai, was the home of a cannibal who is reported to have frequently made raids on Tongatabu for victims. (See p. 225.) West (62, p. 271) gives this man's name as Uhila and says his cannibal [177]
propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji.

In the neighboring island of Fonoifua there dwelt another cannibal, Taifonoifua, perhaps a chief, though in another connection said to be a commoner, but a brave fighter. A valley on Fonoifua, from which heavy rains wash human bones, is reputed to be the place where he buried the bones of his victims. Tahifisi of Haalai, Foa Island, was also a cannibal. His name suggests that he was of Fijian origin (p. 151). Both of these men apparently lived about the close of the nineteenth century.

The following account refers to Tahifisi, the cannibal chief or matapule of Haalai, Foa Island, Haapai.

> There were twins brought to Lotofoa from Haalai to escape from the cannibal chief 266
> Tahifisi who used to roast people at Haalai. Some of the people were still alive and 725
> these twins were brought from there. They recruited the people of Lotofoa to dig 173
> a fortress in preparation for the coming of Tahifisi. After a time when this was finished some more people fled from Tahifisi at Haalai and sought shelter at Lotofoa. Whereupon the twins gave instructions to have the fortress gate toward Faleloa guarded, fearing Tahifisi might attempt entry there. The twins ordered all of the people to go and guard the Faleloa gate and leave the gate towards Fotua, which was called Tukutonunga, to them to look after. In the meantime Matauvave from Hihifo, Lifuka Island, was preparing to fight Lotofoa.
>
> When the twins heard of Matauvave's plans they took banana suckers and planted them in the sand at Fuhu in a row. Then they fetched unprinted tapa and arranged it on the tops of the banana plants and then placed torches here and there. In the evening they set fire to the torches. When Matauvave's warriors came marching along and saw the light from the torches, they thought that they were seen and that the attack would not be successful. So they then turned down to Ahanga and came to the ford called Makapulepule. The twins again went along and lighted the torches there and Matauvave's fighters again retreated. They then returned to Lotofoa, but found that the village had been burnt down by Tahifisi and his people. There still remained Tahifisi's people who first fled from him and some of Tahifisi's own people. After the burning of the village these people got together and decided to fight Tahifisi. They killed Tahifisi. That is how Tahifisi's food oven of people at Haalai came to be neglected. To this day the food oven is still untouched.

As to cannibalism in ancient times, there are but few references. The 266
first is to the killing and eating of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga. The 643
story of the origin of kava, an event attributed to the reign of Momo, the 175
tenth Tui Tonga, gives a second example. Turner (59, p. 236) and Krämer [276]

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth 266
Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is revealed 643
in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two 175
assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish [276]
for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. [687]
A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving [412]
alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal ooo
god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a
Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and subsequent 535
writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given [114]
by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information
are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances 585
were performed: the *kailau*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small 535
paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *mauluulu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian [177]
dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in
which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a
lakalaka. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the 533
queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent
famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a 538
poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made 533
in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, 123
wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke
extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference
was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor 517
of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished
by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About 535
twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside
the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, [292]
consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored
cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers [301]
were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the [302]
body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

often crossed and the turnings were made with a jump. In the other dance 535
one girl ended by slapping the under side of her legs with each step, making a very effective finale.

The dances performed seated consisted entirely of movements of trunk, hands, and head, usually accompanied by song. Behind the row of dancers [533]
was a chorus of eight or ten men with a skin-headed drum. The director [534]
and poet was a man. Spectators showed their approval of the movements [576]
of two girls by tying either a sash or a handkerchief around their left arms while the dance was in progress.

Each variation of a sitting dance seems to have a name.

Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, listed six dances, any of which [291]
might be used before war: *meetuupaki; lave; ulafakatonga; lakalaka,* modern form of *meetuupake; otuhaka,* woman's sitting dance; *mauluulu,* women in front, men in back standing at certain stages when moving their hands; *liku*[11] dance, in which only chief women took part, either nude or wearing only garlands and a very short *sisi* girdle of hibiscus or grass about the waist, and carrying small paddles.

No doubt the vocabulary in connection with entertainments was rich, but [192]
unfortunately I have only examples that hint at the probable wealth of terms; thus the word *fakapotu* means "pertaining to the two ends in a row of *lakalaka* or *mauluulu* dancers"; *longonafa* is the name of the special drum used in the old war dance called *meetuupaki; aafakihau* is a night festival (*katoanga*) at which recitatives (*lave*) are chanted, it also applies to singing inside the Tui Tonga's house at night for his entertainment.

The Tongan dictionaries give a number of terms for entertainments con- 517
cerning which I obtained no further information; for example, *ahohiva* (a 192
heathen festival), *eitu* (a heathen feast) equated by one informant to *kotoni, ola* (a heathen feast), *ufe* (a heathen play), *poula* (a heathen night dance), *pomee* (a night dance), *fakasinifa* (a heathen song of females only), *fakanukuatea* (a heathen song), *fakatau* (a heathen song), *fakatete* (a heathen feast), *hapai* (a present of food at the feast called *tautau*), *kea* (a heathen dance, a dance of chiefs), *lave* (a heathen game), *sipi* (a heathen dancer), *taumafafonua* (the last of several feasts and ceremonies), *tuaeitu* (a Tongan feast).

ETIQUETTE AND HABITS

The following notes cover miscellaneous acts which do not fit under the 576
other headings of this paper, yet which are of interest socially:

> They have a singular custom of putting everything you give them to their heads, by way of thanks. Very often the women would take hold of my hand, kiss it, and lift it to their heads. (18, vol. 1, p. 221; 30).
>
> Their mode of salutation is by touching their noses together; and, unlike the Ota-

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[11] Possibly this is a misspelling of *liki*. See page 67.

heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting 576
it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.)

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods
of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among
chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this man- [565]
ner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so [593]
kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed [595]
his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto. [643]

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who [482]
is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds,
"Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden).

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Ton- [195]
gan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-
280) of a leper in Parliament.

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called [554]
hu, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the [516]
neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap.

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of dis- 264
tinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribu- [576]
tion of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast
are thrown down.

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. 516
The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.) 171

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left 854
arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to
the left. They are carried astride the hip, too.

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. 291
This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often [171]
nearly to the ankles.

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear. 301

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of 201
another.

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out. 481

Men shave the hair from the legs. 302

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The 514
Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans. [171]

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause 302
(*pao*), also wear the hair quite short. [884]

Lime made from coral was habitually used to cleanse the scalp and hair and to 302
stiffen the hair so it would more readily remain erect. 237

GENEALOGIES

In Tonga the genealogies of the great chiefs seem not to have been kept 814
by the priests. These great genealogies were in the custody of the elderly [793]
woman of chiefly rank who memorized them and taught them to the young [565]
chiefs. With the adoption of writing, this custom of learning genealogies [887]
by heart has fallen into disuse. It is said that the women who were the repositories [212]
of the genealogies often discussed them among themselves and
thus refreshed one another's memories. The genealogy which was supplied to me by the Queen of Tonga was set down from memory by the Tamaha Amelia with the aid of the chief named Shadrach Mumui. As soon as these two learned to write they decided to record the genealogies of the great chiefs and this record which was begun more than 75 years ago has been continued down to date.

From a practical standpoint, the Tongans no doubt exhibited as much [171]
interest in genealogical information as did the other Polynesians, but from
a theoretical and mythological standpoint they seen not to have evolved any great genealogical fictions, such as characterized the Hawaiians and other eastern Polynesians. In Tongan the ancestor is called *tefito* (literally, root,
origin). King George I, in speaking of the present Prince Consort Tungi [643]
on the occasion of his birth, remarked, "This child is a tangled myrtle (*maile* [602]
fihi)," meaning that he combined many lines of descent, notably from the
Tui Tonga on his mother's side, and from the Tui Kanokupolu on his fathers.

PERSONAL NAMES

Hundreds of Tongan personal names were recorded. The meanings of 551
a number of these have been worked out by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker [126]
and are published below. No doubt many of these personal names are
nicknames, others are true names given in infancy, and a few are titles. As
a rule, the same name is applied indiscriminately to males and females. The 552
Tongans seem to give individual names, not only to persons and places, but also to animals and ships. Their application of names to ships seems to be very similar to the European. McKern (43) publishes a list of ancient ship names.

Dogs kept as pets were named, though I have no examples to offer. [231]
The great mythical dog of Moturiki, Fiji, which killed Maui, was named [773]
Fulupuputa, which means "stout hair." An ancient tortoise, which is the 552
property of Queen Charlotte, is known by the name of Tui Malila. (Malila 643
is a place in Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the Tui Tonga was anciently 231

called Tui Malila.) This tortoise is said to have been left by Captain Cook 552
but as a matter of fact it was left sometime in the nineteenth century by a 643
passing sea captain. 231

The Tongan word for name is *hingoa*. A title is called *hingoa fakanofo* 551
(appointment name), a nickname *hingoa fakatenetene*. In the matter
of names the Tongans are very open-minded and are keen to accept foreign
words as personal names. Evidence of this tendency is to be found in the [177]
large series of English Christian names which have been Tonganized, and
now precede the Tongan personal name. The desire for new names results 553
in some curious usages. Thus, I heard of a child in Nukualofa who was
named Saiti after a Javanese who happened to be living in the house where
the child was born. This name Saiti is likely to be perpetuated; perhaps
it will be bestowed some years later on a child which the present bearer of
the name may adopt. I encountered another Tongan child who bore the
name Alameta, because a relative had voyaged to California and visited
the city of Alameda.

To apply the names of chiefs to commoners is customary, and is sanctioned 553
by the chiefs. Thus a Fijian in Nukualofa has the name Ulukalala, 565
which was bestowed upon him by the great chief Ulukalala in place of the
Fijian's former name Usaia.

In ancient times there would seem to have been occasional exchanges 553
of names such as were prevalent in the Society Islands, but that such exchange [171]
was common in Tonga I very much doubt. The single example of
exchange which came to my notice is in connection with the title Tuita
(p. 138).

Name givers were usually but not necessarily close relatives of the child
named. Europeans are often given Tongan names by Tongans. Thus, one 553
of the sons of E. E. V. Collocott was given the name of Tokeimoana by 609
the Queen. Mr. and Mrs. McKern's son, born in Tonga, was named Namoa
by the great chief Ata, this being the name of one of the sons of the Tui
Kanokupolu Mumui. The reason for selecting this name was that Ata's
mother is a descendant of Mumui. In Vavau I met a woman of high 553
rank, the daughter of the late Tui Ḥaa Teiho Paul Havea, who had been
given both a regular name and a nickname by King George I. She was
named Toafilimoeunga after the sister of the Tui Kanokupolu Vuna, and
was given the nickname Taimi (English time), the significance of which
will be discussed (p. 234).

Adoption invariably brings with it a new name which might in one sense 597
be considered a nickname. The origin of the name Ulamoleka is an illustration. 553
This is a name which the present Ata bore, following his adoption
by the daughter of the *toutai* Ula. Ata's original name was Piutau. The
Ulamoleka for whom the present Ata was named was originally called Ula,

but was adopted by the *toutai* Leka. This first Ulamoleka (p. 142) was the 597
son of Tongamana, who was the son of the Tui Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. 553
In spite of this coalescence of the two *toutai* titles in a single word, they
continue to be distinct. A nickname applied in commemoration of meritorious 551
service in battle, is Holakeituai, which means "run while there is time." 553
These are words which may be uttered by troops to their commander as 701
the fighting begins, in order to warn him away from danger. The present
bearer of this name is John Tupou Holakeituai of Nukualofa. He bears
also the nickname of Maumauvali which was bestowed upon him when he
was a baby by Lolohea, the granddaughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga.
The name Holakeituai was first applied to John's father's father's father
whose name was Tufui. Holokeituai seems to be in the nature of a title.

The nickname of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui was Mapatongiamanu 551
which means "*mapa* fruit pecked by a bird." The nickname of Taimi was 553
bestowed because of a remark which King George I made in connection
with three Vavau chiefs (Tutoe, Fulivai, and Lutui) who had childless wives.
The king remarked that it was a waste of time (*maumautaimi*) to keep childless
wives, hence the name Taimi was given to the infant who was born
about that time.

Every chief has a nickname which [illegible] applied to him at small informal 622
kava parties and other informal gatherings. At a very formal kava party 565
his real title would be called. To call a titled person by his pre-appointment 551
name was to court trouble. To address a minor chief in such fashion might 553 574
incur a thrashing. To so address a major chief would warrant death. 276

It is a common practice for girls to create nicknames, usually flower 576 689
names, for the young men who call upon them and whose identity they may
wish to veil. There is a long series of such euphonious names, such as 551
Pipitongi which means "the *pipi* fruit cut so as to have a serrate edge," as 553 584
for the ornamentation of garlands.

Some nicknames have a distinctly modern flavor, for instance, a Malakai 551
Tupou of Pangai, Lifuka Island, bears the nickname of Fehokokalasini
(Fehoko-kerosene), no doubt bestowed after some incident.

There are no family names in Tonga. (See p. 16.) Titles are the nearest 554
approach to family names, but only one individual holds a title at a
time. Also it is not the custom to give children the personal names of either
parent, so that no semblance of family names appears even in the personal
names. Children are, however, often named for relatives other than parents 602
and certain names are favored in certain families, as, for example,
Fatafehi in the Tui Tonga's family and Tupou in the Tui Kanokupolu's
family.

The total number of names in each island group is governed in large

measure by the size of the group, a large area naturally having more names 551
than a small one.

Table 10 translates into percentages the number of peculiar and shared
names in each group. The variation in the percentage of peculiar names 551
and the complementary variation in the percentage of shared names may in 571
some measure be correlated with the political importance of the several 642
groups. The Tongatabu group, with its relatively large land mass, has 184
always been, so far as known, the political center of gravity of the kingdom, a condition which might well be instrumental in developing a wealth of peculiar personal names. The contrasting figures for Tongatabu and Vavau may well reflect the political supremacy of Tongatabu and the provincial dependence of Vavau. During the last two centuries Vavau has been the goal [628]
of at least two conquering expeditions from Tongatabu, that of Vuna, the fifth Tui Kanokupolu, and of Ulukalala, Mariner's patron. Perhaps the influx of people from Tongatabu resulted in a lowering of Vavau's percentage of peculiar personal names.

TABLE 10. PERCENTAGE OF PECULIAR AND SHARED NAMES IN EACH GROUP

		PECULIAR		SHARED	
	TOTAL	NUMBER	PER CENT	NUMBER	PER CENT
Tongatabu	1359	865	64	494	36
Haapai	997	566	57	431	43
Vavau	746	366	49	380	51
Niuafoou	227	117	52	110	48
Niuatoputapu	143	64	45	79	55

Table 11 shows the number of names in common for each two groups. The striking feature is the fact that adjacent Vavau and Haapai have fewer names in common than widely separated Vavau and Tongatabu, thus evidencing a closer connection between Vavau and Tongatabu. This situation is reflected also in Table 12 and Table 13, in which Vavau has a higher percentage of names in common with remote Tongatabu than with adjacent Haapai. The disparity, however, is not so great as in place names (25, pp. 20, 21) though it seems real enough.

TABLE 11. NUMBER OF NAMES IN COMMON BETWEEN EACH TWO GROUPS

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU
Haapai	349	—	—	—
Vavau	299	248	—	—
Niuafoou	76	76	66	—
Niuatoputapu	41	47	47	23

Table 12 shows the number of names in common between each two groups, expressed in percentages of the number of shared names in each of the groups. This table should be read downward, the name at the head of each column being that of the group under consideration. Thus, Vavau

has 79 per cent of its shared names in common with Tongatabu, but Tonga- 551
tabu has only 61 per cent of its shared names in common with Vavau. 571

TABLE 12. PERCENTAGE OF SHARED NAMES SHARED BY EACH TWO GROUPS 642
184

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU	NIUATOPUTAPU
Tongatabu	....	81	79	69	52
Haapai	71	....	65	69	59
Vavau	61	58	....	60	59
Niuafoou	15	18	17	....	29
Niuatoputapu	8	11	12	21	....

Table 13 is based on the same principle as Table 12, but the total of names in each group is taken as the basis instead of shared names, and like Table 12 should be read downward, the name at the head of each column being that of the group under consideration. Thus, Vavau has 40 per cent of all its names in common with Tongatabu, but Tongatabu has only 22 per cent of all its names in common with Vavau.

TABLE 13. PERCENTAGE OF NAMES COMMON TO EACH TWO GROUPS ON BASIS OF TOTAL NAMES OF EACH GROUP

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU	NIUATOPUTAPU
Tongatabu	....	35	40	33	29
Haapai	26	....	33	33	33
Vavau	22	25	—	29	33
Niuafoou	6	8	9	....	16
Niuatoputapu	3	6	6	10	—

Table 14 presents the average percentage indexes of the interrelations of the island groups. The upper diagonal half of the table employs the percentages presented in Table 12, based on shared names only. The lower diagonal half of the table employs the percentages presented in Table 13, based on all names in each group. The so-called average percentage index is the average of the two percentages of relationship for each two groups. Thus, in Table 12, Tongatabu has 71 per cent of its shared names in common with Haapai; Haapai has 81 per cent of its shared names in common with Tongatabu; the average percentage index for the two groups, based on shared names, is therefore 71 plus 81, divided by 2, or 76, which is the figure entered in the upper diagonal half of Table 14. The figures in the lower diagonal half are similarly derived from Table 13.

TABLE 14. AVERAGE PERCENTAGE—INDEXES OF INTERRELATIONS OF ISLAND GROUPS

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU	NIUATOPUTAPU
Tongatabu	100	76	70	42	30
Haapai	30.5	100	61.5	43.5	35
Vavau	31	29	100	38.5	35.5
Niuafoou	19.5	20.5	19	100	25
Niuatoputapu	16	19	19.5	13	100

Whether the indexes of group interrelations are based upon the percentage of shared names or upon the percentage of all names, certain significant breaks in the series of figures appear. Vavau is more closely tied to distant Tongatabu than to neighboring Haapai, which permits only of the interpretation that Vavau's intercourse has been greater with distant Tongatabu than with nearby Haapai. This is borne out by the absolute figures as well as by the percentages. Thus, the names exclusively shared by Tongatabu and Vavau are 98, by Haapai and Vavau but 51. The names exclusively shared by the three groups are 134. As suggested (25, p. 22), the explanation probably lies in the political supremacy of Tongatabu, from which the emissaries of the Tui Tonga were continually going forth to the other groups to collect tribute and to carry out many other missions. Both Niuafoou and Niuatoputapu seem more closely connected with Tongatabu, Haapai, and Vavau, than with each other; the figures for personal names correspond in this regard with those for place names. 551 571 642 184

These tabulations for personal names manifest the same interrelations as having subsisted between different parts of the kingdom as do the tabulations for place names given in "Tongan place names". The general conclusions reached (25, pp. 22, 23) are strengthened by the findings in regard to personal names, and a diagram showing influence radiating directly from Tongatabu to the other four groups would likewise be justified.

LIST OF NAMES

551 [127]

The list of Tongan personal names here presented has been largely derived from the list of tenants in the Tongan land office and most of them are names of adult males. The distribution in the five parts of the kingdom is indicated by T for Tongatabu group, H for Haapai, V for Vavau group, NT for Niuatoputapu group, and NF for Niuafoou. Many native tree names, such as *fa* (hala, *Pandanus*), toa (*Casuarina*), and *fau* (hau, *Hibiscus*), are used alone and in combination as personal names. Tonganized English and Biblical names are included in the list. Translations are by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker. [824]

Afa, a hurricane; a wonder maker. T, NT
Afaki, to have ready by the time of waking.
Afakitau, sleep so as to be ready to fight. V
Afe, a thousand; to turn aside. NT
Afeafe, turn about often. H, NF
Afeaki, keep turning aside. T, H
Afei, to wrap round the body. V
Afeitaulalo, for a chief to go and visit a commoner. T, H
Afemui, to turn last, to turn aside last. T, H, V
Afi, fire. H, V, NF
Afitu, to scatter fire. H
Afoa, a small rope or string for tying the fence. T
Afu, red hot; oven cooked. T, H, V
Afuhaamango, dry without moisture. V
Afuhaapai, Afu from Haapai.
Afuhaalaufuli, Afu from Haalaufuli.
Afukaipouli, Afu do not eat until night.
Afusipa, to sleep while fishing; to only wake to pull up the hook. V
Afuvale, paper mulberry tree with too many shoots.
Ahau, the inclosure of the ruling chief; name of a place at Tongatabu. T
Ahauano, many people. H

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Ahe, the end of anything.
Ahia, temptation; to be tempted. NF
Ahio, a whirlwind; a waterspout. T, V
Aho, day; a kind of shark. T, H, V
Ahoafi, the day of war; the day of fire. H, V
Ahohako, the stormy day. H, NT
Ahokaopa, the fishhook fishing day. T
Ahokava, the day to drink kava. T, H, NF, NT
Ahokovi, the unsuitable day. T
Aholangamaka, the day of a chief's funeral; the day of raising the stone that covers the vault. NF
Aholelei, the suitable day. T,H
Aholili, the day of anger. H
Aholo, the day of plenty. H
Aholoka, the day when an entrance into a reef is dangerous because of the breakers. H
Ahomana, the day of wonders; the day of thunder. NF
Ahomee, the day of feasting; the day of dancing; a chief's title. T, V
Ahopomee, the day of the night dance. T
Ahosivi, the day of examination. T
Ahotau, the day of war. T, H, V
Ahoteka, the day for the bowling game. NT
Ahovala, a certain day appointed for the newly married couple to decorate themselves with tapa and fine mats and show themselves before their relatives.
Ahovalu, the day of the coming of the *valu* fish; the eighth day. T
Ailine, Irene.
Aisake, Isaac.
Aisea, Isaiah. V
Ahahia, to take root in the earth. NF
Akanesi, Agnes.
Akatoe, the remainder of the roots.
Akau, a tree, plant; also means timber; a club. T, H, V
Akauola, the title of the navigator in the king's vessel; a scooping tree. T, H, V
Akautau, a club. V
Akauteku, a stunted tree. T
Akauveli, the name of a plant that stings when touched. T
Ake, convalescent. T, H
Akihakau, to awake at the reef. H
Akolo, a town fence; a fort fence. V
Akosita, August. T
Akoteu, preparatory school. H, NT
Akotoe, still to be taught. H
Aku, to scratch; to throw up loose earth with the hands. H
Ala, dear, a term of endearment; to touch; to angle with small hooks. V
Alaimaluloa, a path in the shade.
Alaingaluafe, a path or road in Ngaluafe.
Alaipuke, to take the outer works of a fortress; to fish from the deck of the vessel; a road in Puke. V
Alaitakipea, to reach angrily towards Pea.
Alaitokaloto, the main or central road inland.
Alaitolu, three towns. H
Alaivahamamao, a course in mid-ocean.
Alakihihifo, to go to Hihifo. V
Alame, a flower garland.
Aleki, Alec. H
Aleitangataia, no men to take to war. V
Alipalu, name of two fishes. H
Alisi, Alice.
Alipate, Albert.
Alo, a child of the Tui Tonga or of the king. T, V
Alofaki, to paddle another to any place. T, H, V
Alofi, the place occupied by the chiefs in a kava ring. T, H
Alusa, a fallen fence. T, V
Ama, to fish for *kama* shellfish by torch.
Amaka, a stone wall. T
Amanaki, expectation. V
Amanoivaka, a fishing torch borrowed from the vessel. NF
Amato, a fallen fishing torch. T
Amosa (a Samoan word). H
Amusiaehau, to envy those that come for the first time. H
Ana, cave; Anna.
Anaafitu, cave of seven fences.
Anafuaevaha, cave used as a landmark by people at sea.
Anamalia, Anna Maria. T
Anatenifa, the cave of the big shark. T
Anau, a bunch. T, H, V
Anaukihesina, to love the beautiful.
Ane, Anne.
Anini, to shiver with the cold. H
Anisi, harness. V
Anitelu, Andrew.
Anitema, anthem. T
Anitoni, Anthony. V
Anoa, abundance; plenteousness. H
Anga, manner, disposition, behavior. T, H
Angaaefonu, turtle's nature.
Angaaetau, the ways of war. T

Angaaetangi, the ways of weeping. V
Angaangamofai, a fish which is partly of shark and partly of stingray.
Angahiki, pride; high-mindedness; proud. V
Angakehe, strange, different. H
Angilau, to superintend with talk only; not to see that it is done. T
Angina, to be carried away by the wind.
Angoi, a spot on which the foot is placed in a certain native game; also to use all sorts of means to accomplish an object. H
Api, habitation; home; land. V
Apikotoa, the entire allotment; the whole piece of ground. NT
Apola, fence made of braided coconut leaves.
Asenahana, a beautiful red berry.
Asi, act of being pierced through; to penetrate.
Asui, to plant a fence; a hedge. H
Ata, the air; a shadow. T, V
Ataata, spacious, free. T, H
Ataata, a small kind of crab.
Atalua, double shadow.
Atamahina, rising of the moon.
Atamokamea, a good wind for sailing.
Atamoveehala, Ata and Veehala.
Ate, the liver; the name of a long grass. T, V
Atefulufulu, Ate plant with a hairy stem.
Atevalu, the liver of the *volu* fish. T, NT, NF
Atu, the bonito. T, H, V
Atuafe, the bonito that turns aside. V
Atuekaho, to take some reeds. V
Atufisilieu, the bonito that flaps in the vessel's hold. H
Atuhakautapu, bonito of the Prohibited Reef; Atu of Hakautapu.
Atulaukai, to count the bonito caught after the fishing. T
Atulouaki, a kind of fish.
Atumeihihifo, bonito from Hihifo.
Atumeikalau, the bonito from the island of Kalau. T
Atumoevalu, the bonito and the *volu* fish. H
Atupuha, to give the box. H
Auka, misplaced confidence. V
Aukifanua or Aukifonua, the current flowing rapidly to the land. H
Avaui, a call repeated after an interval. T
Avuta (not a Tongan word). T
Efeniu, grated coconut after straining.
Efiafi, afternoon, evening. Efi, to carry under the arm; afi, fire (formerly fire was carried on a long stick made of the pod of the coconut tree called *toume* wrapped with tapa). The time when fire was carried—evening. T.
Efitahi, to carry it to the sea. V
Eke, to inquire into; to question. T, V
Ekutongapipiki, my contracted Tonga
Elili, the periwinkle.
Elina, Erina.
Eloni, Aaron. H, NF
Emosi, Amos. H
Eneio, to tickle till he says "yes." H
Epenisa, Ebenezer. V
Epui, to drink. NF
Esei (a Samoan word). V
Esi, an artificial mound; to bring sand to a grave. T
Eteaki, cautious, to be careful. T
Eua, two or three of them. NF
Evaipomana, to walk in thundering night.
Evaitokanga, to walk in the patch of ground planted with yams. V
Fa, the hala. T, H, V
Faamau, to have frequently. V
Faanunu, to assemble frequently. T
Faasese, wandering round; going from place to place. H
Faasisila, always watching for something; always looking. T
Faasiu, to often go fishing. NT
Faaui, I call frequently. H
Faavisi, to be ready at boasting; to praise. T
Fae, mother. H
Faeao, mother a cloud.
Fafa, to carry on the back. H
Faha, the fool. T, H
Fahamokioa, a fool and a chief. T
Fahina, the white hala fruit; also means white complexion. V
Fahitaha, on the same side. V
Fahiua, to split in two. T
Fai, perform; the stingray. NF
Faikava, to make the kava; or to have the kava party. V
Faikavaotonga, the kava party of Tonga. T
Faikimua, do it to the front. V
Faileha, name of a chief, meaning make haste and show something. T
Faimeamui, things done only at the present time. H
Faimo, make haste. NF
Fainoa, to be mistaken. T

Fainga, to contend, or to wrestle. T, H

Faingaa, name of a chief who attended on the Tui Tonga; to attend on or to do for the Tui Tonga. T,H,V

Faingaanuku, to go to the island of Nuku. Faingaa and Nuku. T, H, V, NT

Faingataa, difficult. H

Faipa, to make the fish hook ready for fishing. H

Faitua, like a commander; to join by placing one thing on top of another like two sticks. V

Faituunga, done with a meaning. H

Faiva, entertainment; game, or anything at which a person is clever. T, H, V, NF

Faivalava, an accomplishment that is achieved; or a performance concluded. T, H

Fakaafua, to prepare the earth oven by heating the stones for cooking food; indications of fine weather. V

Fakaanga, to criticize; a critic. T, H

Fakafamia, to hit; to split, as breaking a coconut against a tree. T

Fakafanua, to give land.

Fakafuhu, to join by lapping over. H

Fakahafua, to finish everything; nothing left; to give everything. T, H

Fakahahaka, to deceive one's expectation as in fighting.

Fakahau, belonging to the ruler; tyrannical, oppressive. T

Fakaheke, to flatter. T, H

Fakahiku, tail end.

Fakahikuouiha, the tail of Uiha.

Fakahoko, to join; to apply. T

Fakaholo, to walk in a long procession.

Fakahua, a joke. H

Fakailo, to report; to reveal. H

Fakailoatonga, to report Tonga; or to bring a charge against Tonga; accuse Tonga of wrong doing. T, H, V

Fakakikina, to be wearied.

Fakalalo, intercessor. V

Fakalelei, to make peace; to reconcile. V

Fakalilo, to secrete, to conceal. H

Fakalimu, to get some seaweed.

Fakaloloma, inattentive, heedless. T

Fakalolomotakai, to mix with oil and to anoint.

Fakamalohi, extortion; compulsion. H

Fakamoimoikava, to send a parcel of kava.

Fakamulilaki, to give the best thing last.

Fakanaanaa, to quiet children (a lullaby).

Fakaola, to endeavor to please. T

Fakaolakifanga, light on the beach.

Fakaootau, the kava drink made in haste and not clean. V

Fakaope, to pitch on a mark in game. H

Fakaosi, to finish. H, V, NT

Fakaosifolau, to sail for the last time; a person that voyages continually. H, V

Fakaosilea, to speak for the last time, or to tell a thing for the last time. T

Fakaosimalanga, to preach for the last time. T

Fakaosita, to strike for the last time. H

Fakaosituu, to stand for the last time in a meeting. T

Fakaosiula, the last of the night dance. H

Fakaongo, to await commands. T, V

Fakapelea, a pet; to make a pet of. H

Fakapulia, to conceal so as to escape detection. T

Fakasiieiki, for a chief of higher rank to come and take the seat of honor. T

Fakasili, to fish with a net.

Fakataha, assembly, meeting. T, V

Fakatakatau, to let out an army in all directions.

Fakatakatuu, to act like a young man.

Fakatau, to strain. T

Fakatauhi, stewardship. T

Fakatautuki, auction. NF

Fakatava, for many to assemble. NF

Fakate, to race canoes. T

Fakatele, to fish by drawing the hook after the canoe; to make short excursions for the purpose of looking out in time of war. T, V

Fakatene, to accomplish; to do the will. T

Fakatete, a boat race; to sail for pleasure. H

Fakatonu, to correct.

Fakatou, both. H

Fakatouia, to make pregnant; to wound; to pierce. H

Fakatouio, the double part.

Fakatoulava, for both to accomplish. H

Fakatoumafi, both brave men. V

Fakatouola, both to live. T

Fakatulolo, to humble. V

Fakaua, to repeat; to roll as a vessel at sea. T

Fakauho, to use the root of the kava in making the drink. T

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Fakaulu, to shout (hurrah); a war custom of carrying the slain, and placing them in a row before the house of the god, head to head. T
Fakava, to play. H, V
Fakavainga, trifling, of no importance. H, V
Fakituu, to pluck while standing.
Fakonitui, to answer the king in conversation with the word "koe" (so), a great mark of respect used only to the king. H
Falakihaamoa, a mat to be taken to Samoa. V
Falakika, my mat. T
Falakiseni, fraction. H, V, NF
Falala, to lean against. NT
Falaoetau, the mat of war.
Falase, someone's else mat. H
Falaui, a mat with a name (or a mat that is called by a name, and used as a god). NF
Falaumotuita, to voyage with the great navigator Tuita. T
Fale, house. T, V, NF
Faleafa, a strong house; able to stand against a hurricane. T, V
Faleaka, house of *aka* (a kind of creeping plant).
Faleapuna, a loft. H
Falefafo, a small house. H
Falekaono, six houses in an enclosure. The house with the six dome ends. T, V
Falekihefohe, the navigator's house is his steering oar—he never seeks shelter. T
Falemei, a house made from the breadfruit tree. H
Faleola, a house made from the *ola* tree; a house of success. NF
Falepa, a house where the tackle of the canoe was kept. T
Falepapalangi, European house. T,V
Falepapangi, a house that out-rivalled all houses. T
Falesiu, a house in which the nets for fishing are kept. T
Faleta, a house with rounded ends. H
Faletau, the house of the army. V
Falevai, a place that had houses near a pool. H, V
Falevalu, the chiefs of Haapai (Taufatofua. Fanualofanga, Kavamoungaone. V
Falevatu, the name of a stone axe. T
Falikau, a mat with a ridge at the edge. H
Falisai, a handsome house. V
Fameitau, the hala fruit from the island of Tau in Tonga. H
Fana, to shoot; also the mast of a vessel. T, H
Fanaafi, fireworks (or shooting fire). NF
Fanamamao, to shoot a long distance. V
Fane, Fanny.
Fanua, land. T, H, V
Fanuailalo, land in sight to leeward.
Fangaake, the landing place of returning fishermen.
Fangaloka, the seashore being rough with breakers. H
Fangapo, the beach where many fish are caught. T
Fangapulotu, landing place of the unseen world.
Fangatapu, the sacred seashore, or the beach reserved for the chief's bathing. T
Fangatua, to wrestle. H, V
Fangopo, to call, to awaken at night.
Fangu, scented oil. T,V
Fanguani, to awaken one. H
Fangufangu, a flute made of bamboo and blown with the nose, having four holes on the top and one underneath. NT
Fanguna, that scented oil. T
Fangupo, to catch the dripping of the scented oil when it is being made. T, H, V
Fangupu, always talking. T
Faoa, to put into a basket made of coconut leaves. T
Faoliu, to load into the body of the canoe. NF
Faone, hala growing in sandy soil.
Faosese, to put the things into different places. T
Faotusia, four lines of mounds.
Fasi, to break in two; dislocate; a tune. NF
Fata, loft, bier. T, H
Fatafehi, hardwood platform; the name of the Tui Tonga's loft or bier; the name of the house of a double ship T, H, V
Fatafehifakahau, hardwood platform acts as a ruling chief.
Fatafehifangaafa, landing platform in time of hurricane.
Fatafehifisi, platform of hardwood from Fiji.

Fatafehihaapai, platform of hardwood of Haapai.

Fatafehiholeva, platform of hardwood of Holeva.

Fatafehikaikuli, Fatafehi (Platform-of-hardwood) the dog eater.

Fatafehilapaha, platform of hardwood of Lapaha.

Fatafehileo, sentinel's platform of hardwood.

Fatafehililika, terrified platform of hardwood.

Fatafehimatamoana, platform of hardwood at edge of deep sea.

Fatafehimei, a platform of hardwood, but made of breadfruit trees.

Fatafehitoutai, Fatafehi (Platform-of-hardwood), the navigator.

Fatafehivakaniua, platform of hardwood of the boat from Niua.

Fatafehivavau, platform of hardwood of Vavau.

Fatai, name of a creeping grass. T,H,V, NT,NF

Fataikulitapa, the *fatai* that has past its first niceness. H

Fatainuuhiva, a garland made of *fatai* for the night of song. T

Fatanitavake, the platform of tropic birds; the name of the chief Maafu's place in Fiji. T,H

Fataua, two stories a house. T,H,V

Fatavao, bush platform.

Fate, the name of a fish. T

Fatongiatau, the collecting by compulsion of things for the war. T

Fatu, to fold; the abdomen; to start in making or building. H

Fatuimoana, the hala garlands that are threaded to take to the ocean fishing. T

Fatukimotulalo, fold of island below.

Fatumeau, determining the value of.

Fau, to build; hau tree. T,H,NF

Fauhiva, to compose songs. H

Fauiki, small hau trees.

Faukafa, coconut fiber used as a strainer. T

Faukimoana, hau strainer for the voyage. T

Faulua, two strainers used alternately in making the kava. T

Fauolo, name of a matapule; to scrape off the outside bark of the hau in making the kava strainer. T, H

Fauonuku, hau of Nuku.

Faupala, to steep the hau bark in the sea, so that the flesh rots, then the fiber is used for the strainer for the kava. NT

Faupula, hau that is white like the *pula* flowers. T,H,NT

Fautave, the tall hau tree.

Fauvaa, the hau tree that is branchy. H,V,NT

Fauvea, the tangled hau fiber strainer. T

Feamaenasi, to be mean to one another. V

Feangai, to keep in company with.

Feao, to accompany as a servant; to attend upon. T,H

Feao, where is the cloud. H

Feaokihala, to accompany to the road; keeping company on the road. T

Feaomoeata, to accompany the shadow. H

Feaomoemanu, accompanied by birds.

Feaomoemanuouvea, birds going together to the graveyard called Uvea.

Feau, to anoint. V

Fefafa, to carry on the back.

Fehi, the name of a hard wood of which canoes were made. T,H

Fehia, hateful.

Fehiosi, to open to the finish; to open all. H

Fehoko, joined; wish to succeed. T, H, V, NF

Fehokohaapai, wish to succeed in Haapai.

Fehoko-manavahetau, Fehoko afraid of fighting.

Fehokomaufanga, Fehoko of Maufanga.

Fehokomoelangi, wishing to be next to the sky.

Fehokomoelangi-i-Fiji, wishing to be next to the sky in Fiji.

Fehokomomomea, to join the fragments. T

Fehokonahau, a chief that is called by the name of his place. H

Fehokotea, to be replaced by a European. T

Fehokouli, Fehoko the dark.

Feifai, the name of a tree. T,H

Feiki, each small. H

Feilo, to know one another. H

Feiloakimua, to meet before.

Feiloakitau, to meet in battle. T

Feiloeua, wishing to know Eua.

Fekau, an order; a message. H

Feke, the octopus. T,H

Fekeila, name of a chief; the spotted octopus. T

Fekesike, a fishing net made from plaited coconut leaves. H

Fekika, a kind of fruit tree.

Fekitakitolo, for two persons to change frequently their throw in a game. T

Fekitoa, the meeting of two brave men. H

Felemea, things that are scattered (name of place). V

Feleti, Fred. T,V

Fena, tough, ropy. V

Fenuki, to splash at each other in the water. T

Fepale, each to paddle. T

Fetokai, to box. T

Fetongi, exchange. T

Fetuani, thick, layer upon layer. T,V

Fetuli, to chase, applied to several. T,H,V

Fetulikimoana, hurrying out to the ocean.

Fetulimoeata, chased by the dawn.

Fetuu, a star. T,H

Feu, a fishing net. H

Fevaleaki, faint; foolish on both sides; relatives who on both sides do not recognize their relationship. V

Fevaleakiatonga, Tonga has committed a wrong through mistake.

Fevanga, to desire.

Fia, to interlace the fence. V

Fie, to wish. V

Fieeiki, assuming that he is a chief; presumptuous. T,H,V

Fiefia, to rejoice; gladness. T,H

Fieiloeua, refers to the light at twilight and dawn. V

Fiekai, hungry. V

Fiekaipuaka, having a desire to eat pork. V

Fielakepa, the name of a chief; wishing to be a Fijian. T

Fielea, to wish to speak. T,H

Fieliki, wishing to be washed with oil and water like a new born baby. H

Fieloaki, to meet again after a long separation. V

Fifi, the coconut leaf platted round a tree as a tapu. V

Fifita, the cutting of the platted leaves put round a tree for a tapu; wishing to act as a hero. T,H,V,NF

Fifitaholeva, Fifita of Holeva.

Fifitaloa, tall Fifita.

Fifitamahanga, Fifita the twin.

Fifitamalohi, Fifita the strong.

Fifitamoeuli, wishing to be first in every thing; Fifita the unwashed.

Fifitatokomea, Fifita of Tokomea.

Fifitavakaniua, Fifita of the Niua boat

Fifitavale, Fifita the foolish.

Fifitea, the white plait.

Fihaki, to mix the flowers in a garland. T

Fihi, entangled. H

Fihiahefanga, a vessel's sail to be entangled with the masts of the vessels at anchor. H

Fihiaki, to be entangled; perplexity. T

Fika, to figure; to count. V,NF

Fili, an enemy; choice. T,H,V

Filia, to choose from many. T,H,V

Filiaanga, to become the enemy of the shark. H

Filiai, to choose amongst many things. T,V,NF

Filiaipopua, chosen in Popua.

Filiaipulotu, chosen in Pulotu.

Filiemoekava, to send a message for a man to come with some kava, as a pretext to get him, so as to kill him. T

Filifuka, to choose the flag.

Filihia, to be upset; to be turned over. T,H

Filihiaekava, to be replaced by a higher matapule at the kava ring (to be pushed on one side and another take one's place). H

Filikitonga, the enemy of Tonga. H

Fililava, to get his choice. T

Filimoeakau, the club, the enemy of man. T

Filimoeaku, enemy with a scratch.

Filimoeakua, chosen with trees.

Filimoeatu, at enmity with the bonito (refers to the King George I trying to turn back the shoal of bonito at Haano). T,V

Filimoehala, the enemy to watch on the road. NF

Filimoeika, at enmity with the shark. H

Filimoekava, to dislike the kava drink. T

Filimoemaka, the stone difficult to cut. T,H

Filimoetaufa, the voyager's enemy, the squall. T

Filimoetaufalahi, the voyager's enemy is the big squall. T

Filimoeulie, the enemy of the lizard.

Filimohakau, the reef is the enemy of the bad navigator. V

Filimotaufalahi, the enemy of the voyagers is the big storm. T
Filipe, Philip. T
Filisonuu, Filiso of my own country.
Filiukee, the diver's enemy. NF
Filivaa, for a chief to choose a branch laden with fruit. T
Filo, thread, twine. T,NF
Finakikalava, cage made of coconut stems.
Finau, the name of a chief, said to mean "the first in rank"; argue. T,H,V, NT, NF
Finaufaluha, in great abundance.
Finauhaakili, Finau of Haakili.
Finauhuia, Finau the taker down of the boat sail (meaning the man who takes the sail on shore).
Finauikahihifo, the splendid fish of the west.
Finauikuvalu, Finau with the eight tails (meaning Finau who had eight men in attendance). T
Finauilamoala, spotted Finau of Moala.
Finaulahi, Finau the great. T,H,V
Finaulangi, Finau of the sky.
Finauleo, Finau the guard.
Finautaeiloa, Finau the unknown. V
Finautangataolakepa, Finau the man of Lakepa.
Finautoa, Finau the victor.
Finauuiha, Finau of Uiha.
Fine, woman (contraction of *fefine*). T,H,V
Fineangakehe, the peculiar woman. T
Fineanganofo, the domesticated woman. T
Fineeva, a woman who is always visiting. T
Finefakahala, a deceiving woman. H
Finefeuiaki, women that call one to another. H
Finehafoou, a new-comer (woman). H
Finehuapango, a woman whose jokes are disgusting. T
Fineisaloi, a woman who pretends to disapprove. T
Finelaulaunoa, a silly woman, one that talks nonsense. T
Finematahola, the woman who liked the rival. H
Fineongo, the beautiful woman, much talked of woman. H
Finesolau, the woman that talks about marrying one man, then marries another; a jilt. T
Fineteukivaka, a woman who is dressed up as in mats and flowers to go on board the vessel. T
Fineteumohenga, the woman who prepares the bed. V
Finetusiu, the woman waiting for the return of the bonito fishing boats. H
Finevalahulu, a woman whose loin cloth is dried banana leaves. H
Fipe, Phoebe.
Fisi, flower, bud. H
Fisiiahi, the flowers of the sandalwood tree. H
Fisiihoi, the buds of the *hoi* tree. V,T
Fisiitalia, the bud of the *talia* plant. T
Fisikiholeva, a Fijian from Holeva (the place of the Tui Tonga). H
Fisilau, the budding leaves. T,H,V
Fisimanu, the buds eaten by the birds. H
Fisioko, fat blossom.
Fiuanga, anything by which one is tired. T
Fiunoa, to be tired for no reason (having done nothing). H
Fohe, a paddle; an oar. T,H
Foiakau, the fruit of the tree. V
Fokimeiheafe, to return from the turning. H
Folau, a voyage; a fleet; a voyager; to voyage; to sail. T,H,V,NT
Folauhola, to abscond with a vessel. V
Folaumahina, to voyage by moonlight. T
Folaumoeanga, to have caught a shark (and to have it on board the boat). T
Folaumoeiki, to voyage with a chief. T
Folaumoeloa, to sail all prepared for war, with painted faces; traveler with painted face. H
Folaumofinau, to voyage in attendance on Finau (chief). T
Foleti, forward (part of a vessel). T
Foli, to encircle, to surround; to walk round and round. T,V
Foliaki, to encircle, to surround with. T,H,V
Folovela, to swallow hot.
Fonise, engine.
Fono, the food eaten at the drinking of kava. T,V
Fonofehi, the pieces of *fehi* wood used in building a boat. T
Fonohea, the fruit of the *heo* tree, used as the food eaten with the kava. H
Fonohema, native bread used as the food eaten with the kava. T,H
Fonokalafi, phonograph. T

Fonokalau, to call out the number of baskets of food brought for the kava. V
Fonokimoana, food to be eaten at the deep sea.
Fonomanu, food of a bird.
Fonouto, having the spongy kernel of the coconut as a food.
Fonovai, the food eaten after the taking of medicine. NT
Fonovaihu, fish soup used as the food eaten with the kava. T
Fonogaloa, a procession; a train of persons. V
Fonongatoke, a shoal of sea eels. H
Fonua, dry land; country. T, H, V, NT, NF
Fonuaevalu, eight countries. T
Fotofili, to choose the stingray tail for making a spear. T,H,V,NF
Fotu, to approach; the kava or anything taken as an introduction to a person. T,H,V
Fotuafalefa, Falefa chiefs in the act of making their appearance at a gathering.
Fotuaika, the coming of the fish. T,H,V
Fotuavakaola, the boat blowing the shell called the *kelea,* to let those on shore know that they have caught a shark. V
Fotuihalatata, to appear at the scooped road.
Fotukala, the name of the stones used in the earth oven. V
Fotuleva, to approach at once. T
Fou, to build or repair boats. T,V
Fouhiva, composing song.
Fua, size; to measure; to carry; fruit. T,H
Fuaamotu, high lands; uplifted land. T
Fuahau, the land of the reigning prince; the first ruler. T
Fualalo, the name of a boat of the third class. H
Fualupeake, first pigeon to return.
Fuamelie, sweet fruit. H
Fuanilevu, the great.
Fuanunuiava, first to assemble in the passage.
Fuapau, correct measurement; exact measurement. T,H,V
Fuataimi, to measure time. H
Fuatakifolaha, first to strike at Folaha.
Fuatapu, the first fruits. T
Fuatave, the lee shore of the island.
Fuefueolakepa, a long hair whisk of Lakepa.
Fufutaumaa, the last striking of the hands to signify that kava is ready to serve.
Fuikavamoli, anything prepared to take off the effect of a drink made of orange.
Fuikefu, the loin garment of grass (the only covering used in the olden days when fishing). H
Fuimaono, bunch of six loaves of bread (made of bananas or breadfruit).
Fuingavai, a bunch of water carriers (made from coconuts strung up by their eyes). H
Fuiono, a necklace of shells. NF
Fuipau, only to do one thing. T
Fuivakai, to give food prepared to take off the effects of drunkenness from the drinking of the kava. NT
Fuka, a flag; a banner. T,H,NT
Fukaeiki, a most prominent chief.
Fuko, name of a tree. T
Fukofuka, name of a tree. T,H,V
Fuleheu, a bird (*Ptilotis carunculata*).
Fulilangi, nice hair (it refers to the time when the hair was worn long and standing straight up); to turn the sky. H,NF
Fulivai, something old (name of a chief); to change water. V
Fuluna, an old thing.
Fuluvaka, to wash the vessel. T
Funaki, to conceal; to hide anything. T,H,V
Funakiloloa, tall secret.
Funakipuku, short secret.
Funakitoutai, Funaki the navigator.
Funaofolaha, the moult of Folaha.
Funi, quickly. H
Fungahina, the surf on the reef. H
Fungalei, a whale's tooth taken by one chief to another, when they wished to talk over the terms of peace. V, NT
Fungaleli, in peace.
Funganiutaolelei, a well thought out plan. T
Funganuku, the anchorage of many vessels (an island where many vessels go and anchor). V
Fungavai, the surface of the water. H
Fungavaka, the deck of the vessel. V
Fuolahi, of big size; large bulk. H
Fuonuku, hollow sound caused by striking the hands together of the chief Nuku.

Fusi, all bananas in general; a banana plant; to pull. T,H,V
Fusikalulu, a nut shell tied to a stick which was shaken to attract the shark by the noise. T
Fusikaunanga, Fusi the servant.
Fusilala, pull gently; pull with care. H
Fusileka, name of a banana plant. NT
Fusilili, Fusi who shows temper.
Fusiloa, to pull for a long time. V
Fusimalohi, Fusi the strong.
Fusimatalili, Fusi the bad tempered.
Fusimoatutua, to pluck a fowl by burning the feathers.
Fusipala, rotten bananas.
Fusipalapangai, rotten bananas of Pangai.
Fusipalaumaia, Fusipala kissed by many.
Fusipongi, poor banana plants left over from first planting.
Fusipunga, to pull up a large piece of coral stone. H
Fusitoutai, to pull up the fish in a net. T, V
Fusitua, a chief's name (to pull from the back). V, NT, NF
Fute, to struggle to get free; to be angry; also means foot (twelve inches). T
Futakiholaha, to boast of being strong.
Futuna, name of island. H, V
Haalaufuli, place in Vavau Island. V
Haaloau, a title given to Loau's family, a title in memorial of Loau who was their law giver and the wisest man in olden times, and it became a saying, "Oh, that was said by Loau." T
Haamoa, Samoa. T,H
Haapai, the central group of the Tongan archipelago; said to mean "uplifted," with reference to one of the islands that Maui brought up out of the sea with his fish hook. T, H, V
Haeane, iron. T, V, NF
Haehaemoa, lacerating fowl.
Haele, to travel; to walk; to voyage (applied only to the king and his family, formerly applied to the gods and the Tui Tonga family). T
Hafoka, to appear big, great. T, H, V
Hafu, to drift before the wind; to drop as water; to fall as ripe fruit. H
Hafuni, combing the hair up and cutting it short.
Haifaleono, seen at Faleono; seen at the chief's house or place. T
Hakalo, to stir up, to mix; a scraper for scraping old coconuts. V
Hakaumotu, the reef round an island. T, H, V
Hakavalu, the boiled *valu* fish; eight holes cut into the trunk of coconut trees for holding water. T
Hakeai, to ascend there. T, V
Hakeivaihaakili, returned by Haakili pool.
Hakohako, to increase, as the wind. NF
Hakula, swordfish.
Hala, the demise, applied to the Tui Tonga and Tamaha; now to the king. T, H, V
Halaapiapi, a crowded road; a narrow road. T, H, V, NT
Halaevalu, eight roads.
Halaevalumataaho, eight roads seen at day.
Halaevalumoheofo, Halaevalu, the wife of the Tui Tonga.
Halafihi, a bushy road, a road entangled with bush. H
Halahala, to make a way through (to walk through someone's else place); closing of fishing net made of coconut leaves. T
Halahemoli, road by the orange trees.
Halaholo, to make a road anywhere; fallen road. NF
Halahuihui, a stony road. T
Halahuni, the road where the *huni* tree grows. H
Halaiano, to walk through the swamp. T, H, V
Halakitaua, we are both wrong; we both go the same road; road to striking jaw. NT
Halalahi, a very big road. NT
Halalilo, an unfrequented road; a hidden road; a concealed sin. T
Halamakamaka, a stony road; a rocky road. T
Halapea, to jump the fence. NF
Halapi, a muddy road. T
Halapolo, the road where the chili peppers grow. T
Halapua, the road where the *pua* tree grows. V, NT
Halatahi, to go by the sea; a road by the seashore. V
Halatoa, the grove of toa trees; the toa tree road. T
Halatokoua, two persons wrong; road for two only. H
Halatono, the road of *tono* grass.

Halatonga, a small by-path; a road at Tonga. H

Halatuitui, the road full of the candlenut tree; wrongly sewed. T

Halauafu, the road leading to the wharf. T, V

Halaufia, a concealed road, a concealed sin. V

Halavaivai, road of weakness.

Halavalu, the eighth road. H

Hale, Harry. H

Hali, a scar; to strike and pass on. NF

Hama, the leeward outrigger; the smaller hull of a double vessel. T

Hamala, hammer. T

Hamoni, Hamann. NF

Hangano, name of plant and its flower.

Haponoa, to catch accidentally without having anything to do with the game. NF

Hau, a ruler; a conqueror; an ornament for the nose or ears; the holes made in boats to pass the ropes through. T, H, V

Haufano, to be taken by the current. T, NF

Haufolau, to come on a voyage. V

Hauma, to come bashfully. H, NF

Haunoa, to come for no reason; uninvited. H

Haunga, presentation of cooked food including a pig for visitors or relatives.

Haupeakui, ruler, but unobservant; a heedless ruler. T

Hausia, abandoned; damp with dew. T, H, V

Have, to break; to destroy. H

Havea, chief. T, H, V, NF

Havealotoaniu, chief of the coconut enclosure.

Haveapava, chief of a piece of land. H

Haveatui, near to the chief; the name of Tui Haa Teiho's matapule. V

Haveatuungamatauli, the chief's place is the pupil of the eye, meaning there is nothing greater than the eye.

Haveavakatolunga, the chief's vessel is always opposite to the wind or leeward.

Haveia, that is destroyed.

Havili, a gale; to blow hard (wind). T, H, V, NF

He, to err; part of the inside of certain shellfish. H

Hea, the name of a tree, the fruit of which supplies one of the ingredients used in printing tapa. V

Heafala, a Samoan mat. V

Hefa, name of a kind of grass. T, V, NF

Heilala, name of tree and its flower. H

Heilikutonga, to wander on the weather shore of Tonga. T

Heimoana, lost in the ocean.

Heimuli, banishment; to wander in foreign country. T, V

Heiono, to wander at Ono, Fiji. V

Heisino, to be unfaithful. T

Heitonga, to wander in Tonga. V

Heitongalahi, to wander in Tonga, the great. H

Heitukutonga, to wander or stray on the beach at Tonga. H

Hekihahake, lost and wandered to the east.

Heku, a proud and lazy person; name of a bird. NF

Helehele, to cut in many pieces. T

Heleta, a sword. T

Helu, a comb. T, H

Hema, left-handed. T, V

Henoa, to wander at random. T

Henga, a small bird; the thread at the tail of the Tongan fish hook. T

Hepi, attend.

Hese, to turn.

Heuhina, to catch the large spider. H

Heuifanga, to decoy at the anchorage.

Heulupeau, to catch the pigeons near. V

Hia, sin, guilt. H

Hiatokolahi, many have sins.

Hifo, a sacrifice; to unload a vessel. T

Hikila, to raise the sail. NF

Hiko, a native game played by girls throwing up oranges, as many as eight at a time; to collect together. T, H

Hikuleo, echo; born to guard.

Hiliaunifao, very beautiful; to place on the *fao* tree.

Hinakava, a bottle of spirits (alcohol). T

Hinehinatelangi, the white sky.

Hingano, name of a tree. T, H, V, NT

Hiva, a song; to sing; number nine. T

Hoa, a couple; a companion. NT

Hoamofaleono, couple from Faleono.

Hoimohilatali, the names of two places Hoi and Hilatali.

Hoka, to pierce; to take the husk of the nut. NT

Hokafonua, to kill a chief. T

Hoko, image, likeness; to succeed. T
Hola, to desert; to abscond; to flee. H, NT
Holaahihifo, Hihifo fled. T
Holaipalave, to run away on the rocks near the seashore or terrace cliff. T
Holakeituai, flee while there is still time. T, H
Holakilupe, escape of the pigeon.
Holakaukau, a bath towel.
Holekimafua, to long for what one is particularly fond of eating or drinking. NT
Holisi, to reed a house; to wall a house. NT
Holokuku, name of a place; to knead.
Hono, his, hers, its. NF
Hopo, to answer a summons; to jump; to leap. V
Hopoate, a person taken in war; a captive. H, V
Hopoi, to spring over; to jump over. T, H, V, NF
Hoponoa, to be had up to the court for no reason. NT
Hosi, horse. V
Hotaia, that is mine. H
Hounga, to be acceptable; to be received with approbation. T, H, V, NT
Hua, a jest; a joke; laughable; a preparation of Tongan pudding mixed together with gravy. T, V
Huaanga, a place where pigs have been rooting. T
Huafa, name; applied only to the gods and the King. V
Huafaekekava, the joke told at a kava party.
Huahulu, a medicine made from the dry leaves of the banana. T
Huakau, milk. H
Huakava, a kava drink; some kava. T,H,V
Huakavaevalu, eight kava drinks. V
Huakavameiliku, a cup of kava from the weather shore.
Huakavamoa, fowl soup. T
Huakavauiha, a Uiha cup of kava.
Huakihala, ludicrous to the road.
Huamalahina, name of place, the joke that retaliates.
Huamofeketongi, to disperse; the joke the octopus engraved; to joke with engraving octopus.
Huavai, a little cold water. T, H
Huavailohifi, drop of water from under the Tahitian chestnut.
Huavi, a drink made from the fruit of the *vi* tree. H
Hufanga, a refuge, a shelter. T
Huhu, the breasts; a fork; to suck. H
Hui, a bone; a needle. T
Huihui, to dilate; to take a garland off. T
Huka, to treat the gods with contempt.
Hulitanu, to plant the shoots of the banana plant. NF
Hulu, dried banana and coconut leaves. T, NF
Huluava, a beacon at the passage for vessels. T, H
Humi, the fish *humi*.
Hungalu, anything small that has been driven to and fro by the sea; a dead shell. V
Huni, name of a tree. T
Huo, a spade; to weed, to dig. H
Hutau, an army to sue for pardon. NF
Ifi, the band; to sound as instrument of music; name of a tree. T
Ika, fish. T, H, V
Ikaee, fish caught by women. H
Ikafaao, overbearing fish.
Ikafanga, the beach where fish are plentiful. T
Ikafililava, fish that are able to choose.
Ikafoli, fish that go round the hook and do not bite. T
Ikafoou, a new kind of fish. T
Ikahehengi, fish that will not bite. H
Ikahihifo, fish brought from Hihifo. T.H, V
Ikaikalia, a fish in the hold of the double vessel. T
Ikale, eagle.
Ikaleo, fish that are guarded (that are under a tapu). T
Ikamalohi, a strong fish. T, H
Ikamanu, name of fish. NF
Ikani, Egan. T
Ikapolataane, fish in the plaited coconut leaf for the celebration of the marriage feast.
Ikapunaivaha, fish that fly in mid-ocean. H
Ikataulani, a large fish drawn through the water at the stern of the vessel. T
Ikatonga, fish brought from Tonga. H
Ikatulikifota, fish chased to Fota Reef (between Eua and Eueiki).
Ikavaka, the vessel's fish (the vessel's share). T, H
Iketau, name of a mallet. H
Iki, small. H

Ila, a mark; a spot on the body. T
Ilaua, two marks on the body. V
Ilavalu, eight marks or spots on the body. T
Ilangana, a mark that is known as a name. H
Iloa, to be known. H, NT
Iloahefaiva, to be famous at any game. T
Iloilo, prudence; to act prudently. T
Ilolahia, widely known. T
Ilotaufa, to know when the squall is coming. NF
Inafo, a shoal of bonitos. NF
Inasiulu, the portion that is given to a chief; the head of the pig. H
Inoke, Enoch. V
Inu, to drink; a drink. V
Inukihetoua, drink to the common people at the kava ring. T
Inukihaangana, drink to the Haa Ngana chief (a European idea). H
Inukuoteu, prepared drink.
Inumofalefa, kava to be drunk with the Falefa chiefs.
Iongi, young. T
Isikeli, Ezekiel.
Isileli, Israel. H
Ita, anger, displeasure. V
Itafuaatonga, anger or jealousy of Tonga.
Iukaliti, Euclid. T
Kae, nevertheless, but, if, for.
Kafaikamoana, Tongan rope for catching the fish in the deep sea.
Kafo, a wound. H, V
Kafoa, wounded on the head. T, H, V
Kafoamotalau, Kafoa and Talau (two hills in Vavau).
Kafoatu, wounded by a bonito. T
Kafoika, wounded by a fish. H
Kafokuota, to be severely wounded. T
Kafovalu, eight wounds; wounded by the *valu* fish. H, V
Kafutokelau, covered by the north wind. H
Kaho, a reed; an arrow. T, H
Kahomovailahi, the reed and the great water.
Kaiamoeata, having eaten everything, now eat the air. H
Kaifoto, the barb eater.
Kaihau, supreme ruler. V
Kaihea, to eat the *hea* fruit. T
Kailahi, to eat a great deal. T, H
Kailahiovavau, big eater of Vavau.
Kailalava, a war whoop of victory. V
Kaimatangi, air eater.
Kaimoeafi, to eat the fire also (to eat what is charred). T
Kainiufahi, to eat split coconut. T
Kainiuolo, to eat scraped coconut. T
Kainga, a relative; friend; kinsman. V
Kaiohihifo, Hihifo's turn to play at the game. T
Kaipa, noisy eater.
Kaisa, Kaiser. T
Kaitaeifo, to eat without an appetite. V
Kaitapu, to eat what is forbidden. H
Kaiteui, a well prepared feast. NF
Kaituu, to eat standing. V
Kaivai, an old sailor; literally, to eat water. H
Kakala, a garland, a fragrant flower. T, H
Kakapu, mist; fog; misty. T
Kakatisi, cactus. H, NF
Kakatu, cockatoo. V
Kakau, to swim. H
Kalae, the gallinule. V
Kalainatoa, climbed in a toa.
Kalani, gallon. T, V
Kalaniuvalu, climbed in eight coconuts.
Kalangalupe, to shout that the pigeons are coming. T
Kalasi, class. T
Kalava, a blood vessel; vein; the rib or stem of the coconut leaf. T
Kale, to run fast. T, V
Kalekale, to persevere. H
Kali, a wooden pillow. T, V
Kalikau, athletic; strong; robust. T
Kalilea, speaking pillow.
Kalo, to move the head; to avoid danger; Caroline. H
Kaloafu, evade the sea mist.
Kaloafutonga, to evade the mist of the Tongan sea.
Kaloni, dodging at the present time. T, NT
Kalu, the inside skin; next the flesh. T, NF
Kama, a disease of the skin; *kama* torch. (See ama) T, H, NF
Kami, to love, to be enamored of (used only of women and girls). T
Kanongataa, unripe, hard; ropy. T, H
Kapa, iron, galvanized iron; to besiege. T, H, V
Kapavale, to take what is near but belonging to another; stupid siege. H
Kape, to swear; to abuse; the name of a plant whose root is eaten. T, NT
Kapeni, cabin. H
Kapeta, carpenter. T

Kapetaua, abuse that cuts two ways. H

Kapiteni, captain. H.

Kapui, to encircle; to surround. H

Kapukava, the banana leaf so formed as to hold the kava drink. T

Kata, to laugh; a war club; kava stem. T, H, V

Katavu, Fijian word. T

Katea, the windward and largest hull of a double vessel.

Katoa, all; the whole; the mass. T, H, V, NF

Katoamanu, every animal.

Katoanga, a feast; entertainment. V

Katoangahuia, feast of bones.

Katoangamoeatu, the entertainment with the bonito.

Katolika, Roman Catholic. T

Kau, the stalk; to interfere; concern; attendants. H

Kauala, a bier; to carry a bier. V

Kauatoa, a row of toa trees. T

Kaufana, a bow (for arrows); the hunters (shooters). T

Kaufanga, the numerous seashores. NT

Kaufononga, a chief's name; a number of chiefs travelling together. T, H

Kaufonongamuli, foreign fellow traveller.

Kaufusi, bunch of bananas. T, H, V

Kaufusihaapai, Kaufusi of Haapai.

Kaufusitua, those that pull at the back. T

Kauhiva, the choir; a body of singers. H

Kaukau, a bath; a wash. T

Kaulamusu, I will give the sail.

Kaulave, a club that hits its mark. T, H

Kaumalu, the protectors.

Kaumataili, things kept in reserve. T

Kaumatule, seventy *matule* fish. T

Kaumavae, a chief's name; those that have separated. T, V

Kaunatu, a small stick rubbed on another to get fire. H

Kaunimasini, the hands which are calling attention.

Kaungakava, those that drink the same kava. T

Kautakina, those that are led off forcibly; prisoners of war; those that are driven away. V

Kautau, warriors. T, NT

Kautoke, eels.

Kauulufonua, part of the headland.

Kauulufonuafekai, savage part of the headland.

Kauulufonuahuo, to clear part of the headland.

Kauvaka, the crew of the vessel. T, H, V

Kauvakaheu, the disobedient crew.

Kauvakahipa, the crooked sailors.

Kauvale, fools. T

Kauvalu, the name of a plant. H

Kava, the kava plant and its roots which are used to make a drink; a beard; anything that is suspended or attached to something. T, H, V

Kavaanuku, the kava for the chief Nuku. H

Kavafau, the strainer used in making the kava. H

Kavafolau, kava drunk before starting on a voyage. T

Kavafonatu, the food for the kava drinking is the bonito. H

Kavafonolelei, kava is a good food.

Kavafusi, a very large kava root that is put on a sledge to be drawn to a big feast. T

Kavafutuna, kava from Futuna.

Kavahaapai, kava from Haapai.

Kavakemotu, kava prepared for a visit to the island. T

Kavaliku, kava drunk at the weather shore. T, H

Kavamole, a drink made from the orange juice. T

Kavamoungaone, a chief's name; the kava root from Moungaone Island. H

Kavaonau, the kava from Nau (the woman of Eueiki).

Kavapalu, the kava drink mixed. T

Kavapele, the favorite kava shrub. T

Kavatahi, kava of the sea.

Kaveinga, the handle of anything; the thing to carry it by; to burden with. T

Kavekave, to persevere; to spread abroad. T, H

Kefu, yellow, yellowish applied to the hair. T, H, V

Kefukefu, indistinct to vision. H

Kehe, another; not the same; different. T

Kei, yet; while; during. T

Keiano, a pool; marsh.

Kele, muddy; having a sediment. H

Keleitonga, mud; muddy in Tonga.

Kelepi, Caleb.

Kelepulu, slime; mire. T

Kemoeatu, to fight the bonito when catching it. V
Kepafingo, Kepa the snorter.
Keti, Kate. V
Ketuu, to stand; permanent. H
Keu, a kind of yam; I will. T
Kiafoto, barb neck.
Kie, a very fine mat. T
Kihehau, for the ruler. T
Kihihifo, to Hihifo; to go to Hihifo. T
Kiloki, the inner room. H
Kiliihopa, banana skin. NT
Kilikiti, cricket. H, V
Kilinganoa, skin disease (hard spots in the flesh causing intolerable itching).
Kinikini, to hit with the native *taufale* (hand broom made of coconut leaf ribs); to commence to clear the ground for planting. T, H
Kinikinilau, to hit but only with words; to threaten to hit and not to do it. H
Kioa, foolish.
Kiokata, to cry when hit. V
Kioa-mo-Lauaki, Kioa and Lauaki.
Kite, to appear; seen at a distance at sea. V, NF
Kiteau, to a hundred. T, V
Kiu, to run; to run away from anything. T, H, V
Kiutauevai, the fight of the sandpipers at the water pool. T
Kiutauivai, sandpipers fighting in the water.
Kiutakivai, to land and sea. H
Kivalu, to call that these are *valu* fish coming. T, V
Kivi, a kind of yam. H
Koate, floating foam.
Kofafahau, to carry out the ruler's orders. T
Kofoatu, to catch the bonito in the net. H
Kofe, the bamboo; which? where? H, NT
Kohinoa, to scratch for no reason. NT
Koka, to print tapa; name of a tree. T
Koleakikava, to bribe or beg with kava.
Koli, taking fish with a small hand net; name of a tree. T
Kolivai, name of a tree. NF
Kolo, town, fortress. T, H, V
Koloa, to lather; to foam. H, V, NT
Koloafutonga, village of the Tongan sea mist.
Koloamatangi, wealth in wind; the connotation being that for a seafaring man the most precious thing is a good wind. T, V
Koloapemoui, life is the only true wealth. H
Koloea, the village that stands distinct. H
Kolofakaanga, the rival village.
Kolofale, a town of houses. T
Kolofaua, the newly built village. T
Koloila, the town that is unkempt. H
Kolokehakaufisi, the town of the fisherman is the reef covered with foam. T
Kolokihakaufisi, the village towards Fiji reef.
Kolokihakufisi, my club is my Fijian man. H
Kolokivaitupu, village towards the spring.
Kolokivaolahi, village towards the big bush (woods).
Kolomaile, the town of the myrtle tree. T
Kolomako, fortress smeared with black pigment.
Kolomalu, the place of refuge. V
Kolomatangi, the town of wind. T
Kolomoeuto, fortress and brain.
Kona, bitter; poison. H
Kongaika, a shoal of fish; part of a shark. T, H, V
Kongakava, a piece of kava.
Kosi, a goat. T, H, V
Koula, gold. T
Kovikave, perished stalk.
Kuava, it is open.
Kuea, stump of the little finger appearing plainly; has strayed; to err; to wander. T
Kuiipangai, blinded at Pangai. T
Kuita, the blind to hit. T
Kula, beads; name of bird; red. T, NF
Kuli, a dog. T, H, V, NF
Kulia, overrun with dogs.
Kulihaapai, name of a chief; the dog at Haapai. T
Kulikefu, the yellow dog. T, H
Kulikihaamea, dog to Haamea.
Kulitapu, the carpenter's trestle that is forbidden to be used. H
Kuliloa, a large carpenter's trestle. T
Kulimoetoke, the dog and the eel. NF
Kuliniua, a man from Niuatoputapu Island; a dog from Niuatoputapu Island. T
Kulu, the name of a tree. T
Kulukulutea, white fruit dove (*kulukulu*).

Kuma, a rat. T,NT

Kumi, to seek; two pieces of black tapa. V

Kunei, he is there. V

Kupu, a sentence; a limb; a joint. T,V

Kutu, the louse; a shrub. T

La, a sail; the mat of which the sail for the boat is made. T

Laaina, sunburnt; to dry anything in the sun. H

Laakulu, the leaf of the *kulu* plant which is made into a sail for a toy boat. T

Laau, a sail that is blown away. H

Laaulopa, a sail that is blown to the whole length of the rope. T

Laaulu, intense heat from the sun. T

Lafaele, a large sail having a small one attached. H

Lafi, to hide; to hide, as a child nestles against its mother. T

Lafoe, to cast a net; a game of throwing sticks. NT

Lafokautuu, to throw at the mark in a game. V

Laiafi, to sail by fire (a steamer). T,H

Laiatea, a pineapple. T,NF

Laifone, a rifle. T

Laina, sunburnt; sun dried. H

Lainiaetau, the row of soldiers. V

Laipato (a Fijian word). H

Laka, to step; to step along. NF

Lakai, to step over. V,NF

Lakalaka, the march dance. T

Lakepa, Lakemba, Fiji. T,V,NF

Lakepamoafitu, Lakepa and Afitu.

Lakepamohaateiho, Lakepa and Haa Teiho.

Lakei, leaves made fast to the stone used in catching the octopus. T

Lakeioetau, the ornament or decoration of the warriors for war; the warrior's dress. T

Laku, to throw.

Lakuea, (Fijian word). T

Lala, desert; to broil slightly. H

Lalahi, large; rather large; a large sail. H

Lalakai, to put the food on platted coconut mats. H,V

Lalao, to go crouching along. T,H

Laleakoko, the squeaking noise of the sail in the wind. V

Laleopa, the sail that makes a noise or report like a gun. V

Lalotonga, below Tonga.

Lama, to watch; a light from a distance. T,NF

Lamasima, to keep watch of the water cistern.

Lamata, ambush; lying in wait to attack. T,V

Lamatau, ambush; troops lying in wait. T,H

Lamipeti, Lambert. T,H

Lamu, to chew; mastication. H

Langaola, early return with success.

Langi, the sky; the burying place of the Tui Tonga. T,H,V,NF

Langiapuna, the sailing of the clouds in the sky; the sky of flying. T

Langiave, the sky has taken (a euphemism for death). V

Langikula, the red sunset. NT

Langilangi, powerful; great; applied only to chiefs. T

Langilea, thunder; the voice of the sky. H

Langiloa, dark squally sky.

Langiloloa, sky without clouds. NF

Langitoki, the sky of the axe.

Langitoutai, Langi the navigator.

Lango, the common fly; blocks of wood on which anything is raised. H,NF

Langoi, to raise up with logs; to raise on to something else. NT

Langoia, to be covered with flies. T,H,V

Langoiaipangai, to be covered with flies at Pangai. T

Lanivia (a Fijian word). H

Lao, law. NF

Laofoou, new laws. T

Lapale, to row with the paddles instead of sailing, because of the calm. T

Lapaoo, to wrap the fish *oo* in leaves to boil. H

Lapila (a Fijian word). T,H,NF

Lapolopola, a sail made with platted coconut leaves. T

Lapuaho, to flatter in the day; a day flatterer for what can be got. T

Lapuka, rotten wood (a word from Niuatoputapu Island). NT

Lapukai, to flatter so as to get some thing to eat. H

Lapulo, to flatter under the slightest pretext.

Lapulou, covered with a sail.

Lasike, a rolled up sail. T,V,NT

Lasinikapa, call attention to the flapping of the sail.

Lasu, no; not so; also means, a person thrown in wrestling and wanting another bout. NF
Lata, to be at home; to like staying at a place. T,H
Latafisi, to like staying at Fiji. T
Latai, name of a stream. T,V,NT
Lataifaleaka, domestic in the house of kicks.
Lataifanga, to like staying on the seashore. NF
Latailakepa, to like staying at Lakepa. V
Lataimaumi, domestic in Maumi (at Lapaha, Tongatabu).
Lataimua, to like staying at Mua. H
Latainavave, to become quickly attached.
Lataitokelau, domestic in the north.
Latavao, to like staying in the bush. V
Latu, sail unfurled. T,H,V,NT,NF
Latufakahau, Latu who acted like a ruler.
Latufakakau, Latu who always swims. T
Latufuipeka, Latu the flock of flying foxes.
Latuhaamoa, Latu of Samoa.
Latuhaapai, Latu of Haapai. V
Latuhilangi, chief of the sky.
Latuhoi, Latu of Hoi. H
Latuholeva, chief of Holeva.
Latuila, Latu with the scar. V
Latukakau, Latu the swimmer. H
Latukavulu (a Fijian word). T
Latukefu, Latu the yellow. T
Latukilangi, sail unfurled to the sky; chief to the sky. T
Latulala, chief of the desert.
Latumailangi, Latu from the sky. T
Latumala, Latu the unlucky. T,H
Latunipulu, Latu the strong chief.
Latunipuluiteapua, a very strong chief.
Latuniua, Latu of Niua.
Latuofo, Latu the stayer. T
Latuolaifotuika, Latu successful in Fotuika.
Latuotusia, Latu aligning mounds.
Latu Peni, Latu Benjamin.
Latuselu (a Fijian word); a chief who has attendance. T,V
Latusia, Latu of the mound.
Latutama, Latu the chief.
Latuteovave, Latu quickly floated.
Latutufunga, Latu the artificer. H
Latutuli, Latu the deaf.
Latuvaivai, Latu the weak. T
Latuvaloa, Latu of the *valoa* (seaweed). T
Lauaki, the supreme; the highest; the name of the king's matapule; counting more nights. T,H,NF
Laufilitonga, leaves chosen in Tonga.
Laufilitongameihetoa, Laufilitonga from the toa tree.
Laufilitonganiua, Laufilitonga from Niua.
Laufoli, to talk and never come to the point of a thing; to talk and not tell what is wanted. T
Lauhea, the leaf of the *hea* tree. T
Laui, to talk about; to be talked about. H
Laukau, proud, vain. T,H,V,NF
Laula, a fleet of vessels. T
Laulata, to say that one likes the place (that one feels at home). T
Lauleia, to tell to move it away. T
Laulile, the leaf of the lily. H
Laulo, to count the ants. T
Laumape, to call the name on the map. T
Laumanukilupe, to talk of pigeons.
Laume, the dying of the young shoots of plants; to talk of success. T
Launoa, nonsense, useless talk. H
Launga, to murmur, to complain. H
Laungatua, to talk about tapa.
Laungaue, to grumble at the amount of work. T
Lauola, the living shoots of plants; to talk of success. T
Laupe, only talk; count on, continue to count. V
Laupo, to count the nights that intervene before an event will happen. T
Laupua, the leaf of the *pua* tree. V
Lausii, narrow. T,H,V
Lautaha, to double, as a piece of cloth; to count one by one. T
Lautaimi, to count the time in music. V
Lautalo, the leaf of the taro plant. V
Laute, to count one after another. H
Lauti, to wish to have some tea to drink.
Lautuaa, outside talk; rumor. T
Lautuula, to count the sites for the pigeons.
Lauva, the space between the yam plants or banana plants. T
Lava, bait for fish; to accomplish. T,V
Lavaka, the title of a chief of Pea, Tongatabu; the sail of the vessel. T,H,V,NT
Lavakafanuauli, black-land ship's sail.
Lavakahofoa, Hofoa ship's sail.

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Lavaka-toafaohihifo, Lavaka of the western plains.
Lavaka-vaivai, Lavaka the weak.
Lavaki, a traitor; to betray. T,V
Lavalu, a fleet of eight vessels. T,H
Lave, to steer free; starboard; to strike the mark. T
Lavekihelotu, to be religious; pious. V
Lavemai, to steer to starboard. T,H,V
Lavi, to tie; to fasten. H
Lavinia, Lavinia. ;
Lavinia Veiongo, Lavinia of the feeling stream.
Lavuki, to join; to meet. V
Lavulavu (a Fijian name). T,H,V
Lavulo (a Fijian name from Thakaunove). H
Le, to affright fish into a net. T
Lea, to talk; to speak; voice; a word. V
Leaaefefine, the word of a woman. T
Leaaepeni, the word of the pen. H
Leaaepulu, the voice of the gun; the voice of the shot. V,NF
Leaaetoa, the word of the conqueror; the word of the brave. T,H
Leaatoutai, the order of the navigator; the order of one that knows. V
Leakehe, a word from another language. NF
Leakovi, a bad word; to speak injudiciously. H
Lealiki, the voice of the waves on the seashore; a purling sound. T,V
Leata, to ward off in conversation.
Leesisipa, one who stutters; a stammerer. T
Lefai, an octopus. NT
Leha, the first in his calling or occupation. T,H,V
Lehapoto, the death of Leha, the wise. T
Lehauku, an artisan.
Lehauli, name of a matapule of the Tui Tonga. T,V
Lei, whale's tooth; ivory. T,H
Leiataua, our (two) whale's tooth. T
Leifai, not accomplished. T
Leilo, it is not known. T
Leisi, lace. T
Leka, short, stumpy. T,H,V,NF
Lekaumoana, the saunterer of the ocean.
Lelea, to be driven by the wind, as a vessel to go astray. T
Leleakuokite, to be driven away by the wind after having sighted the land.
Leleheu, to run to the catching of the pigeons; when the chiefs went out pigeon hunting. H
Lelei, good; pleasant; useful. H
Leleimoepo, the night good for the voyage. H
Lelenoa, to run for no reason. T,V
Lelengamatanga, the company of soldiers in jeopardy.
Leleva, laughing race.
Lemani, lemon. V,NF
Lemoto, a plant that has just started to sprout; a shoot of a plant. T
Leni, the present time. H
Leo, the voice, to watch; to guard. V
Leokau, to watch without moving.
Leopolo, to keep guard of the *polo* tree.
Leota, it is mine; fish drive. T,H,V
Lepa, an artificial water hole; *lepa* tree. V
Lepolo, beautiful; name of a plant. T,H,V
Lepou, the steam-proof leaves of the *lepo* plant, which are used to cover the earth oven to keep in the heat. T
Lepuha, to brawl; to war; to quarrel. V
Lesieli, Rachel.
Letafa (a Samoan word). T
Letele, anything that is much talked of; something big. V
Leula, the dance.
Leuta, to drive to the shore.
Leva, at once; quickly. H
Levani, at the present time; at once. V
Leveni, Levin. T
Li, to toss; to throw; to lash together; also the name of the *kafa* (sennit rope which fastens the outrigger of the vessel). T
Lia, Leah.
Liaki, to cast off; to discard; to abandon. T
Lie, to throw down; to overcome. H
Liemalohi, to throw the strong. T
Liha, a nit. V
Lika, to be advancing; growing wise. H
Likiliki, small divisions of land. T,H,V
Likio (a Fijian word). H
Liku, the weather shore; the back of the island. H,V
Likuohihifo, the weather shore of the west.
Likusuosua (a Fijian word). T
Likutau, rough weather shore.
Lilo, concealed, hidden. T,H,V,NF
Lilopau, a thing hidden securely and only known to the owner. T,H

Lima, hand. T,H
Limu, seaweed. T
Limuimata, name of place; the eyebrows.
Limuloa, long seaweed.
Lina, to throw round. NF
Lingelingasi, something very far away.
Lino, to string coconut leaves upon a rope, so as to drag for fish, used like a fishing net. V,NT
Lio, to give all. T
Lisi, to fling; to throw with force. T,V
Lisiate, Richard. T
Litea, to throw into the light. V
Litova, to throw and fall at a distance between two given marks in a tossing game. T
Liu, the hold of a vessel; to return. T,V,NF
Liua, to debase; to dethrone; to depose. T,NT
Liuakaetau, dethrone then war; throw double and it will hit. NF
Liuaki, awaiting the return, reverse.
Liuakikaetau, turn therewith, and it will land (referring to boat probably).
Liuakikuoulu, turn therewith so it is head (or first).
Liufau, to change the hau strainer in making the kava drink. T,V
Liukaiua, to go and to return again. T
Liumaikuotua, for a chief to return and find himself deposed or degraded. V
Liumeitupou, returning from Taliai Tupou (the god).
Liutai, to go to sea. V
Livai, to throw water. NF
Lo, the ant. H
Loa, to paint the face in war time. V
Loakaetau, to paint the face, then fight. V
Loamanu, the name of a chief's graveyard; the name of a green. T
Loau, the name of a famous chief; a long time ago.
Lofa, name of a bird; a kite. H
Lofanga, the big seashore of many anchorages. H
Lohi, a falsehood; a lie. H
Loholoho, the branch on which the coconut grows. H
Loia, to be surfeited in eating. V
Loketi, a locket. H,V,NT
Loki, room.
Lokoili, the name of a matapule; handsome; great one reserved for reproduction. V
Lokopue, very swift. T
Lokotui, the name of a ruler; handsome. H
Lokutui, to gather in sewing; to draw together; to thread together as flowers in a garland. H
Lolie, name of a tree. NT,NF
Lolo, oil; to rain in torrents. T,H,V
Loloa, long, tall; qualmish. T
Loloatonga, the length of Tonga.
Loloahi, under the sandalwood tree.
Lolohea, under the shade of the *hea* tree; oil of the *hea* fruit. T,H,V
Loloko, round in shape. H
Lolomanaia, the name of a chief who caused the Tui Tonga to kill his wife; handsome; most excellent oil. T
Lolongo, sharks in a shoal; an assembly at a heathen dance; quick. T
Lomano, a great many ants. T
Lomitau, to keep war under; to prevent war; to suppress war. V
Lomu, the name of a shellfish. T, H, V, NT, NF
Lomupepa (a Samoan name).
Lonutau, to quell war; to keep down fighting. NT
Longahulu, a raised bed or sleeping place. V
Longakava, to expect kava drink to be made. T
Longani, this sleeping place. T,H,V
Longanimate, not talkative. T
Longi (a Fijian word). H
Longo, not talkative; quiet; to be quiet. T,V
Longoatu, to expect the bonitos to come. NF
Longolongo, a name of a tree and its fruit, foretokening.
Longolongoatumai, likely that bonito may be brought.
Longomate, dead quiet.
Longopoa, a peaceful answer. T
Longosai, has the sign of being fine weather; peaceful. T,H
Loomatu, many folds.
Lopa, to fasten the mast of a canoe. NF
Lopeti, Robert. T,V
Lopolo (a Fijian word). T,V
Losa, Rosa. H
Losaki, to gather together. V
Losana, Rosanna.
Lose, rose. H
Loseli, name of plant. T,NF
Lotaki, to encourage; to exhort. T,H

Lotauai, assembly there.
Lote, to stir; to mix from the bottom. T,H
Lotea, white ants.
Lotoa, inclosure; inside the fence. H,V
Lotoahea, an enclosure made of *hea* trees. H,V
Lotoamaka, the stone compound.
Lotoamua, the old enclosure. H
Lotoaniu, the enclosure of coconuts. T,H,V
Lotovale, ignorant mind.
Lotulelei, a good religion. H
Lotuaha, to pray for rain. T
Lou, leaf.
Louhangale, the leaf of the *hangale* tree. NT
Louhuni, the leaf of the *huni* tree. T,H,V
Loumovita, the leaf of the *movita* tree. V
Loupua, the leaf of the *pua* tree. T
Lousi, the leaf of the *si* plant. V
Lousiale, the leaf of the gardenia bush. T
Loutalo, the leaf of the taro plant. T
Lova, to race. H
Lu, the leaves of the taro.
Lua, a sunken reef; to vomit. T,H
Luafanga, sunken reef beach.
Luani, to be equal; an equal; now equal; this sunken reef. T,V
Lui, Louis. T,V
Luinukuafe, the herbs of Nukuafe Island. T
Luisa, Louisa. T
Luise, Louis. NT
Lulu, the owl; the reeding of a house; to shake. H,V
Lupe, the fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*). T,H,V,NT
Lupekatoa, all the pigeons. T
Lupekauloa, pigeon the one side chief.
Lupekehe, someone's else pigeon; a strange pigeon. T
Lupemaumamao, pigeon being caught from afar.
Lupemeihihifo, pigeon from the west.
Lupemeitakui, pigeon from Takui.
Lupepauu, bad pigeon.
Lupeutu, the pigeons of the cliff. NT
Lupeutulau, pigeon of Utulau.
Lupeuvea, a pigeon from Uvea. H
Lupeveeono, the six-legged pigeon.
Lusa, forsaken, destitute. H
Lusaifau, lost in the hau thicket.
Lusatau, destitute because of the war. V
Luseane, Lucy Anne.
Lute, Ruth. H
Lutu, the sound caused by striking the water.
Lutui, to strike the water surrounded by the net, for the fish to run into the net. T,H,V,NT
Lutuifangatonu, bathing in the proper anchorage.
Lutumeilangi, the falling rain; the sound of the falling waters from the sky. H
Luungahala, wrongly placed. T
Ma, bread; bashful; ashamed. H,V
Maafu, the name of a chief; a weapon (now means ammunition); the burning of a temple. T, H, V
Maafukalaau, Maafu from Kalaau. T
Maafulatavaka, Maafu fond of the boat.
Maafulele, the small Magellan cloud. T
Maafuotuitonga, Maafu of the Tui Tonga.
Maafutakinima, Maafu the brave; Maafu lead by the hand. T
Maafutukuiaulahi, Maafu left in strong current.
Maake, Mark. T,H
Maana, for him.
Maanuhekina, anything that is not heavy. T
Maasi, march. T,H
Maata, Martha.
Maatu, to chew and give.
Maava, a species of fish.
Maava-mo-Kahokaho, *maava* fish and *kahokaho* yam.
Maea, a rope; rope for catching shark. T,H,NT,NF
Maeakafa, a rope made from the fiber of the coconut husk, used in vessels and in building houses, etc. T,H,V
Maealalo, the underrope of the vessel. T
Maealiuaki, a rope that goes round or is twisted round (used in a vessel); return of the shark catching rope. T
Mafaaaeata, the break of dawn. T
Mafi, a conqueror. T,H,V,NT,NF
Mafiangahiki, conqueror of lofty manner.
Mafihaamea, the conqueror of Haamea.
Mafihaapai, conqueror of Haapai.
Mafihaateiho, conqueror of Haa Teiho.
Mafihape, club footed conqueror.
Mafiila, the conqueror with the scar. T
Mafikaitae, conqueror who eats excrement.
Mafikakau, the swimming conqueror.
Mafikaunanga, Mafi the maid servant.

Mafilatu, the conqueror that sailed away. V

Mafileo, the conqueror who guards or watches; conquering voice. T,H,V

Mafileo-niua, conqueror's voice of Niuatoputapu.

Mafileoakaveka, the good-looking conqueror.

Mafileosongi, the conqueror from Fiji.

Mafimalanga, the conqueror who preaches. T

Mafimatapule, the conqueror's mouthpiece. T

Mafimolasike, Mafi and Lasike, two warriors.

Mafipake, the boasting conqueror; truly strong. V

Mafitaloke, the conqueror who has the eel tattooed on his body.

Mafitea, the conqueror with the fair skin. V

Mafitongutu, the conqueror who was deceived by talking.

Mafiuliuli, dark conqueror.

Mafo, able to be washed; to crack. H

Mafoa, to be cracked or broken. T,NT

Mafoaaeata, the break of day; the dawn. T.

Mafua, a rising ground formed for the purpose of bounding rods along in the game called *siko;* a shoal of small fish. T,H,V

Mafuahingano, the strong and good.

Mafulu, angry (as one whose respiration is affected).

Maha, empty; devoid. T

Mahanga, twins, one of the twins. V,NT

Mahe, a loin cloth; a sash made of native cloth. T,H,V,NT,NF

Mahei, a nickname for war. T

Mahetuputau, brought up in fighting.

Maheuliuli, a black loin cloth; Mahe the dark. V

Mahi, sour, acid. T

Mahina, the moon; month (the one revolution of the moon); it also means distinct; intelligible. H,V

Mahinaeua, two months.

Mahinakovi, a bad month; a moon with sign of bad weather. T

Maiava, a person standing at the entrance. NT

Maiepuho, a fragrant garland.

Maifala, bring the mat. V,NT

Maifanga, to be brought to the seashore, as driftwood. V

Maika, bread of fish.

Mailangi, a person standing on a high place. H, V, NT

Mailau, a person standing on something big. T,H

Maile, the myrtle shrub; mile. T,H,V

Maileeua, the myrtle of Eua.

Mailelutamai, the myrtle that grows near.

Mailemanga, the myrtle that spreads. V

Mailepopua, the myrtle of Popua.

Mailetuuone, the myrtle that grows on the sand. T

Maili, to blow gently, as the wind. NT

Maka, stone or rock of any kind. T, H, V, NT

Makaafi, a firestone; a flint. H,V,NF

Makafana, shooting rock.

Makafiliai, a chosen rock, or a rock that has been chosen. V

Makahokovalu, the rock with the eight joints.

Makahununiu, to use coconut as heating stones for the earth oven; stones for heating coconuts. T

Makakeliloka, a rock dug out by the surf.

Makalohi, slate. V

Makamaka, stony, rocky. T

Makamalohi, rock of strength.

Makamomo, crumbled stone. H

Makamotu, a stone from the island; a stone that is snapped off. T,H

Makaoo, two stones joined together. T

Makasini, magazine. V

Makata, a sling for throwing stones; the head and foot stones in a vault. T

Makatuu, steady; immovable. H

Makatuuhala, the stone that stands in the road; the stone that is wrongly placed. T

Makaui, the stone on which they stand to call (to a boat). T

Makauka, sticky rock.

Makelesi, Margaret.

Makenesi, Mackenzie.

Mala, the name of a shark; foolishness; misfortune. NT

Malae, a green; a grass plat. H

Malalo, fruit buried in the earth to ferment.

Malama, a shine; to glitter. V

Malamala, chips of wood; shavings. H

Malanga, an oration; a sermon; preacher. T

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Malava, able to accomplish; name of a kind of fowl. T

Malele, to incline to; to pursue, applied to several. H

Malie, pleasing; fortunate; the last drying of tapa ere it is used. T,V

Malieta, Marietta.

Malimali, to appear pleased; to smile. NT

Maliu, to return; to exchange. H

Malo, victor.

Malofafa, well done for the carrying on the back.

Malolo, to bow down (in submission); to rest; to cease from labor. H,V

Malolokihetau, to stay to the war.

Malu, calm (the wind); impervious to wet; free from pain. T,V

Maluimoeao, to come from the clouds (rain).

Malukava, not allowed to drink kava. T

Malungahu, a damp shade. T,H

Maluniu, the shade of the coconut tree. V

Maluofisi, mild wind of Fiji.

Malupo, a calm night; a night of safety. T,H,V

Mama, a ring; light; world. T,H

Mamaloa, a bright light; light without intermission as at the full moon. V

Mamatuki, a ring from a coin. NF

Mameatu, a thing of value. NF

Manako, to like; to approve. H

Manakohulu, to like the dry banana leaves. H

Manakotau, to approve of war; to prefer war. T

Manakovi, bad thunder.

Manase, Manasseh. T

Manavahetau, to dread war. H

Manisela, Mansell. T

Manoa, ashamed for no reason. V

Manu, bird or animal. T,H,V,NT,NF

Manuatu, the bird that has been given. T

Manuau, your bird. T

Manuefata, the bird of the loft. NT

Manuetoafa, the bird of the desert. T

Manuhaapai, the bird of Haapai. H

Manukovi, a bad animal or bird. H

Manulangaoi, the cry of the early bird. V

Manulea, the speaking bird. V

Manuluunganga, the bird that stands on the seashore.

Manumanu, a small party who commences the fighting in war; covetousness; avarice. T

Manumapuhola, bird whistling your sail. 551

Manumataongo, the bird that listens.

Manumua, an old bird. T

Manuna, that bird.

Manuofahiki, a bird whose love has changed. H

Manuofetoa, the bird of Fetoa Island. V

Manuouiha, the bird of Uiha Island. H

Manuokafoa, the bird of Kafoa (hill at Vavau). V

Manuopangai, the bird of Pangai. T,V

Manupule, the bird that rules. T,NF

Manupupuione, the bird that hides in the sand.

Manusiu, the fishing bird.

Manutangi, the crying bird. T

Manutangihaele, the bird that cries as it flies.

Manutapu, sacred bird.

Manutau, a male animal or bird; the fighting bird or animal. T

Manutaukakau, war birds swimming.

Manutefamai, the loving bird.

Manutuli, a bird that is chased; a deaf bird. T

Manutuufanga, a bird that stands on the beach. T

Manuuli, a dirty bird. V

Manuvao, a wild bird. NT

Mao, to do without care or thought; to speak inadvisedly. T

Maopa, name of a boat, native bread.

Mapa, the name of a tree and its fruit. T,H,V,NF

Mapafisiavatonga, the *mapa* that grows at the entrance of the passage.

Mapahaano, the Haano *mapa* tree.

Mapaila, the *mapa* fruit that has a mark on it. V

Mapakaufusi, the *mapa* fruit with the green stem. T

Mapalei, the name of a tree. T

Mapapapalangi, the *mapa* tree that reached the sky; the foreigner's flower. T

Mapatongiamanu, the *mapa* fruit of the Tui Haa Teiho.

Mapu, to whistle. H,V

Masalu, a moving thing; a thing that waves about. T,NT

Masau (a Fijian word). T

Masi, sour; decayed, as the coconut when kept too long; name of a tree. T, H, NT

Masila, a bamboo fishing rod; sharp-edged. NF

Masima, salt; salted. T,H

Masitati, mustard. H
Mata, face.
Mataele, name of a fish; the chief's face. T,H,V
Mataele Haamea, Mataele of Haamea.
Mataelemuluvala, Mataele who took off the loin cloth.
Mataelepuku, Mataele the short.
Mataeletuapiko, Mataele the hunchback.
Mataeleusitea, Mataele with whitish backside (so called because he was not tattooed on that certain spot).
Matafahi, a relation by blood. T
Matafeo, coral edge.
Matahau, the face of ruling chief. T
Matai, the name of the hammerhead shark; a clever one; the best one. T
Mataika, face of a fish.
Mataka, dried coconut (copra). T
Matakai, to catch fish. V
Matakaiongo, something that is much talked about. T
Matalave, achievement. T
Matamoana, the surface of the ocean. T
Matangi, the wind. T,H,V,NT
Mataongo, to hear quickly; to understand. T
Matapa, an entrance; a door. T
Matapule, the chief's mouthpiece; one who speaks for the chief in all ceremonies. T,V
Mataukipa, great strength.
Mataulei, ivory fish hook.
Matauvave, to the right quickly; one quick at action; starboard quick. H
Matavelivali, green like the young coconut.
Mate, dead; to upset, as a canoe; benumbed. T
Matei, a small straight stick used in catching fish; to guess. H
Mateialona, to die for the loved one or for the chief. H,V
Mateila, to die without accomplishing.
Mateitalo, beautiful; to die from the taro plant. T,H,V
Mateitalofisi, Mateitalo of Fiji.
Mateitalohaapai, Mateitalo of Haapai.
Mateitau, to die in the war. T
Matekitonga, to die for Tonga. T
Matekolo, to die in town; for the wicket to be bowled out at cricket. T
Matekuolava, to die having accomplished. H
Matelau, never silent (to die still talking). T
Mateni, Martin. T
Matelita, Matilda.
Matetalo, the dead taro plant.
Matetau, to keep fighting; always fighting; extinct war. V
Matevaitui (a Fijian word). V
Matolo, scraped; scratched. V
Matongo, the strong *tongo* plant.
Matu, the name of a fish; to be poured out; to break. H
Matui, to stab; to drive with force. V
Mau, to possess; to obtain. T, H, V, NT
Maukava, to take kava as a present when visiting. V
Maukoloa, to possess wealth. V
Maulahi, to possess many.
Maulangi, an important matapule. H
Maulupekotofa, to receive the appointed pigeon.
Maumalanga, to be appointed to preach; to attend church. T
Maumau, destruction; waste; extravagance. T, H, V
Maumauietala, spoilt in the telling; badly expressed in words. T
Maumaukai, not worth his food; does not work NF
Maungatai, a chief from the sea. T
Maupuku, to possess a dwarf. T
Mausia, high places. T
Mauu, a thing made to fasten.
Mavae, to separate; to be weaned; to divorce. H, V
Maveu, confusion; disorder. V
Meafua, a measure. T
Mealeleikaavea, something nice to be taken.
Meavale, the poor; populace. V
Mei, the breadfruit tree; nearly, almost. T, H
Mekemeke, to dance. V
Mele, a defect; a blemish; Mary.
Meleane, Mary Anne.
Melekolo, bad town. V
Melemo, drowned.
Melemoiofu, bad and oven-cooked.
Melenaite, Mary Knight.
Meleni, melon.
Meleseini, Mary Jane. T
Melesiale, not a nice gardenia flower. V
Melesio, bad to the looks. T
Meliame, Miriam.
Melino-a-Tonga, peace of Tonga.
Mesi, to tell of good news. T
Metuisela, Methuselah.
Milika, Melica.

Misa, mister. T
Misinale, missionary. T
Misini, machine. NF
Misipaka, Mr. Parker (called after a trader). T
Moa, a fowl. T, H
Moaeteau, there will be one hundred fowls.
Moafaapuna, a fowl that is always flying about. T
Moahengi, a wild fowl. T
Moakai, name of a stone. V
Moala, the name of a yam. T, H, V, NT, NF
Moalaeua, two yams called Moala. T, V
Moalaua, two good things.
Moalatufunga, Moala the carpenter. H
Moalapauu, Moala the mischievous. V
Moale, good, also name of jam. H
Moeaki, to sleep at a place expecting to do some work on the morrow. T
Moeakihiatu, to sleep at a place expecting to go bonito fishing in the morning.
Moeakiola, to sleep at a place expecting to get something in the morning. T
Mohenoa, to sleep when there is no need; to sleep anywhere. H, V, NF
Mohetau, to sleep before going to war. H
Mohokoi, the name of a tree. H
Mohulamu, a good fisherman—a man who gets many bites; plenty to chew; abundance of food. T, H, V
Mohulamupangai, the good fisherman of Pangai.
Mohulamupuku, the short fisherman.
Mohulamutefisi, a good fisherman. T
Moi, to accompany a short distance; to escort. H
Moimoi, to send a present to some one at a distance; to escort. T, H, V
Moka, bent; not tight and straight. T, V
Mokena, a bamboo flute.
Moki, mug. V
Mokofisi, to twist and kick about; land taken away by the chief. T
Mokohula, the name of an insect. T, NF
Mokoi, very cold. T
Mokoifonua, very cold on land; my own country. NF
Moleahau, oranges from Ahau.
Moli, orange; to move. H, V
Moliahau, oranges from Ahau. H
Molipeli, mulberry. T
Molisi, a small orange. H
Molitoni, Moulton. V
Molou, the name of a fish. T
Momotu, drawn, contracted in different places; broken. T
Monu, blessing; felicity. T
Mosese, Moses. T
Motau, you two fight. T
Motuahala, the old road. NT
Motuapuaka, the old man pig. T, H
Motuha, an island that can be seen from another island. H
Motuila, a bad island at which to anchor. NT, NF
Motukuveeila, the heron with the spotted foot.
Motulalo, the lower islands.
Motuliki, Moturiki (a place in Fiji). T, V
Mounga, mountain. T, H, V
Moungalakepa, the mountain of Lakepa.
Moungamotua, old mountain.
Moungaotupou, mountain of Tupou.
Moungatonga, the mountain of Tonga. H
Mua, first; petty chief. T
Muakiholeva, the first to get to Holeva.
Muakivaka, the first to go on board the vessel. V
Muamoholeva, the handsome chief. T
Muasika, point of *siko* spear.
Muhumuhu, to speak quietly together. V
Muimui, the last.
Muli, a foreigner; a stranger. H, NT
Mulikieua, a stranger on a visit to Eua. T
Mulikihaamea, stranger to Haamea.
Mulinuu, a stranger in my own country. T, H
Mumui, to imitate; to follow. H
Muna, to talk nonsense; to pretend. H, V
Munakifalemei, to talk nonsense at the god's house.
Muni, strong.
Musie, grass. H
Musu, to surrender; to hire out. T
Na, fear; also sign of past tense. V
Naa, a term used to children—hush; be still; to stop crying. T, H, V
Naaheilala, the fragrant *heilala* garland.
Naahokanga, the meeting place of great things. T
Naaika, perhaps there will be fish. T
Naamopua, do not grieve. T
Naaniumotu, an island without coconut trees. T, H
Naatea, Naa the fair-skinned.
Naauli, Naa the dark-skinned.
Naeata, the dawn is near. T
Naetavai, sweet water.

Nai, a term of endearment; to collect together, as broken food. T, H
Naitoka, do not lift up. T
Naitoko (a Fijian word). T
Namoa, toasted coconut; the baby's first food. T
Namoe, to rub slowly and gently the affected part.
Namosi (a Fijian word). V
Nanasi, mean; greed.
Nanasilapaha, Nanasi of Lapaha.
Nanasinifuna, a beautiful woman.
Nanasipauu, Nanasi, the mischievous.
Nanise, Nancy.
Napaa, preoccupied (the mind). T, H, V
Natane, Nathan.
Nau, to have; Fijian term for mother. T, H, V, NF
Nauamoa, their fowl fence.
Naufahu, a high chief; Nau the chief mourner of the deceased.
Naufakakau, to heap up in abundance.
Nauhaakili, the good that comes from Haakili.
Nauhaamea, the good that comes from Haamea. T
Naukovi, the bad Nau.
Nauleo, the good watcher. H
Nauli, it will soil.
Naulivou (a Fijian word).
Naulongoakau, they will await the fruit season.
Naulu, a reed fence or wall. T
Naumahanga, Nau the twin.
Naumataotua, Nau with the god's face.
Naupipiki, Nau the hanger on.
Naupoto, a carpenter. V
Nautea, the fair Nau.
Nautu, two in the valley.
Nauvale, Nau the silly one.
Neau (a Fijian word). H
Neiufi, the name of a fish. H
Nekesi, the name of an island in Fiji. T
Neti, Ned. T
Nie, a little. T
Nika, nigger. T
Niu, the coconut tree and its fruit; old, hard as the skin of an old person. T, H, V
Niua, plenty of coconut trees; the island of nuts; the name of an island. H, V
Niuafe, a crooked coconut tree. T, H
Niualiku, coconuts grown at the weather shore. T
Niufoou, new coconut.
Niuila, a coconut tree with a mark on it. T, H
Niukapu, a coconut shell used as a cup; overcast coconut. H
Niulala, sails of coconut leaves.
Niuleka, a name of a certain kind of coconut. H
Niumatae, oh, for a green coconut (to drink). H
Niumataevalu, a coconut with eight eyes; eight dead coconuts. T
Niumeifanga, coconuts from the trees on the seashore. H
Niumeitolu, the coconut brought from the island Tolu. H
Niupalavu (a Fijian word). H
Niutakiifanga, shore of the cut small coconut.
Niutei, a very long coconut tree. T
Niutonga, coconuts from Tonga (taken to another place or island). V
Niutongi, carved coconut.
Niutoua, two coconuts planted together. NF
Niutunu, toasted coconut; coconuts cooked in the ashes. T
Niutupuua, two coconuts growing together. T
No, to borrow; to hire; to lease. T
Noa, dumb; random; trivial. T, H, NT
Nofu, the fish *nofu*.
Nokesi (a Fijian word).
Nonu, the name of a tree. H
Nonuailoa, besmeared *nonu* tree.
Noo, a belt; a waistband; to bind together. T
Nukonuka, the name of a shrub and its flower. H
Nuku, island; the land of his people. T, H, V
Nukuafe, the crooked island. T
Nukuiuve, land of the dove.
Numia, crushed.
Nunia, a chief woman.
Nunoi, name of a plant. T
Nunu, to assemble; to gather together (people). T
Nunufaaekea, the assembly which always questions.
Nganga, many in number; to paint. T, H, V
Ngahe, weak; languid; name of a tree. T
Ngahetau, a weak army. H
Ngahi, the sign of the plural. H
Ngako, fat.

Ngalanoa, to cry for nothing; to cry for no reason. T
Ngalongalo, forgetful; to sink slowly out of sight. T, V
Ngalu, a sporting place in the waves of the sea; billows; surf waves. T, H V
Ngaluafe, a thousand surf waves; curve of the breakers. V
Ngalumoetutulu, breakers and not water tight.
Ngalungalu, the wake of a fish swimming near the surface. T, H
Ngaluola, full of broken or separate reefs. H
Ngalupepeloa, long breakers.
Nganga, many in number.
Ngananiua, many fallen coconuts.
Ngase, weak; languid. T
Ngata, the end; a kind of snake. T, H, V
Ngatata, to jingle; to rustle. T
Nginingini, to be thoroughly satiated. H
Ngu, strength; a kind of yam. T, V
Ngungutau, war rumor.
Ofa, love; affection; a fathom (measure). T, H, V
Ofakihaapai, greetings or love to Haapai.
Ofakivavau, greetings or love to Vavau.
Ofokia, awakening.
Ohuafi, smoke; to be burned. T, H
Oko, fat. H
Olesi, papaya.
Olie, oleander.
Olivia, Olivia.
Oneiki, fine sand. T
Oneone, sand. T
Ono, sin; short; name of a fish. T
Ongo, a pair; to hear; to feel. T
Ongoalupe, only two wanderers.
Ongolea, to attend to what is said. T, H, V
Ongomai, a report; news brought. T
Ongosia, to be wearied or overworked. T
Osi, it is finished.
Osileani, to speak for the last time. V
Osiosi, to be consumed. V
Otoota, sweepings; rubbish. T
Otu, a row or line. T, H
Otuamua, the first god.
Otufanga, the row of anchorages. V
Otukolo, the row of sticks of a wicket in cricket. H, V
Otulea, the row of words. NF
Otunuku, the Nuku group.
Ototaha, in a row; all in a row. T
Otutoa, the row of toa trees. H
Paea, friendless; destitute. T, V
Pahipahi, to be tired of a thing.
Pahulu, a wonderful fish hook; the fence of banana leaves used for smoking. T, H, V
Paiakatau, maimed toes that kick at war; a person objecting that has no say. H
Pailate, pilot. NF
Paipa, a pipe. H
Paisone, poison. T
Paiui, to shout. H
Pakai, a heap of food. NF
Pakei, to challenge; to boast. V
Pakeileva, pluck it at once.
Pakeina, the fish hook that catches most fish. T
Paki, to pluck; to snap off; a small paddle. V
Pakofe, a bamboo fence. H
Paku, crust; the crisp of anything cooked. V
Pala, ulcerated, rotten. T, V
Palaimaea, rotten rope. T
Palaki, black. H, V
Palamaui, name of a canoe; to live and glide along with the wind. V
Palatavake, rotten and of no use. V
Palatea, the name of a fishing net. H
Palavale, not suitable; not in keeping. H
Palavi, the side of the reef near the shore. T, H
Palauni, Brown. H
Pale, prize; to paddle. T, V
Palefau, to paddle with the hau stick. V
Palefu, black.
Palei, to ward off; to turn aside. T, V
Paleikolotau, prize in the fortress.
Paleinangalu, to paddle in the surf.
Paleiono, the prize was given for fighting at Ono in Fiji; to turn aside six. V
Palekuoola, a vessel that has caught fish. V
Palelei, a good (Tongan) fish hook. NF
Palepale, a shelf; a platform for drying copra. T
Palepoi, to paddle slowly. T
Palevaka, a long rod with which boats are poled in shallow water. T
Palo, the name of one kind of yam. H
Paloakula, the fish hook smeared over with red. T
Palu, to mix; name of fish. T, H, V, NF
Palufakafanua, to mix kava in accordance with the custom of the land.
Paluhaamoa, to mix kava in the Samoan way.
Palukolonga, Palu of Kolonga (weeping town).

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Palula, the kava mixer's mat round his waist.
Paluleleva, Palu the handsome.
Palulofanga, Palu of Lofanga.
Palulongoteme, Palu of Longoteme.
Palumoala, to mix kava and touch; Palu of Moala.
Paluniukui, to knead the kava root.
Palusi, to mix the *si* root. T
Palutavaka, Palu that absconded in a boat; to mix kava and make the boat. V
Palutea, Palu the fair skinned.
Paluto, to knead the sugar cane; to extract the juice. T, H
Paluvailolomoli, to mix kava and water under the orange trees.
Paluvaivai, Palu the gentle (or weak).
Paluvalevale, for a child to prepare the kava drink; Palu the youngster. T
Paluvulase (a Fijian word).
Pamatangi, the place where the wind hits; a wind break. T
Pameki (a foreign word). NF
Pana, stunted. H
Panaki, close, near at hand. V
Pane, something old. H
Panipasa, Barnebas. H
Panuve, something precious. T
Pangai, the meeting place. T
Pangia, to strike a heavy blow. T
Paofua, to fall flat against. T
Paongo, the name of tree and its flowers. T, H, V
Paongataa, obstinacy, stubbornness. T
Papa, a long, hollow piece of wood on which tapa is printed; boards; the very coarse flooring mat; timber. T, V
Papalangi, foreigner (literally "heaven burster").
Papani, forage; food sought abroad in a war time; besmear; soil. T
Pasa, equal. T
Paseisei (a Fijian word). H
Pasesei (a Fijian word). H
Pasi, to clap hands. H, V, NF
Pasikala, bicycle. H
Pasinamu, to slap mosquitoes with the hand. V
Pasivaka, to clap the hands on the vessel. H
Pasoni, parson. V
Patea, the white fence.
Pateta, potato. T, V
Pati, cricket bat. NF
Patita, to examine into; to lay open. V
Pau, determined; a chief's fort. T, V
Paula, Paul.
Paulaho, the big post; strong.
Pauli, the name given to a garden whose crop is ripe. T, V
Pauni, pound. T
Paunite, pound (weight). V
Paunga, hidden strength.
Paupeeiki, certain to be chief. V
Pauta, sure to be chastised; sure to be punished. T
Pautu, a cliff. V
Pauu, mischievous; a rogue. T, H
Pauutaetau, mischievous but a coward. T
Pauuvale, disrespectful to a chief or superior. T
Pavaka, a rower; rowing a boat. T
Peau, waves of the sea. T, H
Peaua, rough, full of waves (the sea). NF
Peito, kitchen; cook house. H
Pekepeka, a toy mill; name of a bird (a swift). T
Pekia, to die. H
Pelaki, to build. T
Pele, pet. H
Peleki, Blake. T, H
Pelesikoti (a foreign word). T
Peleta, to dodge; to evade a blow. T
Peni, Ben.
Penitani, pennant; a streamer of a garland; a flag. H
Pepa, paper. V
Pepe, butterfly.
Pese, to sing. T
Pesekava, kava song.
Pi, a creeping plant. NF
Piko, crooked, awry. V
Pikokivaka, to go somewhere else on the way to the vessel. V
Pikula, the wasp. T, V
Pili, a lizard. H
Piliopo, very near; closely joined. H
Pilui, blue; washing blue. T
Pine, a wedge. NF
Pipi, name of a tree; the flow of the tide to land; a turkey. T, NF
Pipiena (it might mean "that is a turkey": *pipi*, turkey; *ena*, that). T
Piponu, saturated. NF
Pisi, nonsense. V
Pisila, the sail of the *kalia* (double vessel). T
Pisimaake, Bismarck. T

Pita, Peter.
Piutau, to fetch men to fight in war; to beg warriors of another chief. T,H,V
Pofele, a night of confusion. T
Pohiva, a night of song (concert). T,H, NF
Poho, the covered part of a canoe. H
Poina, a starlight night. V
Poipoi, to do anything frequently. T
Pola, a kind of mat made from the coconut leaf used in roofing and walling houses; the double one is used to put food on, covered with a banana leaf. T, V
Polau, a night of talking. H
Polaulu, the biggest coconut leaf platted for thatch. H
Pole, to boast; to brag. H
Poli, Polly.
Polo, chili, a species of capsicum. T, NF
Polopapalangi, the capsicum. T
Polongatalaao, to be planted.
Polota, the cut chili fruit. T
Polotu, night of prayer; a service of song (concert). NT
Polutele (a Fijian word); a night of note; a famous night. V
Pomaama, a night lamp, a night that is moonlight. T
Pomale, a night of rejoicing. T, H
Pomana, a night of thunder; a wonderful night. H
Pomee, a night dance. T
Pomilei (not a Tongan word). V
Ponaveitonga, the night to bind a man from Tonga. T
Pone, a name of a fish. T, V
Ponga, the name of a plant (sago) ripe before season. T
Pongi, to squint; to blink. V, NT, NF
Pongia, to faint. V
Pooi, a preparation of food. NF
Popiha, the night in which a part of the ceremony at a chief's wedding is held. H
Popoto, to be reconciled after a quarrel. H
Popua, name of a place (gets its name from the tree). T, V
Popuamoholeva, Popua and Holeva.
Pose, to come to arrange about something.
Posele, a night of disappointment. H
Posoa, night of flirting at the fence. H
Potesia, name of a plant.
Potesio, a night to keep good lookout; a night to keep watch. H
Pouanga, a straight post. H, V
Pouha, rainy night.
Pouli, dark; darkness. T
Poulia, to be benighted. NF
Poulikaeeva, night and they will roam.
Pouvalu, a house with eight posts or pillars. T, H, V
Pua, the name of a tree and its flower; also the name of a seaweed. H, V
Puaka, a pig. T, V, NF
Puakaeafe, a thousand pigs. T
Puakaeua, two pigs. H
Puakahaangana, the pigs of Haa Ngana (the people of Haano and Uiha.) H
Puakahengi, a wild pig. T
Puakamahanga, twin pigs. T
Puakapauu, a destructive pig. NF
Puakasovale, wandering pig.
Puakatau, a boar pig. H
Puakatea, the white pig. V
Puale, nothing between the legs.
Pualoiimounga, the woman called Pua that told a lie on the mountain. H
Puamau, a tree that stands firm. T
Pue, to win; to be first. H
Puetau, to be the first hit in the fight. NF
Puho, to flame; to flare. V
Pui, dictatorial; to give orders. T
Puikana, to be the first to find the *kana* stone; Buchanan. H
Puipuifatu, folded curtain.
Puitau, to give orders to fight. T
Pule, to reign; to govern; the cowry. H
Puleiku, to rule last. T
Puleilangite, the ruler of the row of mounds.
Puleivai, to command at sea. H
Puleni, to order at once. V
Pulepule, spotted, colored; the name of a shellfish. T
Pulete, bread. T
Pulevahai-i-Fisi, head of the family Vahai in Fiji.
Puli, secret; unseen, hidden. V
Pulikeka, handsome. H
Pulimaipau, lost for certain.
Puliuvea, to run away to Uvea Island. V
Puloka, block. H
Pulotu, the residence of the gods; the unseen world. T, H
Pulotufietau, unseen world which wishes to fight.
Pulu, a kind of gum used in caulking boats; the husk of the coconut. T,H,V

Pulukamu, blue gum. T
Pululangi, sky bull.
Pulumu, broom. T, H
Pulupaki, the name of a fragrant garland of flowers. H
Pumani (not a Tongan word). V
Punaivaka, to fly on the vessel as the flying fish or bird. H
Puni, closed; shut; met together. T,H,NT
Puniani (not a Tongan word). H
Punipuao, dangerous.
Punou, to bow down. T
Pungalotolava, coral ever changing; coral able-minded.
Pungalotohoa, coral mind in keeping.
Pupu, a coconut without milk or kernel when plucked off the tree; also to ooze out, as steam from an oven. T
Pupua, whirlpool. T
Pupuna, to make haste.
Pupunga, to be deeply engaged. V
Pupungatoa, a group of toa trees. T
Pupunu, to shut or close up any passage. V
Pusiaki, to feed by hand; hand-fed; a pet. T, H, NF
Putuki, to place near together.
Saiatua, a good-looking commoner.
Sakiusa (a Fijian word). H
Salaivai, the streamer or flag used on a vessel. T
Salakaia (a Fijian word). H, V
Salepopo (a Samoan word).
Salesi Ika, Charles Fish. T
Saliauli (a Samoan word). T
Salima (a Samoan word). T
Saliote, a carriage. T
Salipopo (a Samoan word). V
Salote, Charlotte. H
Samani, salmon. T, H, V
Samanunua (a Fijian word). T
Samisoni, Samson. T
Sanau (a Fijian word). T
Sangai (a Fijian word: no). T
Sangini, cold. NF
Sango, a reproachful term for arms and legs. T
Sapate, Sabbath. H
Sapoi (a Fijian word: smell). T
Sau (a Samoan word: come). V
Sauaki, to wreak vengeance; marauding. H
Saula, Saul. T
Saulala, a deserted ruler. T, V
Saunokonoko, marauding for breadfruit.
Saupuli, the ruler that is dead. V
Sausau, name of an ulcer; witchcraft; a heathen system of medicine. V,NT
Save, a small rope in the canoe. T
Savou (a Fijian word). T, V, NF
Sei, rosette. T
Seini, Jane. V
Seko, sago. T
Sela, Sarah.
Sele (a Samoan word: knife). H
Selemaea, Jeremiah.
Selenaise (a Samoan word). T
Seli, Shirley. T
Selu, my beloved.
Seluimatai, arrogance. T
Selupe, Zerubbabel; to drive away the pigeons, so that they will fly in the right direction. T, H
Seluvaia, my beloved is beautiful.
Semesa (a Fijian name). T
Semi, Shem. T
Semisi, James. H
Sese, Francis.
Seuli, excrement. T, NF
Seumanu, to catch pigeons with a net. H
Sevaki, to put the outrigger to a canoe. T
Siaiku, the fishing net that is finished making; the end of the raised mound. T, H
Siakae, the mound on which Kae was found asleep, when Sinilau from Samoa sent the Samoan gods to look for him. NF
Siaki, Jack. H
Siakumi, the mound that sought; a pile of black tapa. T, H
Siale, name of a plant (the gardenia) and its flower. T, H, V
Sialeataongo, the gardenia flowers that grow on the mound.
Siaongo, the famous mount.
Siaosi, George.
Siasi, church. T, H
Siesia, the small roe of the fish.
Sika, a game with sticks. T
Sikaihahake, playing *siko* in the east.
Sikalele, the throwing of the stick in the game called *siko*; a running throw of the stick. T, V
Sikalu, screw. V
Sikamanuao, a cigar from the man-of-war. H
Sikana, that *siko* game.
Sikei, name given to a band of warriors who sat on their heels and waited for the enemy. T

Sikotaipangai, name given to a warrior that was always killing people; the kingfisher of Pangai. T

Sikuuca, square. T

Silatolu, a vessel with three yards. T, H

Sileanoa, to speak in what does not concern one; to interfere in the affairs of others. V

Siliika, to catch fish with a hand net. T, V

Siliukitapu, to go fishing at the sacred weather shore.

Siliva, silver. T, V

Silivakaifanga, fishing with the net from the boat near the shore.

Simi, Jim.

Simiki, Smith. T

Simiti, Smith. H

Simoa, Seymour.

Simulata, the ripple on the sea caused by a breeze.

Simuoko, a dwelling place that is near.

Sinamoni, cinnamon. T

Sinilau, to be thoroughly tired with the talking. H

Sinolava, achievement.

Singa (a Fijian word: sun).

Singatonga (a Fijian word). V

Sio, to look. V

Siokumi, to desire black native cloth. H

Siolaa, to look at the sun. H

Sione, John.

Siosaia, Josiah.

Siosiofanga, to look for an anchorage. V

Sipa, to stagger; inaccurate. V, NF

Sipalo, sparrow. T

Sipinote, ship-note. T

Sipu, is short for the English word supercargo. T

Sipukako, supercargo.

Sisa, Caesar. H

Sisi, a girdle of flower and leaves. T, H, V, NT, NF

Sisifa, a garland of leaves and flowers and scented fruits, made as a girdle; to glide; to shoot along. T, H

Sisihaavaha, the fragrant garland taken to the deep sea fishing.

Sisikaitokotaha, Sisi eat alone (greedy).

Sisikula, the red girdle of sweet smelling flowers.

Sisilangakali, a girdle of the *langakali* flower.

Sisileo, the girdle of honor (a guard's girdle).

Sisilia, Cecilia.

Sisilongoaa, the girdle of disturbance.

Sisimalohi, the strong girdle.

Sisimangumangu, a dried up flower girdle. V

Sisimofaingaa, Sisi and Faingaa, two goddesses.

Sisipipine, the covetous girdle.

Sisipuku, the short girdle.

Sisitoutai, the fisherman's girdle.

Sisiuli, the beach girdle.

Sitake, to crack a nut to drink. T, H

Sitanilu, sit down you. H

Sitanimoa, Stanmore.

Sitauni, sit down. T

Siu, ocean fishing; to go shark or bonito fishing in mid-ocean. T, H, V

Siua, to go ocean fishing; Joshua. T

Siufakatulolo, to go fishing in mid-ocean with a big chief.

Siufanga, the seashore for the race with paddling boats; anchorage where they fish. T

Siuhi, to paddle near.

Siukituatonga, fishing at the back of Tonga; to fish for sharks on the weather shore of Tongatabu.

Siulangapo, a night for ocean fishing. T

Siulikutapu, to canoe race at the forbidden or prohibited weather shore. T

Siulolovao, to go and catch birds in the bush.

Siulua, to fish on the sunken reef. H, V

Siumafuauta, a flock of birds.

Siutaula, to fish at the island called Taula.

Siuulua, to fish for the *ulua*. T

Sivale, the ti plant that has no root that is edible. V

Soakai (a Fijian word). T, H, V, NF

Soane, John. T

Soko, to sail away. V

Sola, stranger; unfamiliar. T

Solevu, a big meeting or assembly. H

Soloakatavu (a Fijian name).

Sone, John. H

Sosaia, Josiah. T, V

Sovaki (a Fijian name).

Sovaleni, sovereign. H, V

Suka, a lot; to go inwards as a sore. T

Sukatau, the withdrawal of the army.

Suli, Zur. V

Sulunga (a Samoan word). H

Suva, Fijian name of a place. V

Ta, to thrash, to hit, to tattoo.

Taanga, a chant; to cut down wood; to cut wood for mechanical purposes. T

Tae, to take all.

Taealoaloa, expression of sorrow or wonderment. T

Taeao, ruler of all.

Taehia, without sin. V

Taeiloa, unknown; without knowledge. T

Taekava, to come unceremoniously; to come without bringing the kava root (which is always done on visiting anyone). V

Taemaka, to cut the stone from the reef. V

Taemoemimi, food and water.

Taetakua, not mentioned; not called by name. H

Taetangata, to hit a man; to kill a man. NT

Taeteemoa, to take chicken dung.

Taetunaula, strike up the dance.

Tafa, a gash; the act of cutting up; operation. T

Tafahi, to lance. NF

Tafatafa, to lance in several places. H

Tafea, to be carried away by the stream. V, NT

Tafi, to sweep. V

Tafololahi, enormous Tongan pudding.

Taha, numeral one. T

Tahaafe, one thousand. T, H

Tahi, the sea. T, H

Tahifisi, the foamy top of a wave. T, V

Tahihika, a smooth sea.

Tahivale, silly sea.

Tai, to strike; to beat. T, H, V

Taifusi, the shoot of the banana plant that is planted. T, V

Taiheunga, to strike at a meeting place.

Taimi, time. H, V

Taisia, beaten at the mount.

Taka, to go about and do; to look at; the short line attached to Tongan fish hooks. H

Takahaapai, I like staying at Haapai. H

Takahofi, many people near.

Takai, anointing; to oil the body. H, V

Takala, the head.

Takalalahi, large head.

Takalasii, to court on the sly; small head.

Takalaua, to be talked about.

Takataha, to go alone. T

Takaua, a companion; a friend. T

Takavaha, cruising around.

Takele, the keel of a boat; to bathe. T

Taki, to lead; a numeral prefix. NF

Takipo, the wake fires which are lighted all around the compound for a royal death.

Takitaki, to carry in the hand. H

Takivalu, each having eight. T

Taku, to call by; to designate. T

Tala, a term; to tell; to speak of. T, V

Talaao, the best part taken.

Talatama, the event being told by daughters and sons.

Talafaiva, to announce an entertainment. T

Talafunaki, to tell in secret.

Talai, to instruct; to make known. H

Talaihaapepe, to tell the news in Haapepe.

Talaihangamai, to tell straight forward. V

Talakai, to announce food. T, H, V, NF

Talakihaamoa, take the tidings to Samoa. H

Talakikafoa, tell it to Kafoa. T

Talamai, to tell of. H

Talanoa, conversation; to converse. T, V, NF

Talangavao, to be talked over in the bush. V

Talaofa, promise. NT, NF

Talatau, to tell abroad; to arrange a match. V

Talatua, to tell behind your back. V

Talaumohafoka, Talau and Hafoka.

Talaumokafoa, Talau and Kafoa (hills in Vavau).

Talaumoteemoa, Talau and Teemoa (hills in Vavau and Eua, respectively).

Tali, to prepare food for visitors; to wait for. T, H, V, NF

Taliai, to wait for. T, V

Taliaitonga, wait in Tonga.

Taliauli, to answer; to wait for the steering of the vessel; shielder from danger. T, H, V

Taliaulimakapapa, Taliauli from Makapapa.

Taliaulimalohi, Taliauli, the strong.

Talifake, to wait for; to be in readiness. T

Talikitautahi, to wait till the tide is in. T

Talimealahi, to wait for something big; to receive a great many things. V

Talo, taro. T, H

Tama, a boy; an expression of familiarity in speaking of a chief; to scrape.

Tamae, look out.

Tamaka, to cut stones from the reef for the vault. T
Tamalepauu, mischievous child.
Tamanu, the name of a tree; to hit an animal. T
Tamasia, a child of the mount.
Tameifuna, to cut from Funa; to bring from Funa. T, H
Tamutamu, to paint the face in war.
Tana, a kind of yam; to be offended. H
Tanafa, to beat the drum. H
Tanaki, to count something, as fish; gleaner, gleaning; to collect; to bring together. H,NF
Tanekitonga, the gathering of Tongans.
Taniila, to stain with a mark. H
Tangakitaulupe-ki-folaha, glance to Folaha at the flock of pigeons.
Tangaloa, the large gut. V,NF
Tangataevaha, a good sailor; a navigator. V
Tangatafilia, a chosen man. T,V
Tangataihala, the man in the road. T
Tangatailavalu, the man with the eight spots.
Tangatailoa, a man of note; a famous man; a marked man. T
Tangataofoua, a man from Foua. T
Tangataohahake, a man from Hahake (the east). NF
Tangataolakepa, a man from Lakepa.
Tangataopulotu, a man from Pulotu. T
Tangataotonga, a man from Tonga. T
Tangi, a cry; to cry; to weep. T,V
Tangifetaua, to try and oppose.
Tangikimuli, to wish to visit foreign countries. H
Tangimana, to wish for a miracle. NT
Tanginoa, to cry for no reason. T,H
Tangifelemea, the proposal from Felemea.
Tangulu, a snoring; to snore. H
Taofi, a hindrance; a res~~traint. H~~
Taoficika, to cook the fish plaited in coconut leaves.
Taovaenga, half of a spear.
Tapa, to glitter in the sun; the border or edge of anything. T
Tapakau, the coarse mat for flooring, which is made of coconut leaves. V
Tapani, friend; sweetheart (Samoan).
Tapaveu, to cut the border of the clothes as decoration. H
Tapo, a certain kind of fishing net. H
Tapu, forbidden; consecrated; sacred. H
Tapua, a term of reverence to a chief when speaking; the mouth of a cage. V
Tapuakiuluulu, the blessed (sacred) reef.
Tapueluelu, forbidden to ask for mercy; never give in. V
Tapukitea, the evening star. H
Tapuosi, forbidden to finish.
Tasini, to hit with the bone of the whale used for cutting the kava at the kava party. V
Tata, the scoop for bailing water from a boat. V
Tatafu, to keep stoking the fire. T, H, V, NF
Tatu, loose, not fixed; to be in motion. T,H
Tau, a season; a crop; a year. T,H,V
Tauaho, to anchor during the day; a day battle. V
Tauaika, the fight of ocean fish. T,H
Tauaka, the kicking fight. NT
Tauakipulu, to dry coconut husks in the sun; to fight with guns (or shot). V
Tauakitau, to fight equal on both sides. NF
Taualupe, the fight of the pigeons. T
Tauataina, the Free Church. T
Tauatevalu, war of the eight hearts.
Taueva, to go visiting; the walking fight.
Taufa, a squall; squally. T,H,V,NT,NF
Taufaahau, Taufa of Ahau (the shark god).
Taufaeva, the moving squall. T
Taufafolau, a gale for travelling.
Taufahema, Taufa the left handed.
Taufaholoaki, the squall that moved along. T
Taufaikava, to have a kava party. V
Taufakafisi, a coming gale.
Taufakaheke, the squall that is moving along. H
Taufalaukau, Taufa the smartly dressed.
Taufalele, the driving squall. T,H,V
Taufaletapu, the sacred bloom. T
Taufalilo, the mysterious Taufa.
Taufaloa, the tall Taufa.
Taufamoheofo, Taufa the restless sleeper.
Taufamomalupo, a twilight gale.
Taufamotulalo, a gale of the lower island.
Taufanga, to anchor at the anchorage. V
Taufangavake, to anchor at the rough seashore. T
Taufatahisi, a Tahitian gale.

Taufateā, the fair skinned Taufa.

Taufatofua, the name of a chief, meaning the shark of Tofua Island; Taufa of Tofua (the gale, or shark, of Tofua).

Taufatoutai, Taufa the fisherman.

Taufauliuli, the dark Taufa.

Taufiaevalu, to plat the *valu* fish in coconut leaves, so as to cook it in the earth oven.

Taufilifai, those chosen for the game. T

Taufoou, the new year. T,V,NF

Taufui, to besprinkle; to throw water or dust. T,H,V

Tauhaamea, a battle that was held at Haamea. T

Tauheango, the name of the battle at Pea (where the army went through the mangroves). H

Tauheluhelu, the tryout match (the game at which the players are chosen that are to play in the big match). V

Tauholoaki, the pursuing army; an army that pushes on in succession. T

Tauhopohopo, to fight on the cliff. T

Taukafa, to bind with *kafa* rope, then fight. NT,NF

Taukapoi, to intercede. V

Taukei, familiar. V

Taukie, to wear a fine mat. T

Taukikofe, the line on a bamboo stick for fishing. T

Taukinukufili, to anchor at Nukufili Island. T

Taukitoku, to anchor at Toku Island. V

Taukolo, to hit the mark or wicket (cricket). V

Taukolonga, the war at Kolonga (the cricket match). T

Taukeiaho, to anchor while it was still daylight. T

Taula, an anchor; a priest. T

Taulafo, to take the anchor on shore. T,H

Taulafofa, an anchor that does not grapple. T

Taulahi, the big war. H

Taulakepa, the war at Lakepa. T

Taulaki, to wash off; a preparation put on the hair to clean it; to stay; to wait. T,H

Taulakimaupepe, the going of the fishing fleet.

Taulani, to take in tow. T

Taulanga, anchorage, harbor. T,V

Taulangakihetoa, harbor of the toa.

Taulangavaka, anchorage. V

Taulango, to put the boat on rollers. T

Taulata, an army that stays and does not run away. T

Taulava, the finished war.

Taulelei, a good fight; to anchor with all well on board the vessel; a prosperous war. T

Taumalolo, the coming of the fish called *malolo*. H

Taumoeanga, the fight with the shark. T,H

Taumoefolau, a good voyage.

Taumoepeau, the fight with the waves. T,H

Taumoesila, the holder of the sail rope in the vessel. V

Taumofolau, the meeting of a chief who has come from a voyage. V

Taumounu, to make bait.

Taumui, the stern.

Taunaholo, the name of a rope in the vessel, town hall. T, V

Tauni, this war. V, NF

Taunivalu, eight years.

Taunga, cook food reserved for eating at another time; a row; a roost of the flying foxes. T,H

Taungahihifo, the roost of flying foxes at Hihifo. T,V

Taungakava, the kava root put away for another time.

Taungamanu, the roost of the flying foxes. H

Taungatua, food not suitable for a chief. T,H

Taupapalangi, a European war. T

Taupeaafe, to start to go to the war, then turn aside. T

Taupeamalu, fight and are saved. T

Taupeamuhu, fight and it is talked about. H

Tausala, to put on the loin cloth out of respect to a chief; years (Samoan). H,NT

Tausili, to repent when too late. H

Tausinga, the darkness coming on.

Tausisipala, to wear a withered flower garland. NF

Tautaevala, a naked war or fight. H,V

Tautakitaki, refers to a chief and his daughter (he held her hand while he fought). V

Tautala, to inform another of designs in order to know his mind. NT

Tautalangalu, to converse and swim in the surf. H
Tautalangauli, to be covered with earth in digging.
Tautalangauta, the army that was many in numbers. H
Tautalangi, the war cry; to tell of war. H
Tautalanoa, to inform another of our designs in order to know his mind. H
Tautalona, for the beloved chief to be killed in war. H
Tautau, to hang; a heathen feast. V
Tautavale, to hit at random in war. T
Tautoa, the winning side in a game; the victorious army. H
Tautolo, to throw missiles in war. NT
Tautua, to strike the back; to speak to no advantage. H
Tautuaa, to fight from outside the fence; the scouts. T,H
Tautuiaki, an army that divides asunder an opposing army. T
Tautuula, confusion.
Tauveli, to tempt; to aggravate. V,NF
Tava, the name of a tree and its fruit. T,H,V
Tavai, to drink and eat together; to clean out a pond. T
Tavava, open, applied to badly set teeth. NF
Taviu (a Fijian word).
Tavo, to cut away the bush so as to plant.
Tea, whitish; light in color. H,V,NF
Tee, the dung of animals. H
Teehalakamu, to cut off anything round.
Teekosi, the dung of the goat; the dung of animals on the road of circumcision. H,V
Teelango, a candle; fly dirt. NT,NF
Tei, nearly; almost. H
Teiloakitau, the meeting of two armies. T
Tekeia, to be pushed out of place. V
Tekiteki, an ornament for the hair; to start. T
Telea, a dreary passage; valley. V
Televave, to plane anything quickly. H
Tenifa, a large kind of shark. T
Teo, Theodore.
Teu, to prepare; to make ready. T,H,V
Teukava, to prepare the kava drink. T, V
Teukiaatu, to prepare for the coming of the bonitos. V.
Teukialupe, prepare for the pigeons.
Teukifaletau, prepare for the war house.
Teukihetolo, prepare to throw.
Teukisiafoou, prepare for the new mound.
Teulilo, to prepare in secret. T
Teuloikihesiu, falsely preparing for fishing.
Teunga, apparel.
Teutau, to prepare for war. H
Teuteu, to prepare; to deck; to qualify. H,V
Teuteufoou, new preparations.
Tevita, David. T
Ti, tea. H
Tipolo, a drink made of chili peppers. NT
Toa, courage, brave; the toa tree. T, H, V, NF
Toaalanganuku, the toa trees on the island.
Toafo, wilderness; a desert. H,V
Toafilimoeunga, to choose some toa trees to take to the island called Unga.
Toafunaki, the hidden toa tree.
Toaila, the spotted toa tree.
Toalala, the toa tree grown in the desert. H
Toamotu, toa wood from the island. T,V
Toapauu, the mischievous brave.
Toetau, to fight again. T
Toenga, the remnant; remainder. NF
Toeumu, the remnant from the oven.
Toevalu, eight are left. NF
Tofa, sleep, used only to chiefs. T
Tofale, to make small houses. T,H
Tofilau, to cut the leaves for making a garland. T
Tofo, out of the ordinary order of things. T
Tofua, to bake the yams whole. H
Tofuaa, the whale. NF
Tohi, to write; a book; a letter. T,H,V
Tohikoula, the golden book. T
Tohuia, a beautiful fragrant flower. T
Toimoana, dropped in the ocean.
Tokai, right ahead (wind); a blow. H
Tokemoana, ocean eel.
Toki, an axe; name of a fish. H,V
Tokilupe, lost to the pigeon.
Toko, long rod used in pushing boats. T
Tokolahi, a great number. H
Tokomaata, to act for your own.
Tokotaha, only one person. T,H
Tokotoko, a walking stick. H,V
Toku, to chop; a kind of knife made from the common turtle shell. H

Tolau, the falling off of the leaves of the trees. T

Toli, the gathering of flowers for garlands or oil. H

Tolo, to throw; to rub; to ignite. T,V

Toloakaiasi, the throw to the beggar.

Toloanga, the place from which to throw. V

Tolofua, to throw about.

Tolona, to move off in another direction. H

Tolu, three. T

Tolutau, three years. T,H

Tomaelupe, to be planted for the pigeons to eat. V

Tomoufiholo, to plant the best yams.

Tomui, late, too late. V

Tomuituukofe, late, but the bamboo stands.

Tona, a native disease; a sore.

Tonu, straight; correct; name of a fish. T,H,V,NT

Tonutonu, straight; correct. NT

Tonga, name of island and of kingdom; south. T,H,V,NT,NF

Tongafaleola, the Tongans build houses with the ola tree.

Tongakakau, Tongan swimmer.

Tongakovi, bad Tonga.

Tongamakave, a chief from Makave.

Tongamana, Tongan miracle.

Tongamatamoana, Tonga facing the open sea.

Tongasii, little Tonga, name of island. V

Tongatangakitaulupe, Tonga glance at the group of pigeons.

Tongatoutai, Tonga the navigator. T

Tongauli, a dark Tongan.

Tongauliuli, a very dark Tongan.

Tongavaipoa, Tonga fishy water.

Tongavaivai, Tonga the weak. T

Tongaveeila, Tonga with the spotted leg.

Tongi, to carve; to engrave. T

Tongia, to relieve for a time. T,H,NT

Tongilava, finished war.

Tongitongi, to carve; to engrave. T

Tongo, the mangrove; a preparation for making the hair red. T, H

Tongotea, the whitish mangrove tree. T, H

Tongotongo, the name of a ti plant. T

Toofohe, to carry the paddle. H

Tookutu, to catch lice. H

Toona, to be stolen; taken off. V

Topai, doughboy. T

Topeamoua, those who do not attend the *fono* proclamation will be fined. NF

Topui, to prohibit; to make sacred. T, H, V

Tosi, to peck; to nibble. NT

Toto, blood; to bleed; the name of a tree. T

Totoinukuosi, blood finished drank.

Touanga, contrary by nature. T

Touhuni, the *huni* tree.

Toutai, a fisherman or sailor. T,H,V

Toutaitokotaha, to fish alone.

Toutouofa, to be often kind. H

Toutui, to sail with the wind right ahead. V

Tua, the back; common people; outside. H,V

Tuai, delay, procrastination; slow. H, V

Tuaine, twine. V

Tuakihekolo, the back to the town.

Tuakolo, outside the town; that side of a fort which is defended by the sea or forest. H

Tualau, the first; to talk outside. T,V

Tuapasi, the strong.

Tuatalamatangi, the man that foretells the coming of the wind.

Tuavao, outside the bush. H

Tuavavau, outside of Vavau. V

Tue, to shout; to triumph over; to shout with triumph. T

Tufa, to portion out; to divide. T

Tufui, lovely. H, V

Tufunga, an artificer; a carpenter. H,V

Tuhifo, to shake down anything; Stair's pigeon to go down.

Tuhosi, name of a plant. H

Tui, to believe; to thread; to pierce. T, H, V

Tuiafitu, king of the seven fences.

Tuiaki, to tow a vessel; to divide an enemy's army. V

Tuialo, the son of the king; royal child.

Tuiamu, the ruler of the butterflies.

Tuianuia, a king that only rules a short time.

Tuiatamaka, a strong king; king of the rock shadow.

Tuiavatongo, king of the mangrove passage.

Tuiavauta, king of the shore passage.

Tuieteau, a thousand kings or rulers. T

Tuifua, the king or ruler that owns the land. T,NF,H,V

Tuifangaloka, king of the tempestuous beach.

Tuifanganonu, king of the Nonu beach.

Tuifangatukia, king of the wrecked beach.
Tuifonualava, king of the conquered land.
Tuifuametemete, the king that rules the land and the chiefs.
Tuifutuna, the king of Futuna. T
Tuihaangana, the ruler of the Ngana lineage. H
Tuihaateiho, king of the lineage of Teiho.
Tui Haauluakimata, king of the lineage of Uluakimata.
Tuihalafatai, the ruler of the road where the colored grass grows, king of the *fatai* road. H
Tuihalamaka, the ruler of the stone road. T,H
Tuihalangingie, the ruler of the road where the *ngingie* tree grows. T
Tuihihifo, the king of Hihifo; king of the west. H
Tuihoua, king of Houa.
Tuikimoana, a good navigator; the king of the ocean. H
Tuikolovatu, the king of a place in Fiji; the ruler of eight towns or forts; king of Kolovatu. T,V
Tuikuau, the king of a place called Kuau.
Tuikuao, the ruler that has plenty of everything.
Tuilakepa, the king of Lakepa. T
Tuilakepahaamoa, king of Lakepa, Samoa.
Tuilape, the prosperous ruler; king of Lape. H
Tuilautala, the ruler of the sea; king of Lautala.
Tuileva, to believe at once. T
Tuilevuka, king of Levuka.
Tuilikuloto, king of the middle weather shore.
Tuilokamana, king of tempest and thunder.
Tuima, the sky king. T
Tuimala, king of the evil.
Tuimana, the ruler of the thunder.
Tuimangoiki, king of Mangoiki.
Tuimateaki, one sworn to live and die for his chief. T
Tuimavae, the weened king.
Tuimoala, the king of Moala. T,H
Tuimohengauta, king of the land of sleep.
Tuineau, king of Neau.
Tuiniufotu, the ruler of the coconut trees seen sticking up out of the sea (as seen when land is sighted at sea); king of Niufotu.
Tuinuku, the ruler of the island. T
Tuinukumamao, a king of the distant island.
Tuinukutau, king of the fighting island.
Tuingaika, a string of fish.
Tuiolovalu, the ruler of the beautiful birds; king of Olovalu.
Tuionetoa, the brave king; king of Onetoa. T,H,V
Tuionuku, king of the island.
Tuionukulava, king of the conquered island.
Tuipe, to thread the girdle.
Tui Pelehake, the favorite king.
Tuipulotu, king of the unseen world; king of Pulotu. T,H,V
Tuipulotupauu, the mischievous king of the unseen world.
Tuita, the principal ruler; the fighting ruler. T,H,NF
Tuitalau, the ruler of Talau Hill, in Vavau. V
Tuitatui, king strike the knee.
Tuitavaka, the ruler of the fleet of canoes.
Tuitavake, the ruler of the tropic birds. T,H,V
Tuitenuku, the ruler of the islands.
Tuitofua, the ruler of Tofua Island.
Tuitokelau, the king of the north. T,V
Tuituiohu, the name of the candlenut tree. T,V
Tuitupou, King Tupou. T,H,V,NF
Tuituu, the wreaths of scented flowers. H
Tuivailahi, the ruler of the big water. V
Tuivalta (a Samoan word).
Tuivakano (a Fijian word). T
Tuivakanoafisi, the commander of the vessel borrowed by Fiji. T
Tuha, alike; equal, in a line with. T
Tukai, a brave warrior. H
Tukia, to strike against; to wreck. T
Tuku, a rope in a canoe; to cease; adjourn. T,H
Tukuaho, dawn.
Tukueke, stop asking questions. T
Tukufolau, to leave on a voyage. NF
Tukuhali, a sea-snake. T
Tukuhau, tribute; taxes. V,NF
Tukula, to lower the sail. T,V
Tukumohe, to sail from a place in the evening; to voyage by night. T

Tukutonga, the name given to part of the seashore near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. T
Tukutaula, to let down the anchor. NF
Tukuvaka, left by the boat.
Tukuvakalelei, a good sea voyage.
Tulanga, the rightful owner of the soil.
Tule, to nod as one drowsy. T,H,V
Tuli, to chase; to pursue; deafness. T,H,V
Tulia, to be chased; to be pursued. NF
Tuliakiono, chased with an axe.
Tuliheu, to chase and catch pigeons. H
Tulikialupe, chased by the pigeon.
Tulikifakataha, chased to the gathering.
Tulikihakau, to chase to the reef. V
Tulikitakaunove, to chase to Takaunove.
Tulimafileo, quick to conquer.
Tulimafua, to chase the shoal of fish. V
Tunakaimanu, eel eat bird.
Tungaki, to light a fire for the guidance of a vessel nearing shore. H
Tungi, the cry of the *tu* bird (*Gallicolumba stairi*). T
Tungimanaia, Tungi the beloved of women.
Tuotua, strong; not fine; to raise up with the back. V
Tupe, a thin piece of coconut shell used in pitching in a game. T, H
Tupou, the Tui Kanokupolu always took the name of the god, Taliai Tupou, when he was appointed ruler, as he was supposed to personate him. T, H,V,NT,NF
Tupoufalekakala, Tupou of the house of flowers.
Tupoufalemei, Tupou of the house of breadfruit.
Tupoufangaafa, Tupou from the good anchorage.
Tupoufisi, Tupou of Fiji.
Tupouhaapai, Tupou of Haapai. H
Tupouila, the spotted Tupou.
Tupoukolotolu, Tupou of the three towns.
Tupoulahi, great Tupou.
Tupoulahi i Vuia, Tupou the big chief from Vuia.
Tupoulahisii, Little Great Tupou; Tupou the great, but of small stature.
Tupouleoata, Tupou that voices the wish of chief Ata.
Tupouleota, Tupou the guardian.
Tupoumanakofoufau, Tupou who lies in the sugar-cane called *foufau*.
Tupoumoheofo, Tupou the restless sleeper.
Tupoumonukunuku, Tupou and Nukunuku; Tupou from Nukunuku. T
Tupouneiafu, Tupou from Neiafu. T
Tupouniua, Tupou of Niua. T,V
Tupounuapapu, Tupou of Nuapapu.
Tupoupauu, Tupou the mischievous.
Tupoupuku, Tupou the short.
Tupoutaanea, Tupou of Taanea.
Tupouteitongo, Tupou near the mangrove.
Tupoutoa, Tupou the brave. T,H,V
Tupoutua, Tupou the commoner.
Tupouvaiata, Tupou of the crystal water.
Tupouveiholo, Tupou from Veihola.
Tupouveiongo, Tupou of Veiongo.
Tupu, to grow; the groin; the odd numbers in counting. T
Tupuamoa, the wonderful fowl; the legend about the fowl. NF
Tupuivao, grown in the bush.
Tuputupu, clouds that have a landlike appearance from the sea. T
Tuputupuopulotu, the clouds that appear like land at sea and are from Pulotu.
Tupuvale, to grow up ignorant. T
Tutu, the bark of the Chinese mulberry of which tapa is made; to burn. V
Tutuila, (a Samoan word). H
Tutuu, chisel; to cut off; to stand (many). V
Tuu, to appear as a spirit. NF
Tuuaki, to carry a child about; to hawk goods for sale; to prepare food. T
Tuuheava, to stand in the entrance of the reef; to stand in the passage of vessels. H
Tuuhengi, to arise early.
Tuuhetoka, to stand in attendance (the name of the chief that attends on the king). T,H
Tuuhoko, repeatedly. T
Tuuholoaki, to stand and push on in succession. V
Tuukiangaha, to sail for Angaha, name of place at Niuafoou Island. NF
Tuulau, a leafy tree.
Tuumaumi, to have in abundance.
Tuungahala, a wrong situation. T,H
Tuungaveve, a heap of rubbish. H
Tuuta, to go on shore after a voyage. T,H
Tuutanga, a log.
Uaea, wire. T
Uai, water.
Uanga, little worms.

Uasi, a watch. H,NF
Uata, Walter. T
Uatahausi, waterhouse. T
Uate, Walter.
Ueleni, Wellington.
Ufi, the yam. H
Ufihamu, to eat only yam without meat. T
Ufimomoko, cold yam.
Ufitonga, a yam from Tonga. T
Uha, rain. T
Uhaone, a shower of shot. T
Uhatafe, to pour with rain. T, H, V
Uheina, caught in the rain.
Uhi, the name of a shrub. T,H
Uhila, lightning.
Uhilameilangi, lightning from heaven.
Uhilamoelangi, lightning and sky.
Uhiua, having two at a birth. H
Uinise, Eunice.
Uitou, a widow. T
Ula, a native night dance; clever. T,H,V
Uliafu, a good looking woman.
Ulu, the head; the number ten. T,V
Uluaki, first. H
Uluakimata, the first eye; the supreme chief.
Uluakivake, a talkative woman.
Uluenga, the tenth moon in the Tongan year. T
Ului, to join; to unite with. T,H,NF
Uluifalefisi, the ruler of the chief's house; head of the house of Fiji.
Ulukalala, a good and brave chief.
Ulukilupetea, head from the white pigeon.
Ulukivaiola, an unconquerable chief. T
Ulupauu, the mischievous head. H
Uluvalu, eight heads.
Uma, to kiss; the shoulder. H
Umea, clay. H
Umuanga, shark cooked in the earth oven. V
Umufuke, to take the cooked food out of the earth oven. T
Umuniu, a basket of cooked coconut from the earth oven. H
Umuumu, small sand banks. T,V
Unufe, the caterpillar. T,H
Unga, the name of shellfish; to take shelter; to beg. T,H,V
Ungatea, the fair Unga.
Ungounga, full of notches and small holes. H
Ungoungaoeteau, a hundred notches and small holes. H
Unouna, very scaly.
Uta, inland; land; cargo. H
Utamoenaa, a big present sent to a chief.
Uto, the brains; the spongy kernel of the coconut when germinating; the floaters on a fishing net. V
Utumaatu, a present given to a chief.
Uvasi, a watch. H
Uvea, Uvea Island. T
Va, to laugh and make a noise. H,NF
Vaakau, a stick. V
Vae, the foot; to divide a fish longways. T
Vaea, the canoe to be broken away from the outrigger; perfect. T,H,V
Vaeamahanga, Vaea the twin.
Vaeamatoka, the chief of the place called Matoka.
Vaeamuni, to give recently.
Vaelaveamata, legs struck the eye.
Vaematahau, the name of a chief.
Vaetuikoloa, good-looking legs, or fine legs; leg of the king of wealth.
Vaha, space at sea; the ocean. V,NF
Vahaakolo, between the towns. T
Vahai, to separate by getting between the parties; the space between.
Vahe, to separate; portion; chapter. T
Vahefonua, a district; a circuit. T
Vahenga, a portion; wages. V
Vai, water; medicine; a liquid. H,V,NF
Vaiaku, my water hole. H
Vaiangina, the flowing water. T
Vaifisi, a Fijian medicine. H
Vaifoou, a new medicine; a new well. T
Vaihoi, medicine from the *hoi* tree. H
Vaihola, runaway water. T
Vaihunatu, meat and vegetable soup. T
Vaikaka, the name of a coconut; climbing water.
Vaikele, a well. NF
Vailahi , the big water; a name given to the lake at Tofua. T,H
Vailea, the speaking water; the gurgling waters. T,V
Vailele, a stream; running water. H
Vailevu, sweet waters.
Vailiki, oil and water mixed for a bath. T
Vailolomoli, water under orange tree.
Vaimoana, the ocean water. V
Vaimomohe, stagnant waters.
Vainiaku, the streamer of the flower garland. T

Vainikolo, the creeping plant in the town; water in town. T,H,V,NF
Vainga, play; sport. T
Vaingaana, the water that cries in the cave. NT
Vaingalo, the deserted water hole. T
Vainganganaivao, the water that drips in the bush.
Vaiomanu, the birds' drinking pool. H
Vaiomua, the pool of water of olden days. H
Vaipapalangi, European medicine. T
Vaipolo, a medicine or drink made from the chili pepper. T
Vaipulu, soup made of beef. T,H,V
Vaipuna, a spring; a fountain. H,NF
Vaiputa, a big pool. T
Vaita, water that was dug. T
Vaitai, brackish water. V
Vaitaiki, clear water.
Vaitaki, water that is led into anything (as rain water running into spout). T, NT
Vaitohi, ink. T,V,NF
Vaivai, weak; feeble; helpless; watery. H, NT
Vaivela, a hot spring; warm water. H
Vaivevea, water that is full of rubbish. T
Vaka, a vessel; a boat. T, H, V, NT
Vakafuhu, a fighting vessel. T,H
Vakafutu, a vessel made from the *futu* tree. H
Vakaitauiku, look back.
Vakalahi, a big vessel. T,H
Vakalahifuione, a big ship belonging to the chief of Fuione. T
Vakalahimoheuli, large boat of dirty sleepers.
Vakaliai (a Fijian word). T
Vakameilalo, a vessel from the outlying islands; boat from below. T,V
Vakaolakepa, a vessel of the chief of Lakepa. T
Vakasiuola, a fishing boat having fish. H,V
Vakata, a fighting ship. NT
Vakatapu, the sacred vessel. V
Vakataukai, a vessel that takes the food.
Vakataupule, a vessel ornamented with cowry shells. T
Vakaulihavili, a vessel that sails in the storm.
Vakauta, a cargo vessel. T,V
Vakautafefine, a vessel with women on board. H
Vakautakakala, a vessel with a cargo of flower garlands. V
Vakautapola, a vessel loaded with coconut mats.
Vake, an uproarious noise. H,V
Vala, a loin cloth. T
Valahulu, a loin cloth of dried banana leaves; to have the loin cloth folded in at the waist without a belt. T
Valai, the name of a tree. T
Valavetau, a loin cloth used in war.
Valeiaavae, not skillful or clever in the dancing.
Valevale, young; an infant. NT
Valoa, a seaweed. H,V
Valu, the name of a fish; eight. T,H, V,NF
Valueua, two *valu* fish.
Valulofanga, the *valu* fish from Lofanga.
Valusanga, eight years. NF
Vana, the sea urchin. H
Vanisi, varnish. T, H, V, NT
Vao, the bush; covered with bush. T,H
Vaoahi, the sandalwood forest. NT
Vaoaka, the forest with branching roots of trees. NF
Vaohingano, the *hingano* thicket. H
Vaohoi, bush of *hoi* trees.
Vaokolo, weedy town.
Vaoloa, a very big thicket; long weeds. T
Vaolupe, the pigeon thicket. H
Vaomotou, the *motou* tree thicket. H
Vatu (a Fijian word). T,H
Vatuvei (a Fijian word). H,V
Vava, the distance or space between any two things; the name of a banana. T
Vavâe, cotton; the cotton bush. H
Vavalo, the note of alarm from the old fowls.
Vavatau, to make a noise; the noise of a battle. V
Vave, quick; expeditious. T,H,V
Vea, chief. T,H,V,NT,NF
Veafalevai, Vea from Falevai. V
Veafeke, Vea the octopus. T
Veafisi, Vea from Fiji. H
Veahaapai, Vea from Haapai. T
Veaila, Vea with the scar. V
Veakovi, a bad chief.
Vealapa, a chief that is always cross.
Vealeovale, a chief that stammers.
Veamalohi, a strong chief. H
Veamata, a chief that sees everything. NT

Veamatahau, Vea, from Matahau. T,H,V
Veaniua, Vea from Niuatoputapu. T
Veatama, the child who is a chief.
Veatokelau, the chief from the north, Vea of the north.
Veatoki, a strong chief.
Veatonga, Vea from the south.
Veatoutai, Vea the chief of fishermen. T
Veatupu, Vea the strong; a chief that is distinguished. T, H, V
Veehala, the side of the road; not in step; to step wrong (as in a dance). T,V
Veekalifisi, the feet of the wooden pillow from Fiji.
Veetokelau, the feet that come from the north; foot of the north.
Veetutu, the feet that beat time in the dance. H
Vehikite, something that appears in sight. T,V,NT
Veikune, a good chief. T,H,V
Vela, hot; to burn; to scald. NT
Velevelu, the good that comes quickly.
Velia, itchy.
Velovelo, throw the dart (it was the cry of the warriors when fighting). T
Vesi, verse. T
Vete, to seize the spoil of a conquered foe; to disburden; the name of a fish. T 551
Vetule, to jog along, as one old or weak. H
Veua, two things.
Vi, the name of a tree and its fruit. T, H, V, NT, NF
Viau, something of mine. H,NF
Vika, Victoria. H
Vikaheilala, Victoria of the *heilala* tree.
Vikatoa, a whole *vi* fruit; all the *vi* fruit. V
Vikena, the *vi* fruit that is reddish when ripe. T,H
Vilai, a bean. T
Vili, a gimlet; to drill; to go quickly. T
Viliami, William. T
Vilingia, to be blown away; to be blown. H
Vivi, the name of a grass; dead; stinking. V, NT
Vivili, to feel; to be conscious of. NT
Vola, a fast dye. H
Vuki, something at a distance. H,V
Vulase (a Fijian word).
Vuna, a real chief. T
Vunaila, a chief with a scar.
Vungakoto, the step upon which the mast of the vessel stands. V

THE OUTLYING ISLANDS

Although little was added to the previous knowledge concerning the 128
expansion of the Tongans beyond the limits of the modern kingdom of
Tonga, some light was obtained as to the peopling of some of the remoter
islands of the Tongan Archipelago proper. The islands I refer to in par- [103]
ticular, named from north to south, are Fonualei, Toku, Late, Kao, and Ata
or Pylstaarts. The first is now a hopeless wreck due to volcanic activity. 133
Toku, Late, Kao, and Ata are no longer inhabited. Late and Kao are high [162]
volcanic islands. Ata is high and presumably volcanic. Toku is low and
according to Tongan informants coralline. Most of my information con- 128
cerns Ata. Before taking up that island I shall first discuss the brief
data concerning the others. As will appear, these outlying islands some- [727]
times served as havens for the politically disfavored. (See Harangue about [166]
Mumui, p. 156, in which the poet exclaims, "Exile me to Toku Island.")

Toku and Fonualei were held by a single group of people. Toku seems 162
to have been the residence center and Fonualei the farming center, the 311
Toku people utilizing Fonualei for gardens, perhaps because of the volcanic

[Toku, Fonualei, and Kao Islands]

soil. The population of Fonualei became so large and permanent that a 162
church was erected there. The maximum figures for the two islands were 311
one hundred souls on each in the time of the chief Abraham Tangaloa.
However, the fertile land of Fonualei became a desert waste with the volcanic [731]
eruption of 1846. The people removed to Toku in time to avoid loss of life. 162
Later the entire Toku population was moved to the Vavau group proper 166
by the missionaries, for convenience in church attendance. Their descen- [797]
dants seem to reside principally at Utulei, Pangaimotu Island.

The Toku people were political exiles from Haamea in the central dis- 727
trict of Tongatabu. The people of Haamea fought the Hihifo people dur- 166
ing the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and were overcome. 175
They fled to Toku under the leadership of the Haamea chiefs Tukutukuholoi-
pangai, Ofakehokomaikaetau, and a third chief. Talafaiva, daughter of the
Tui Haa Takalaua and (later?) wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I
(Telea) was with them. The refugees were all of the Haa Takalaua and it [669]
seems likely that the struggle between Haamea and Hihifo was but a part
of the Tui Kanokupolu's effort to eclipse the Tui Haa Takalaua. It is said that people from Makave in Vavau went to Toku to help the chiefs from Haamea. When the Haamea refugees arrived at Toku they found Niuatoputapu people in possession. These were ordered to leave and did so peaceably. This settlement of people from Haamea must have occurred in the seventeenth century if the references to Mataeletuapiko and Talafaiva are correct.

The son of one of the refugee chiefs from Haamea became the ruler of the Toku people under the title of Tangaloa. The last Tangaloa was Abraham Tangaloa of Utulei, Pangaimotu Island. The Tui Kanokupolu appointed the Tangaloa. The second Tangaloa bore the personal name of Katainatoa.

The god of the Toku people was incarnate in the *tukuhali* or sea snake, 776
I could not learn the name of the god or the title of the priest. The Toku 825
incarnation of the god fell into a well. The well was in consequence filled 823
and a new one dug for use.

Tradition names the top of Kao Island, Haapai, as the site of a village, 823
a statement which is pure fiction, as I learned by climbing to the summit, [173]
3380 feet above sea level. A woman there one day said she was going for [361]
a walk. She intended to visit one of the coral islands which seemed to lie so close below that one could step over to it. She threw down her bundle of mats, then followed it, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. This tale is evidently told to illustrate the extreme steepness of Kao.

The ancient settlement on Kao was near the shore, not at the summit. 361
The shore settlement was probably on the northwestern side, nearest Tofua.

[Tofua, Late, and Ata Islands]

Early voyagers speak of Tofua as inhabited. An old woman, living on 162
Kotu Island in 1920, was the last inhabitant of Tofua. She was removed 888
by force by her relatives, who feared she was becoming too old to care for 602
herself and that the dogs might eat her if she became disabled. 825

Late Island, a volcanic cone lying west of the coralline Vavau group, 162
was formerly inhabited. The Late people and their descendants now live [133]
on Hunga Island in the Vavau group. Late served at times as a place of [166]
refuge for political exiles. Fukofuka, a Vavau chief, who incurred the dis- [727]
favor of a great Vavau chief, presumably Ulukalala, fled there and sought
in vain to oppose the troops sent for him.

The people of Late seem to have had a quarrel of long standing with 628
the people of Moungaone Island, in Haapai, for each group seems to have
attacked the other at times. The fortress of Amaka on Late was built for [712]
refuge against Moungaone raids. The chief of Late bore the title of Toto- [622]
late. There is one at present. He was appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

ATA ISLAND

My data as to the settling of outlying islands are by far the fullest 131
for Ata Island, lying about ninety miles south of Tongatabu and in latitude
22° 20′, almost at the tropic of Capricorn. Like Toku, Ata was a haven of [166]
safety for the certain political refugees. [727]

Ata was discovered and named Pylstaarts by Tasman in January, 1643, 177
while he was voyaging northward from New Zealand to Tonga. No mention 175
is made of signs of inhabitants and presumably it was not then occupied. [162]
Tongan tradition makes the peopling somewhat later. [175]

By 1791 Ata was inhabited. Thomson (21), discussing the voyage 175
of Captain Edwards in H. M. S. *Pandora*, says: "Running southward, he 162
made Pylstaarts, at that time inhabited by Tongan castaways, and the fact that
he did not stop to examine it, although he saw by the smoke that it was inhabited. . . ."

In the Voyage of the Duff (65, 66), Ata is mentioned as uninhabited, which would seem to be a mistake since it was already occupied in
1791. Speaking of the Spanish discoverer Fran. Ant. Maurelle who passed
in March, 1781, the Voyage of the Duff says: "He also saw the high unin- [131]
habited spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude
22° 22′, 175° 59′ west longitude. This he called La Sola."

West (62, p. 271) relates the following story about the peopling of 166
Ata: 173

> . . . strange tales are told of one of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal pro- 266
> pensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka;
> but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose

[Ata Island]

> bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which 166
> is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant 173
> island, called Pylstaarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed 266
> to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon
> the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party [501]
> of the inhabitants hastily manned a *hamatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstaarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel.

What follows concerning Ata has been derived entirely from modern 128
Tongans, mostly former inhabitants of that island now residing in Eua Island, and also from Leha, the carpenter for Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's descendant.

The Tongan name is really 'Ata, which means reflection. Ata is the 103
title of a great chief, which means dawn. Another name is Atā, which is
the name of the island close to Tongatabu. This name means more room, [773]
expanding, and evidently has reference to the mythical origin of this island, which is believed to have arisen spontaneously from the depths of the sea and to be the first island of the Tongan archipelago to appear above the face of the waters.

Ata is a very steep, volcanic island. The anchorage is on the west side 133
of the island and from the beach a trail leads upward. There was but one 504 487
town on Ata and it was called Kolomaile, literally Myrtle town. It was 361
divided into three sections: Hihifo (the west end), Auloto, and Pea. Pea was apparently named after the village of Pea in Tongatabu. The reason for so believing will appear later when I recount the story of the visit from the god of Pea to Ata. The people of Ata did not live on their farms as did Tongans elsewhere but lived together in the town. Each of these three divisions of the town had a district of its own for farming. Whether or not each district was divided into individual family holdings could not be determined.

The traditional discovery of Ata is attributed to the diviner Hama 173
(16, p. 52). Apparently some time later the island was visited by a man 166
named Motuapuaka, who eloped to Ata with the Tui Tonga's daughter 484
named Tapuosi. Motuapuaka is said to have earlier sighted the island while fishing for bonito, so when he eloped with Tapuosi he headed for the island
as a likely place of refuge from the wrath of the Tui Tonga. According to 173
two informants from Ata there were already aborigines upon the island 166
when Motuapuaka and Tapuosi arrived. The details of their adventures 484
upon arriving at Ata were related by Tupouata, a descendant of the prin- 609
cipal chief of the island, the Tui Ata. According to one informant there

[Ata Island]

were but seven aborigines left when Tapuosi arrived and they were all men. 173
Of the total of five Ata informants that I interviewed three had heard of 166
the aborigines, a fourth seemed extremely hazy on the subject, and although 484
he assented when I finally made the question leading. The fifth informant 609
denied all knowledge of pre-Tongan aborigines on Ata. Here is Tupouata's account of the aborigines and their annihilation by Motuapuaka:

> When Motuapuaka and Tapuosi landed on the beach they saw at once the aborigines who were very tall people, "their thigh bones being the length of an ordinary man." Upon landing the elopers made straight for the people. The aborigines had no fire but appeared to eat their food raw, the principal diet being the fruit of the pandanus and shell fish. The two lovers arrived in the morning and sat on the beach watching the Ata islanders play a game called la'ula'ulo. This game was played by pinching the skin of the back of the hands. Two people played and placed the hands one above another alternately. The Ata people were exceedingly rough in this game, pinching very hard, biting one another, and "even eating one another." Tapuosi was quite frightened and told Motuapuaka that she was afraid of the savages. Motuapuaka took a stick and beat the aborigines who could not fight, wrestle, or throw missiles. He drove them into a cave. Then he pulled down their huts of grass and piled the grass in front of the cave. He set fire to it and proceeded to suffocate the aborigines. For a day and a night Motuapuaka kept the fire burning. He heard the cries of his victims but had no pity on them. It is said that the bones of those people are still to be seen in a big cave in Ata. The aborigines are said to have talked "like birds." In complexion they were like Tongans but were exceedingly tall, slender people.
>
> Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were not forced to depend upon the unpalatable pandanus fruit, for they had brought with them coconuts and yams, which they planted.

Presumably the arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi at Ata, if it is an historical 173
fact, occurred in the early eighteenth century. The genealogies of 166
the Tui Tonga family reveal a Tapuosi, daughter of the thirty-fourth Tui 484
Tonga, Fakanaanaa. Presumably Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were accompanied by followers.

There came next to Ata, according to the account of modern informants, a chief named Tameifuna, a man of Tungua Island in Haapai.

> Tameifuna was voyaging home from Fiji and being somewhat out of the usual course made Ata. He brought with him his wife Siakumi, whom he deserted, however, for an Ata woman named Otulau, the daughter of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. When Tameifuna returned to Tungua he left his wife Otulau behind. He told her to
> call the child, which she was to bear, Laufilitonga if a boy, Sinaitakala' if a girl. The 173
> child proved to be a boy, who later became the father of the first chief of Ata, Tupouata. 622
> Tupouata claimed his chiefliness on the basis of his ancestress, Tapuosi being the
> daughter of the Tui Tonga. Tameifuna was the highest chief to reside in Ata. It was [643]
> said by informants that Tupouata became "king" of Ata at the wish of the people of that island and that he was not appointed by either the Tui Tonga or the Tui Kanokupolu.

The third accretion to the population of the island came in the latter part 173
of the eighteenth century. The chief Vaea of Houma, Tongatabu, had a 166
daughter named Hehea, who had a daughter named Latuhehea. Hehea 484

[Ata Island]

wished that some one would take her daughter away on a voyage as 484 173 166 the daughter was the recipient of unwelcome attention from Teukava, one of the sons of the great chief Ata. Teukava had ordered the girl brought to an entertainment (*katoanga sike*), at which he forced the girls to appear naked so that he might review them and decide which he desired. Latuhehea, at her mother's wish, was taken away by the people of the island of Atata. They took her to Ata. The Atata people also settled on Ata, presumably to avoid Teukava's vengeance. The Houma people, themselves, could not take Latuhehea away from Tongatabu because being inland people they knew neither how to navigate nor to paddle and had no vessels of their own. Whether or not Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were already dead when Latuhehea and the Atata people came is not clear. West (62) assigns the flight [266] of the Atata people to Ata to desire to escape the raids of a cannibal who dwelt on Nomuka Island, Haapai.

From Motuapuaka and Tapuosi to the informant James Tupouata (a 162 man of seventy years of age in 1920) was five generations. Table 15,[124] (in pocket^) shows seven generations of people who resided on or were born in Ata. One hundred and fifty-one of the 163 people listed by me in a [124] census of Ata inhabitants are included in this genealogy. The genealogical evidence seems to point to the middle of the eighteenth century as the probable time of arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. The earlier growth of the 582 population was largely through cross-cousin marriages, as there were but few accretions to the population from without. No doubt cross-cousin marriage [565] was practiced to a far greater extent than in the general rank and file [184] of the Tongan population, among whom such marriages were regarded as a chiefly prerogative, not to be exercised by commoners. Marriages to relatives as shown by the Ata genealogy (Table 15) were as follows:

10-11: Man to mother's father's sister.
14-15: Man to father's sister's daughter.
19-20: Man to father's sister's daughter.
21-22: Man to father's sister's daughter.
21-24: Man to father's sister's daughter.
25-26: Man to father's sister's daughter.
27-28: Man to father's sister's daughter.
29-30: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
34-35: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
39-40: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
41-42: Man to mother's brother's son's daughter.
43-44: Man to mother's father's sister's son's daughter.
48-49: Man to mother's father's son's daughter.
36-38: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
57-58: Man to mother's sister's daughter's daughter.
70-71: Man to mother's sister's daughter.
73-74: Man to mother's paternal half sister's daughter.
92-93: Man to father's father's daughter's daughter's daughter.
94-95: Man to father's paternal half sister's son's daughter.

^ /See Category 173, End Table A-C --Analyst/

[Ata Island]

98-99: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
102-103: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
104-105: Man to mother's father's paternal half brother's daughter.
109-110: Man to mother's paternal half sister's son's daughter's daughter.
125-127: Man to father's sister's daughter.
134-135: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
165-166: Man to father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In addition to the following marriages of blood relatives which the genealogy shows, there is one case of a man (14) marrying his stepmother (7) and one case of a man (13) marrying two sisters (12 and 16). Of the twenty-six marriages of relatives nine are of cross-cousins. Seven of the cross-cousin marriages are of a man to his father's sister's daughter, two to his mother's brother's daughter. There is one example of parallel cousin marriage (70-71).

The institution of the *vasu* evidently held with as much force in Ata as 604
in Tonga proper, for informants said that of the two persons, Laufilitonga 593
(mentioned above) and his sister Takumua, that Takumua was superior in 605
rank and that her children were superior to those of her brother Laufilitonga. [184]
In fact, Laufilitonga's children had continually to go into the bush and secure food for the children of Takumua. Even to-day the descendants of Takumua rank higher than the descendants of Laufilitonga.

There were three gods recognized on Ata, two of them apparently from 184
early times, one of them from about the middle of the nineteenth century. 776
Faikavakisia, a male deity, had a sanctuary in the eastern part of the village [778]
of Kolomaile. The priest of the god is said to have borne the same name. [793]
Tui Tofua, presumably the well known Haapai god, had a sanctuary in the [778]
southern part of the town of Kolomaile. His priest was also known by the
name of Tui Tofua. It seems likely that the introduction of the worship [793]
of this god may be attributed to Tameifuna, the Haapai colonist. From the present holder of the title of Leha, carpenter to the Tui Tonga, I obtained the following account of the arrival of the third god, Moalaleki, in Ata.

Moalaleki was the god of the village and fortress of Pea, Tongatabu. In the year [776]
1852 the god became angry because the cup of kava of a warrior named Sialevailea was
given to another warrior. Thereupon, the god deserted Pea and went at once to
Ata, taking with him a root (*ulo*) of kava. With the departure of the god from [669]
Pea, misfortune fell upon the town, for that very day the Tui Kanokupolu George I [798]
laid siege to it with his Methodist army.

When the god arrived in Ata he found the chiefs assembled inside a house wishing that they had kava to drink (kava was already grown in the island). Suddenly the god dropped the kava root from the roof of the house to the floor. Thereupon the chiefs said to one another, "We wish we had more kava. This is only a small quantity; too small to make a drink for us all." Then the god said from above, "It is small, but it is strong (*latea*)," expressing the idea in poetry as follows:

Oku sii pe ka oe latea	It is small but it is strong [539]
Koe kava na'e o Pea	The kava was formerly of Pea
Koe ha'u mei pe kolo tautea	It has come from the punished town.

/ [Ata and Niuatoputapu Islands]

So the kava root was chewed and squeezed and eaten, and the people drank it, then all lay down drunk. After the first infusion of the kava the strainings were divided and each house was given a share so that each house had a drink. On this occasion it was Mu'a, the mother of Julia Ukulolo, who did the chewing and who after the bowl was brought squeezed and strained the kava. Julia Ukulolo was an informant interviewed in 1921. 184 776

The population of Ata had its maximum with about two hundred individuals, one hundred of which were children according to modern informants. In fact at the time of removal to Eua it was said that there were one hundred school children. 162

About 1860 a serious disaster overtook the islanders. The following account of what happened was obtained from Tupouata who was at the time twelve or thirteen years old. Another informant, Julia Ukulolo, was eight or nine years old and was in school at the time that the disaster befell. The disaster was in the form of kidnapping by a Peruvian ship. Julia's older brother was taken away by this raider. Tupouata also laid the trouble to the treachery of a Tongan named Paul Vehi, who had been educated in Sydney during a sojourn of two years and who claimed to have been appointed mayor of Ata by King George I. The Ata people were already Christians when the raid occurred. 648

When the Peruvian raider appeared she was black with white doors painted upon her sides to make her look like a man-of-war. Vehi went aboard and presumably arranged the kidnapping. When he returned ashore, he made a proclamation that each family was to send a good-looking man aboard with provisions to sell. There was to be no selling on shore, and furthermore the selling on the ships was to take place below decks. Once the Ata people were aboard they were sent to various rooms to select the goods they wanted in exchange. After entering the rooms the doors were locked. Just how many were kidnapped I could not learn. Eight men who were waiting in boats beside the ship escaped, for one of them perceived what had happened. They were however pursued by the ship's boat.

When King George I heard about the raid he sent the three schooners Sialeataongo, Elenoa, and Tupou to bring the people away from Ata, lest more of them be kidnapped. The schooners sailed to Eua, but were unable to land the people on account of the heavy sea. They were therefore taken to Nukualofa and lodged temporarily at Pangai, the site of the present wireless station. Large quantities of food were furnished the refugees by the king. Later they were transported to Eua where they and their descendants now live. 166

NIUATOPUTAPU ISLAND

Niuatoputapu (Niua Doubly Prohibited) is one of the two northern outlying groups of the modern Tongan kingdom, the other being Niuafoou or New Niua. Niuatoputapu perhaps derives its name from the privilege 131 103

[Niuatoputapu Island]

accorded its inhabitants by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, that they should 103
push away the boats of the Tongans, and not let them land. In Nukualofa, 123
at the time of my sojourn there, resided Maatu, the hereditary ruler of Niuatoputapu and virtually king thereof. An opportunity was therefore afforded of obtaining some information concerning that group.

Niuatoputapu was discovered on May 10, 1616, by the Dutch explorers 177
Schouten and Lemaire. It thus constitutes the earliest discovered portion 175
of the Tongan Archipelago. Basil Thomson (54, pp. 398, 399) gives an account of the visit of Schouten and Lemaire. Wallis visited Niuatoputapu on August 13, 1767. Nails, which he left there, were later found in the possession of the Tui Tonga Pau by Captain Cook a few years later.

Niuatoputapu group comprises two islands, Niuatoputapu or Keppel 133
which rises to an altitude of 350 feet, and the volcanic cone of Tafahi or Boscawen which is two thousand feet high. These islands are located in 131
latitude 16° south.

The Maatu whom I interviewed claimed to be the tenth ruler of the 634
line, the first ruler bearing the title of Latu, the title which Schouten and 622
Lemaire give for the ruler of Niuatoputapu. The following is the king 173
list as given by the Maatu of 1921. [123]

1. Latumailangi (chief from heaven) or Puakatefisi (pig from Fisi, a place on Tafahi Island). Pigs seem to be especially associated with Tafahi Island from which Puakatefisi came, for the people of the neighboring Niuatoputapu say of Tafahi, when the clouds are around its summit, that the gods must be cooking pigs, for there is the smoke. 634 622 173 551 [826]

2. Puakailakelo, son of 1. His name means "pig with yellow spots." It was he who is said to have changed the title from Latu to Maatu. The traditional reason for the change is as follows: Lavelua, the ruler of Uvea, came on a visit to Niuatoputapu, bringing with him his shell fishhook. In the dialect of Niuatoputapu such a fish hook is called *pa*. In the Uvean dialect it was called *utumaatu*. Latu fancied the name of the fish hook so the two kings traded fish-hook names. In Uvea such a fish hook was henceforth to be called *pa* and in Niuatoputapu it was to be called *utumaatu*. The ruler of the latter island then adopted the title of Maatu for himself and successors, discarding the older term Latu. In Uvea the old term *utumaatu* for fish hook became tapu. The Tamaha's genealogies have the following to say about Puakailakelo and his brother Pungakaitafola: [776]

> There were two brothers, Pungakaitafola and Puakailakelo. Pungakaitafola was Maatu, but on account of his sickness (nose trouble) he allowed his younger brother Puakailakelo to take the title, and he became Maatu.
>
> A boat arrived from Niuafoou with two women, who were passengers, by name of Hekuau and Siulolovao; the latter was the child of Valamotu (daughter of Fusitua and Fotofili Alofi). Puakailakelo courted Hekuau, but she refused him as she had already a sweetheart at Niuafoou (Mailelatamai), and Siulolovao then accepted the courtship of Puakailakelo. Before Siulolovao had any children she adopted a little girl named Fataimoamanu as her first child to Puakailakelo. Fataimoamanu was the daughter of Alokuoulu the brother of Siulolovao.

[Niuatoputapu Island]

In the meantime Pungakaitafola lived with Fakaositahole (a woman from Tonga), and before she had any children she adopted a little boy named Vivili, and named him Tuise, as her first child to Pungakaitafola. Later she had a child to Pungakaitafola and its name was Tatafu. 634 622 173 551

3. Ikamafana I, fish boiling. Son of 2 and Siulolovao, daughter's daughter of Fotofili Alofi, king of Niuafoou.

4. Pungakaitafola, coral eating everywhere. Presumably older brother of 2.

5. Ikamafana II. Married Latutama, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu Maealiuaki; hence ruled in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Maealiuaki was an old man in Cook's time. Latutama was mother of 6.

6. Ngongo, noddy. The first Christian king. Son of 5. [795]

7. Seuilikalaekivalu, gallinule, calling eight times. This is an Uvean name. The reason for its application to the Niuatoputapu ruler was this: the fifth ruler Ikamafana II voyaged to Uvea with his son Ngongo and his daughter Veiongo. Ikamafana II was killed by the Uveans and Ngongo and his sister remained on that island. The daughter of the ruler of Uvea adopted Ngongo. Out of regard for Ngongo the remainder of the Niuatoputapu people who had accompanied him and his father to Uvea were not killed. Veiongo was taken from Uvea to Vavau and married Ulukalala (III or IV). The son of Ulukalala and Veiongo was Matekitonga, the father of the present Ulukalala.

8. U. Latumailangi, who was the ruling chief in 1862 and who died by 1877.

9. Joel Kivalu who died May 14, 1894.

10. John Panuve, the informant, son of 9. He died in 1923(?). The name Panuve is Fijian. [115]

On June 4, 1862, Niuatoputapu was formally joined to the kingdom of Tonga by agreement, although in the days when the Tui Tonga flourished Niuatoputapu was regarded as a part of the kingdom. Evidently in the stormy days in the early part of the nineteenth century Niuatoputapu had attained a considerable degree of independence. Even at the present time the status of Maatu in relation to the ruler of the entire kingdom is somewhat different from that of most chiefs. The late premier Tui Vakano said that Maatu was virtually a king and appointed his own chiefs. At the present time the chief under Maatu is Tangipa, which is a title created by Maatu. Evidently there were other titles earlier, for it is reported of Ngongo that upon returning from Uvea he overcame the local chiefs of both Niuatoputapu and Tafahi Island, and "extinguished all lineages (*haa*) except his own." 634 642

Thomson, in telling of the visit of Schouten and Lemaire to Niuatoputapu relates that a man was struck in the breast by shot fired wantonly by the Dutch. According to the Maatu whom I interviewed this man's name was Tauvaka, a name which has continued down to the present day as a chiefly title which is bestowed by Maatu. It is said that the original form of this name was somewhat different, being Taukuoaka meaning fighting power taken root. This name was bestowed originally by an early chief upon one of his followers who aided in conquering Niuatoputapu. 173 551 [622]

[Niuatoputapu Island]

Chiefs and braves (*toa*) of Niuatoputapu formerly singed their hair 565
short with a burning coconut stem (the part from which the nut is sus- 302
pended), while other men wore their hair long like women.

According to the Maatu I interviewed the land was divided out to the 622
various chiefs by Maatu, who created the chiefs and their titles. After some 634
had held their land for a time they would "get cheeky," so that Maatu would 423
have to fight them again. The chiefs made presents of food and other prod- 622
ucts to Maatu continually. The commoners were "like dogs" and were 634 565
called *tua*. The matapules of Niuatoputapu, like those elsewhere in the Ton- 622
gan kingdom, did the chief's bidding with regard to the distribution of food, 624
kava, etc. A matapule who made a mistake in serving kava would be clubbed. [276]
If, however, the matapule chanced to be the grandson of Maatu (that is the [684]
issue of a marriage of one of Maatu's relatives with a person of matapule
rank) he would not be punished. In 1920 there was living at Niuatoputapu
an officiating matapule, who was eighty-nine years old.

Maatu and his family constituted the *houeiki*. Below them were the 634
chiefs and other people who were allotted pieces of land by Maatu. These 622
were called *kaumaatua*. One of them acted as regent in the absence of 565
Maatu. When one of Maatu's matapules begot a son of a woman of a place [554]
ruled by a *kaumaatua* (petty chief), that son acted as the matapule to that
petty chief, who would be either his maternal grandfather or his maternal
uncle. When an older Maatu (presumably Ngongo) fought the petty chiefs 634
and conquered them he retracted their titles and lands. These were restored 622 423
by Maatu No. 9. The retraction of titles and lands occurred with every 554
title bearer except Motuapala, who officiated at Maatu's oven, presumably as
a sort of matapule. The matapule title of Sika was taken from a conquered 634
matapule and has now been bestowed upon a person of Maatu's family. 565
Sika is the principal matapule of Maatu to-day. He is also matapule to the 554
Tui Kanokupolu when the Tui Kanokupolu visits Niuatoputapu.

There is no doubt but what the power of Maatu in the Niuatoputapu 634
group has been diminished within the last half century, for a certain portion 178
of the island is now claimed by the Tongan government. In other words it
was regarded as crown land. This land was obtained by the Tui Kanoku- [643]
polu George I, evidently as a part of his policy of everywhere strengthening
his hold and of increasing the cohesion of his kingdom. Under just which
Maatu George I secured his holdings in Niuatoputapu I do not know. Since
the death of the Maatu whom I met in 1920 and 1921, an eleventh incum-
bent has perhaps been appointed, although as to this I have not heard.
Presumably the Queen of Tonga has filled the vacancy if a suitable heir [643]
has been forthcoming.

TONGAN RELIGION

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

My notes on the ancient religion of Tonga are scant, as might well be 128 expected 75 years after the complete Christianization of the country. The [797] material here presented is in part supplementary to that already published (26). Some of it is amplification of published materials by Collocott and others.

Collocott (9, pp. 152-163, 227-240) has so thoroughly portrayed the char- 114 acteristics of the principal gods of Tongatabu that there is little left to do except supplement his account with further details. Farmer (23, pp. 125-146) also gives a brief sketch of the principal Tongan gods and of the functions of the priests. Most of Farmer's information was obtained from [115] the Reverend John Thomas, a Methodist missionary. The nature of the gods is well handled by Mariner, Farmer, and Collocott.

PULOTU

772 Pulotu, the unseen world, and domain of the god or goddess Hikuleo (23, 775 p. 132), was believed to lie to the westward and to be reached by sea. A [776] number of stories are told of voyages (26, p. 153) to Pulotu. There seems to be a certain tendency among modern Tongans to identify Pulotu with the underworld, Lolofonua. Pulotu is also identified by some modern informants with the cemetery or graveyard. Anciently, it was thought that a [776] living man might visit Pulotu to recover a dead wife (26, p. 183), and that Hikuleo would assemble the spirits so that the wife might be selected, also that Hikuleo would then re-animate the visitor, so that he might return to the earth.

Among modern Tongans who regard Pulotu as equivalent to the under- 775 world, two entrances are pointed out. One of them consists of a deep hole 823 on the island of Koloa, Vavau, a hole which mythology says was the opening 772 by which fire was brought from the underworld to this world by Maui Kisikisi. The second opening to Pulotu, in its modern identification with the underworld, is through the volcano in the island of Tofua. People who [761] formerly lived on Tofua report that whenever someone died in the Haapai Islands, crying or singing would be heard at the volcano. If crying is heard to-day it is interpreted to mean a dead sinner; if singing, a good Christian on his way to Pulotu. There are three divisions of Pulotu called Pulotu 775 Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, and Pulotu Tuumau. The following quotation is from 772 Watkin (61):

> They have some idea of the future existence of the soul, but it is obscure indeed. There exist notions among them which savour something of the Hindoo notion of successive births in the future world, two deaths awaiting them after that endured in this world when they are freed from further mutation. The heaven they calculate

upon is upon the plan of Mahommed's very brothel. Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, 775
and Pulotu Tuumau are the names of the Tonguese three heavens. 772

Vaiola (The-water-of-life) is believed to be in Pulotu. The following 775
brief note, translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker from a manuscript written 772
in Tongan by Rachel Tonga, refers to it: 823

> It is said in the traditions that there is a country in which there is a fountain called Vaiola and the nature of this water is healing. If a sick person washes in it, he comes up healed. If a leper bathes in it he will be clean; if an old man he becomes young, the blind see, those afflicted with elephantiasis become well, the deaf hear, the dumb speak. People afflicted with any sickness need only plunge into the water to become well. Anciently the people longed night and day to do so, but it was not known where the water was situated Some said it was at Pulotu, the residence of the gods, and some said that it was at the lower Fiji islands.

DEITIES

The gods seem to have been considered as formless spirits (19, vol. 1, 776
p. 405) who might become incarnate in any shape they desired. Thus, the 776
god Taufa might become incarnate in his priest Kautae, in a shark, or in a 825
gecko (*moko*). Similarly, the deity Fehuluni might appear either as a man
or as a woman; and the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa might appear either as
herons or as women. As a matter of fact the forms in which gods did 776
appear seem to be strictly limited in number.

The term *fakamalanga* is applied to the god of one's mother, supposed to be kind in nature. The term also means intercessor. The word *ka* means to treat the gods with contempt.

Belief in the gods is by no means dead today in Tonga. Good Christians 795
occasionally see, or are afflicted by, the ancient deities. Even myths con- 776
cerning the ancient gods are still in process of creation. For instance, in [778]
Lapaha is a cylindrical stone called Levulevukefu, which in Christian times
has been moved from its original position in the center of the Tui Tonga's
gateway to its present position on the west side of the main north and south
street of Lapaha. The fact of its removal is known, yet a story is current
that it was thrown from Eua Island to its present position by Maui.

Near Maufanga, Tongatabu, is a cave called Anapusi (Cat-cave), because 825
some miraculous owls living there are said to have the power of assuming
the form of cats at will. This, no doubt, is an idea that does not antedate
the introduction of cats.

The mound called Tangata Haamea, built at Feletoa, Vavau, by the present 776
Ulukalala for his son Tangata Haamea, who in 1921 was a clerk in the 778
premier's office in Nukualofa, is constructed of stones taken from the platform
(*paepae*) of an ancient god-house. The stones are supposed, as a result of

their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood 776
avoid passing the mound in the dark. 778

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods 776
appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the 825
god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it 784
was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god
might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions [753]
a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which
the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or
catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo,* which is the Tongan rendering of 776
English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old 196
Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interesting
etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed [793]
tevolo as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the
frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient 776
term for a god seems to be *otua.* The term *fili* was given by one informant as 192
a synonym, as was also *puloa.* The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods,
spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or
"different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as
compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua,*
based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have 776
been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several [171]
forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear [778]
to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the [793]
creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology. [773]

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the [643]
gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, [782]
inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed
their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven
seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into
his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral"
(26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered himself [164]
buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, [762]
p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga [793]
acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony [643]
being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased [643]
Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs [769]
(p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Tongan
pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

(Calla Filatonga) and the god Fatafehi (66, pp. 276, 277; 19, vol. 1, p. 403), 776
whom I could not identify. All informants interviewed denied the existence
of any deity with the name Fatafehi.

TANGALOA

Tangaloa, the sky god, is regarded in Vavau as being the deity who hauled [773]
up the Vavau group, his fish hook catching in what is now the island of
Hunga (41, vol. 1, p. 271). The attribution by the Vavau people of this [84]
great act to Tangaloa instead of Maui is perhaps due to some special develop- [771]
ment of Tangaloa worship in Vavau. Tangaloa Tufunga, though said not to [335]
be a god of Niuatoputapu, is the patron of carpenters elsewhere in Tonga.

MAUI

The Maui were characterized by one informant not as gods but as men,
and they are believed to appear sometimes as men. In other words, they are
really culture heroes who correspond better to the designation of demigod
than of god. According to Maatu of Niuatoputapu, Maui is not credited
with having benefited that island. He is, however, reputed to have drawn 776
up successively the islands of Ata, north of Tongatabu, and Tongatabu with 773
all of its associated islands, then Lofanga and the other Haapai islands, and
lastly the Vavau group (38, p. 113). There are several places in the Ton-
gatabu and Vavau groups which have tales connecting them with the exploits
of the Maui. At Toloa, Tongatabu, certain breakers are said to represent 776
the great fowl (*moa*) wounded by Maui, who hurled stones at it, as it flew 773
from Eua. Thus, when a wave approaches the shore and breaks only in part 823
it is said to be the fowl approaching. The part of the wave which is break-
ing is called the good wing of the bird. The part which does not break is
said to be the broken wing of the bird, which has been struck by Maui's
missile.

There is a definite localization of tales about Maui in Eua Island and in the Vavau group, seemingly drawing upon two separate sets of tales, which in modern times have been more or less amalgamated. In Eua, Maui Kisikisi and his father and mother are said to have lived at Haatua. At that place there is a large stretch of ground with a deep depression which is called the Matalanga-a-Maui. The tale recounts that the father chided Kisikisi for not working, whereupon the boy in anger seized his great digging stick, plunged it into the ground and worked it back and forth, shaking Eua terribly. His father ordered him to desist lest he upset the island, and Kisikisi expostulated at the unequal treatment he received, one time hearing complaint because he did no work, and then hearing further complaint as soon as he started to make a garden. In exasperation he cast his digging stick over the cliff Le-

lenga, so that it fell into the sea. The place where it slid over the edge of the 776
cliff is marked by a deep groove, through which soil and stone have slid 773
into the sea. (See also 16, p. 8.) 823

At Matalanga in Utungake, Vavau, are a series of perpendicular holes or caves in the coral bedrock, which are said likewise to have been made by Maui thrusting in his digging stick. In the sea close by are two very smooth rocks, called Niumano and Moso, the larger being not more than 30 feet in diameter,
said to be transformed sons of Maui. A plant *tepilo a Maui* (wind of 776
Maui), common in Tonga, is associated with Maui. The plant, when in 773
flower, smells like human excrement and is said to have acquired this 824
characteristic because a branch of it was used by Maui as a wiper.

On the part of the weather shore of Uiha called Likutapu (so called 776
because a Tui Tonga is said to be buried there, in a small langi) is a hollow 773
stone called the kava bowl of Maui. 823

HIKULEO

Hikuleo, the great deity of Pulotu, whom Farmer (23, p. 132) connects 776
with the Tui Tonga, is believed to manifest himself often at the present time.
Thus, if fishermen return without a catch, it is a sign that Hikuleo has been 776
at work with his great net, and that therefore no fish will enter the nets of 226
mortals. Then the fishermen flee in fear. The particular locality where this
is believed to occur is the inland waters of such lagoons as that of Tongatabu. [115]
Mamea, the Mother Superior of the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, contributed this information about Hikuleo's fishing. She stated, also, that there 776
died about 1905 an old woman of Maufanga who claimed that she was [787]
frequently transported to the smaller outer islands by a god and then subsequently brought back. I do not know if this god was Hikuleo.

I was unable to settle the matter of the sex of Hikuleo in her (or his) role of deity of Pulotu, some informants made the deity masculine, others feminine (26). It is not improbable that, like Fehuluni, Hikuleo was bisexual. Caillot (7, p. 243) regards Hikuleo as a male deity, as do most other writers.

At the site of the present town of Haano, Haapai, there once stood 778
a temple of Hikuleo. The temple was called Falemee. It was located on a 776
tract called Fanakava. The priest of the goddess was named Manakoto,
and her sacred animal was the sea snake (*tukuhali*). This temple was a
famous place of refuge. If a person became sick, his relatives went to [782]
Manakoto and cut off little finger joints to make him well. Bodies of [755]
executed persons were taken to Manakoto. If Manakoto were angry a human [782]
sacrifice might be made to him, the sight of which made him happy. The 000
following anecdote is told:

The following anecdote is told:

Kavaanuku was the name of the Foa Island chief who had soldiers for war. 173
The soldiers from Tonga came to Foa and fought with Kavaanuku's soldiers. They
fought and Kavaanuku's soldiers ran to Manakoto's place. They were whipped and 778
feared the Tongan soldiers. The soldiers from Tonga tied with rope a man and 782
took him to Manakoto and Kavaanuku, before whom they strangled him. Then Kavaa- 726
nuku, likewise strangled a man as an offering to the goddess. Thereupon the soldiers
from Tonga strangled two Tongan men and took them to Manakoto, because they
wanted Hikuleo's permission to enter her sanctuary and to destroy Kavaanuku's soldiers.
Permission was gained when the Tongans sacrificed the two men to the goddess. The
sacrificed men were left on the ground to rot outside of the goddess' house. Then
the Tongan soldiers attacked and killed all of Kavaanuku's men. That was the first
time anyone had attacked the sanctuary of Fanakava. This happened in the time of
the great great grandfather of the present Tui Haa Ngana.

Another account of Hikuleo follows:

Hikuleo had also a shrine in the island of Uiha, Haapai. Her tract of land was 778
called Taoa, and her house was built thereon. She was appealed to through the 776
medium of the usual finger sacrifice when there was sickness. People who intended [782]
to voyage must inform Hikuleo first, otherwise they would encounter bad winds. [484]
People beseeching the aid of the goddess seated themselves outside of the house in
which she was believed to be. A man looked after the feeding of the goddess, giving
her the food which the people brought. All of the people in Uiha worshipped Hikuleo;
other deities were also worshipped. Hikuleo was the patron goddess of the chief [622]
Malupo of Uiha. In connection with her worship in Uiha one tapu required every- 776
one to be quiet for a time at noon, forbidding the beating of tapa or making of any 784
noise; another tapu forbade orange juggling at night, under penalty of losing one's
eyesight; and another forbade old women to make mats, because they [old women?]
smelt badly to the goddess.

FEHULUNI

Fehuluni is a widely known Tongan deity who even in Christian times 776
appears as an apparition. The origin of this deity has been related
(26, pp. 153-155). My hitherto unpublished information concerning Fehu-
luni pertains to the Haapai and Vavau groups.

Fehuluni apparently appears always in human form—to a man appearing
in feminine form; to a woman, in masculine form. The person whose [763]
affection is won by Fehuluni is said to die, often wasting away, and people
are said to become unconscious on first seeing her. One informant charac-
terized Fehuluni as a *tupui tevolo*, that is an original god rather than an *ata*
(shadow). The island of Nomuka, Haapai, is the particular haunt of the
deity, where she had a temple, like an ordinary Tongan house, located on
the tract Tuanuku. Three people officiated as priests, a man named Samuel 776
Masivahemolo and his sisters Latu and Fatai, all of whom were inspired at 793
times by Fehuluni becoming incarnate in one of them, the manifestation of 787
the incarnation being trembling. On the occasion of such a divine visitation
the inspired servant of the god remained within the temple. The people who 782
prayed to Fehuluni sometimes entered her house, sometimes remained outside. 778

To Fehuluni are attributed strong sexual desires. If a handsome man 776
attracted the deity he took female form and slept with him, after which the 833
man died. A similar fate overtook any beautiful woman in whom the deity 763
became interested.

The three following tales relate encounters with Fehuluni in female form: 776

773

There were two men who went on horseback to Ahau, Nomuka Island. When they reached the big *ovava* tree at Ahau, it was almost sundown. They saw a woman sitting beside the road. They stopped the horses and made them walk slowly. This woman told them to dismount, so they did. They came up to the woman and she asked for tobacco. They had none. She told them they had better go to the village and get her some. They went and got tobacco and kava and returned to her. Just before they got back to her they looked ahead and saw her without a head. She had her head in her hands and was combing the hair. They stood for a while and watched in fear. They beat their horses and flew back to the village. If Fehuluni had known they were so close she would not have frightened them like that. They discovered who she was in time. In two or three days they sickened and died.

One day a man named David Kaufusi went to Ahau, to do some work there. After doing his work he went around to the west side of the island. Suddenly he saw Fehuluni and several other women "devils" sitting on the road, juggling oranges. They looked like Tongan women. He was surprised to see the "devils" and was right amongst them before he realized it. Fehuluni was the prettiest of all. David came to a standstill and she told her woman to bring him to her and they would eat him. "We are very hungry," she said. They laid him down and ate out all his flesh, leaving only skin and bones. After the feast they blew him up with air and left him lying there. On the same day, a priestess at Ahau sent word to the people to go around to the west side of the island and bring David, for her god had informed her of what had happened to him. So the people went and found him lying there. When they went to lift him up, his skin broke. He was dead. So they brought the skin and bones and buried them in the graveyard named Fakahakonoa at Ahau. The people knew what had happened to David, because the priestess told them.

Tanisisi was the "slayer" of Fehuluni about 1890. This was when there were plenty of ducks in the lake of Nomuka. Tanisisi went out one morning to shoot ducks. He shot many. He had the bush tract Haafota, at the southeast point of the island. He shot the ducks on the lagoon and then went back to his tract. He dropped the ducks and went out to the headland, to see if there were any ducks standing on the rocks at the point of the island to warm themselves at sunrise. On the way to the point he saw a woman standing beside a toa tree. He stood for a while, but could not determine who she was, though he knew all in the town. She wore only a short tapa garment, not reaching to her knees, and no other clothes. Her hair hung to her heels. Tanisisi could not identify her, for no Nomuka woman had such long hair. She was looking away from him, facing the sea. It came to Tanisisi's mind that it was Fehuluni. He thought this when he first saw her. So he loaded his gun and fired at her. When he fired she went to nothing. He could find no body. When he came to the spot he found a dead skink (*pili*) with a wound right through its body. Fehuluni has since been seen and hence was not actually killed.

When questioned about sexual connection with Fehuluni, the informant [833]
said it never really occurs, because the deity is only a shadow which cannot
be touched. People upon whom Fehuluni looks are said to go out of their [158]
minds. That Tanisisi did not go crazy is accounted for by the fact that
Fehuluni did not look at him. Fehuluni usually is to be seen near the big tree 776

at Ahau where *fono* were held, or near the southeastern point of the island. 776
Taleheu, a tract on the west side of the island, was Fehuluni's home, where she lived in a Tahitian chestnut tree.

In the Vavau group, Fehuluni's home is the island of Aa. She has living there with her the women who are said to continually juggle the eyes of human beings, instead of oranges. Certain of the attributes which she has in Nomuka pertain to her also in Vavau, namely, the ability to become either a man or a woman, and the ability to remove her head from her shoulders when combing her hair. The Vavau informant said that those human beings who fell victims to the enticements of this deity died soon and that the deity wished it so, that she might have them with her in Pulotu, the unseen world.

What is probably but another manifestation of Fehuluni is a deity named Malimeihevao, the bisexual god of Uoleva Island, Haapai. The following anecdote concerns him:

> A god named Malimeihevao, living in the pigeon mound called Siamaka in the 776
> island of Uoleva had the power of assuming either male or female sex at will and 773
> visiting a human being of the opposite sex, whom he liked. The deity possessed the 787
> mind (*loto*) of the human victim, so that for some time after the divine visitation 828
> the victim was irrational.
>
> Two men, Kaamoto and Pana, from the neighboring island of Lifuka, went hunting with a shotgun on Uoleva. They had shot a number of flying foxes and large fruit pigeons (*lupe*), when Malimeihevao possessed herself of Kaamoto's mind. As soon as she did so, Kaamoto looked like a fool and became completely irrational. Pana was carrying the game that had been bagged. He urged Kaamoto to return with him to Lifuka, but Kaamoto was deaf to entreaty and proceeded to walk towards the center of Uoleva with his gun under his arm. Kaamoto had been completely robbed of his sense of direction and for two days and two nights he wandered aimlessly. The faithful Pana, realizing that he had lost his mind, followed him, but at last despaired of his becoming rational.
>
> Now Pana bethought himself of a goddess named Puakamopele, who lived in the neighboring island of Tatafa. Puakamopele was a deity with a woman's body and a pig's head. She was the ruler of all the gods of Haapai. Pana now left Kaamoto in Uoleva and went over to Tatafa to seek the aid of the goddess. He besought her to restore his companion to his right mind and to cause him (Kaamoto) to come to him. In a little while Pana saw a flame appear near the goddess, which was a sign that the prayer was to be answered. Shortly after Kaamoto came out on the beach of Uoleva opposite Tatafa and fell down quite exhausted, but rational. He was trembling from head to foot and spitting blood. Pana asked him how he became foolish and Kaamoto told him that a woman had approached him and stolen his senses. Then the two returned to Lifuka. Their pigeons and bats, however, had become rotten and were left behind. The two men told the people in Lifuka of their adventures.
>
> As an obscure sequel to this, the priest Ngaohaa, who officiated for both Puaka- 776
> mopele and Malimeihevao at their joint house in Holopeka, Lifuka, went to Tatafa 773
> and requested Puakamopele to kill all of the gods of Haapai. This the obliging goddess 793
> did with the exception of Malimeihevao, who entered the owl (*lulu*).

When the priest Ngaohaa wished to consult Malimeihevao in Uoleva, he 776
went right up to the Siamaka or stone mound in which the deity lived, and in [793]
which Puakamopele also dwelt at times. This mound is said to be of recent [349]

origin, having been built a few generations ago, for pigeon catching, by 776
Matauvave, the matapule of Tui Tonga, who had charge of that sport in 349
Haapai. There was no house for the deities on this mound.

The informant translated Malimeihevao as "stealing your senses if you 776
are liked," but an analysis of the word yields: *mali*, to smile or to marry; 196
meihe, from the; *vao*, bush, which is quite in consonance with the attributes
of the deity. Puakamopele was translated as "pig and stronger," but analyses
as "pig and favorite, pet, or darling."

The sacred animal of Puakamopele was the gecko called *moko*, that of 776
Malimeihevao was the owl called *lulu* (*Strix delicatula*). As already stated, 825
Malimeihevao entered the owl, where he still dwells, through which medium
he still meddles with the affairs of mortals. If a woman is pregnant but the [787]
fact is not public knowledge, the owl makes it known by calling near the [843]
house in which the woman lives. Likewise, if the owl calls near a house and [763]
then flies to the graveyard, it is a sign that death will soon visit that house.

TUI HAA FAKAFANUA

The deity Tui Haa Fakafanua is by Collocott and Tongan informants 776
identified with Tutumatua of Fiji and with Moso of Samoa. One Tongan
informant also identified this god with Seketoa of Niuatoputapu. It seems
likely that these identifications, particularly the last, are in the nature of
rationalizations.

Collocott (9, p. 156) describes the entry of this god into his priest. He [787]
manifested himself in the gecko, or to use the Tongan metaphor, the gecko [825]
was the "boat of the god."

Maufanga in Tongatabu and Faleloa in the island of Foa, Haapai, seem 776
to have been principal seats of this god, although a third sanctuary was 778
located in Lifuka, Haapai, on the site called Hahaia, now occupied by the
Catholic church. Collocott's account (op. cit. p. 227) of the god refers
especially to his manifestations in Tongatabu and to his connection with the
chief Fakafanua. The ancestor of Fakafanua, the present noble of Maufanga,
was Kinikinilau who probably lived in the early part of the seventeenth
century (26, p. 69) so that the Fakafanua title does not appear to be very
old. The exact site of the sanctuary in Tongatabu was called Vakataumai.
The priest seems to have borne the name of Makaui. If tradition is to be [793]
relied upon, there was already a Makaui officiating in the time of Kinikinilau.
It would be interesting to know whether the god of that time bore the name
Tui Haa Fakafanua. Today the god is rudely referred to as Fakafanua's
devil as well as by his true name. Collocott refers to the famous sanctuary
of the god at Maufanga, which afforded protection to fugitives from vengeance.
It was this sanctuary that was shelled by the French warship Astrolabe
in 1827 (20, p. 268 footnote):

> It happened to be the sacred town of Ma Fanga, which, being the supposed abode 776
> of their deities, and of the souls of their ancestors and deceased friends, has always 778
> from time immemorial been considered neutral ground, and as such respected in their
> most bloody wars. It is governed by the high-priest of the island, who guards the [793]
> tombs of the deceased princes, presides at the annual sacrifices, and receives the first-
> fruits offered at the shrine of their deities.

Tui Haa Fakafanua is one of the deities who is still regarded as existent
in Tonga. The sacred pool of the god is located near the present convent
in Maufanga. If a woman bathes alone in this pool, and while bathing sees [825]
a gecko, she believes that the god has entered her and death is the result. [763]
Frequently when a girl dies it is said that the god has caused her death, [763]
whether or not she has bathed in the god's pool. This god is also believed
to have manifested himself at times on Eua Island. A small, clear stream
called Malimaliloto is sacred to this god. A man who dwelt beside the stream
was made very handsome by the god, who himself is said to appear sometimes
as a handsome man in order to have his way with some woman. In Lifuka, 776
Haapai, the priest of the god dwelt in a house on the site of the god's temple. 778
He possessed the power of prophecy and whatever he foretold came to pass. 793
In the priest's house was a room formed of tapa screens. If people came to [787]
consult the priest he told them to wait for the god. After waiting inside the [825]
house for a while, a gecko usually put in its appearance somewhere in the
house and was regarded as the manifestation of the god. Should relatives
of a very sick man appeal to the god, the appearance of the gecko was
regarded as a favorable omen for the man's recovery, its non-appearance
indicating that the god did not wish the patient to live. Usually the priest
was hidden behind the tapa screen when the gecko appeared. When the priest [787]
became possessed by the god he lay down and shook violently. After the
spasm of trembling was over he would sit up and tell the waiting people the
wishes of the god. It is said this priest talked in a natural tone of voice.
This particular priest was murdered by Taufaahau, afterwards King George I.
Taufaahau had warned the priest to cease his practice, but he did not do so.
Taufaahau had his people bring kava to the house of the god. There the
kava ring was formed and the brew served. Taufaahau served the priest.
As he threw back his head to drink, Taufaahau struck him on the neck with
his fist and killed him. Thereafter the adherents of the god became Chris- [797]
tian.

Three informants of Faleloa, and one of Fotua, Foa Island, Haapai, 776
related stories about the sanctuary of Tui Haa Fakafanua at that place. 778
The god's house was said to be a long house, hence the origin of the name
Faleloa for the modern village. As usual, the manifestation of the god at [825]
this sanctuary was through the medium of a gecko. The god appeared in or [793]
was represented (*fakafofonga*) by a woman named Nganga, according to the
Faleloa informants; by a priest named Mekaui according to the Fotua informant.

mant. A joint of the little finger of some close relative of a sick person was 776
sacrificed as an offering to the god and was believed to result in the patient's 778
restoration to health. As in Tongatabu the presence of the gecko indicated [782]
to the supplicants that the god had appeared. At this sanctuary there was a [825]
white stone called Makaui (Calling-stone), thus having the same name as the 776
priest at the god's sanctuary in Maufanga. It is said that when the god 778 823
desired to assemble people he beat upon this stone and people would come.
This statement probably means that the priest beat upon this stone, for [793]
Tongans seem not to discriminate often in their statements between the
priest and the god, which seems natural enough according to the belief that
the priest becomes the embodiment of the god. It is said that when Taufaahau was planning to come to Haapai from Tongatabu to destroy the temples of the gods, the stone Makaui gave warning of this while Taufaahau was yet in Tongatabu. The stone Makaui is reported to be buried in a vault in the cemetery at the beach in Faleloa, but just which vault it is not known.

The account of the Fotua informant (Mesake Lomu) concerning Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua's establishment at Faleloa differs in certain details from the 778
accounts of the Faleloa informants, and makes Makaui the priest, and not the stone.

> Tui Haa Fakafanua had a temple in Faleloa in the island Foa, Haapai group. 776
> His priest there was named Makaui. The incarnation of the god was the gecko [778]
> (*moko*), to which the people prayed. Should any person be ill, a finger of another [793]
> person would be amputated and taken to Tui Haa Fakafanua. [825]
>
> The god had two other incarnations, namely the man-eating shark *tenifa*, also [782]
> variously called mud shark and tiger shark, and the ordinary shark, *anga*. Should
> anyone desire to tapu his garden (plantation) he would make a wooden image of the 776
> man-eating shark and place it in the garden. If anyone stole from that garden and 825
> later went into the sea, he would be eaten by a shark. In Tui Haa Fakafanua's temple 784
> there was a basket in which was a whale's tooth and turmeric.
>
> Makaui, the priest of the god, owned a double sailing vessel (*kalia*) called the 776
> Fekitaki, which, when not in use, was kept covered with coconut-leaf mats. A man 793
> named Fangu, from Uvea stole the mats and thus exposed the vessel to the sun. [501]
> When Makaui arrived the vessel had been much damaged by exposure. So Makaui stood at the water's edge and called out to Tui Haa Fakafanua, "Thy vessel has had mischief done unto it. Search for the perpetrator." Shortly afterwards the thief Fangu bathed in the sea. Then he sat on the dry sand and made himself some kava. While so doing a huge man-eating shark bit and ate him.
>
> Tui Haa Fakafanua appears to have had also a god house and a priest on the [778]
> island of Nomuka, Haapai. It is said that the god made people "silly" who came to [787]
> consult him.

McKern (42) excavated on Pangaimotu Island, near Tongatabu, a mound 776
which was formerly the site of a temple to Tui Haa Fakafanua. Takai, the 778 [172]
chief of Pea, is said to have lived for a time on Pangaimotu early in the [789]
nineteenth century, but declined to build his house on this site, which was
evidently then deserted, even though it was a fine high and dry location. His

objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangai- 776
motu were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god 778
steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly there- 784
after, or was never seen again. 515 833 763

HINA

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and 776
consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina 821
can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*).
One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the
designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term
hinehina refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have
been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain
heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or 778
the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn. 793

TAUFA

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa-of-the-sea. 776
His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital 778
of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau.
This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was
also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of
Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god 776
was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). 825
Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and 782
proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the
descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called
Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Tau- 776
faahau, later King George I. 643 755

Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiofolanga. His health was
poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief
Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was
Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and 778
Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the
priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they 793
brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes 787
pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the
coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sick-
ness was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At 776
the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure 793
him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better 787
take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better." 755

> After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with 776
> coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaahau. After the god had 755
> restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Ngininginiofolanga to Tau- 643
> faahau. [553]
>
> Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents
> as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. 776
> The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god 793
> entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father 755
> thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would 787
> live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea [276]
> water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative [415]
> Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These, to-
> gether with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaotoota, the priest's attendant
> who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coco- [415]
> nut shells. Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when
> he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The move-
> ment of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed
> slightly, eyes staring.

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as 793
follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the 428
incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's
father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father.

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the 793
death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new 776
priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, 787
who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. [795]
His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga.

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one can see the white tomb (*faitoka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of Mua in the lagoon of Tonga'abu, and between the island of Moungatapu and the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave. 776

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god 776
Taufaitahi: 825
773

> A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day [524]
> to attend games of playing in the surf (*fanifo*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the
> arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down
> and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for
> and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the
> surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and [782]
> the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brought as
> offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain.

Another tale refers to the temple of Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga, Tonga- 776
tabu, serving as a sanctuary (*fale hufanga*) for the chief Niukapu who was 773
being pursued by Taufaahau (later King George I): 778

> Taufaahau had pursued the chief Niukapu with the intent of killing him. The fugitive had gone to various houses of sanctuary, of which there were three. Two of these leaked badly (that is, fugitives were not safe in them), but Kautae's was tight (safe). Kautae's was the one to which the hunted Niukapu now bent his steps. Before his arrival, however, Taufaahau issued instructions that Niukapu be carefully watched, but not attacked. The watch was set. Niukapu's friends, however, advised him to carry several spears into the sacred enclosure, so that the watchers would suppose that he was a person belonging to the place. The ruse worked and Niukapu approached the enclosure without molestation and passed through the gateway.
>
> When it was seen that Niukapu had safely entered the sanctuary, Taufaahau gave 776
> orders that someone's finger be amputated. This was done and the finger presented to 773
> the god as an offering. Kautae's finger was then cut off as a counter-offering and 778
> sent to Taufaahau, who then slaughtered a man and had the body together with goods 782
> (*koloa*) carried to Kautae, the priest of the god. At this Kautae wept, because it
> meant that Niukapu must be surrendered. However, Kautae's daughter interposed,
> saying: "Weep not. Slay me instead, so that Niukapu will be free." She was im-
> mediately killed and carried to Taufaahau. That is how Niukapu escaped. It was
> said that in slaying the girl Kautae had made virtually an offering of his own
> life (*manava*). It was said of priests that it was better for them to die than that [793]
> anyone seeking sanctuary should perish. Niukapu in gratitude told Kautae to take his
> pick of his lands, but Kautae merely asked for Niukapu's kava and got it. When
> Niukapu's kava is called, Kautae can now claim it and seems often to do so.

Kautae, the present priest of the god, bore the name of Teukitahi before 776
his appointment by the Prince Consort Tungi. He belongs to the Haa Moheofo 793
or lineage of the Tui Kanokupolu. The present Kautae is a Roman Catholic [795]
and, of course, does not exercise his priestly functions as did his predecessors.
He was more than eighty years of age when I interviewed him. He emphasized that Taufaitahi was not a man who had died and had been deified like Fakailoatonga, but that Taufaitahi was a spirit from Pulotu; that the god himself is without form and without appearance, purely a spirit (*faahikehe*), who travels from Pulotu to Tonga in a spirit boat (*vakaloa*), which is tied at Vakafaioho, an inlet at Nahafu, near Mua. Then, he said, the god enters his priest, but never appears ashore in any form other than Kautae; at sea the god may enter a *tenifa* (shark).

This conception of Taufaitahi seems to fit the general Tongan idea as to
the nature of the gods, in considering them intangible, invisible, formless
spirits. Taufaitahi differs from certain other shark gods in being regarded 776
as never having been a human being. Tui Tofua, another deity, incarnate 825
also in the *tenifa*, or man-eating shark, is said once to have been a living person who was transformed into a shark. In the same way, Seketoa, the fish god of Niuatoputapu, was also once a human being who proceeded to drown himself and became a fish.

Tui Tofua

I have given (26, p. 77) a number of tales about the god of Tofua 776
Island, reputed to have been a chief's son who committed suicide by drowning and who was transformed into a huge man-eating shark. The father of Tui Tofua was named Vakafuhu (possibly the Tui Tonga Vakafuhu), and his tomb is said to be located on Tofua Island. It is of stone and very smooth and flat, rather different from a langi or royal tomb. The name of Tui Tofua's mother was Langitaetaea. The term Tui Tofua is not a title, but a personal name applied only to the individual who became a shark god. The title of the ruler of Tofua is Taufa Tofua.

Deities of Tongatabu Island

Collocott (9) has dealt so thoroughly with the deities of the Tongatabu [128]
Islands that I can hope to add only comments and minor details. I have already discussed Tui Haa Fakafanua and Taufa.

According to one informant, the god Taliaitupou, as well as the god Pulotu [821]
Katoa, was capable of stopping a hurricane if beseeched. If the people went to the house of Taliaitupou to secure cessation of a hurricane, upon returning to their homes the hurricane would be over. Collocott (op. cit. p. 230) 776
states that one sacred object of Taliaitupou was a large black volcanic pebble. 778
As there is another deity, namely, Fakafumaka or Vakafuhu, whose first name refers to a stone, it seems not impossible to me that the volcanic pebble referred to may be the sacred object of Fakafumaka rather than of Taliaitupou. The stone, which I saw at the Methodist headquarters in Nukualofa, is called Tui Ahau. A companion stone lies at Kolovai in Tongatabu and gives us an example of animatism among the Tongans, inasmuch as it is considered capable of bringing forth small pebbles. That white coral pebbles [823]
and black volcanic pebbles buried together will increase, is firmly believed by Tongans to-day.

The local deity of Nukualofa is said to have been a goddess named Popua. 776
She was reputed to be endowed with poor legs and it is said in consequence [826]
Nukualofa people have poor legs. When the first missionary ship was off [797]
the island of Malinoa near Tongatabu, Popua informed the Tongans that she had come to them because of her affection, but that the white man's god that was coming in the ship was stronger than the native gods, all of whom had retired to Ata Island (north of Tongatabu), whither she too was going.

The god Vaiuka, who had his seat at Niutoua, manifested himself through the matapule priest Leha (op. cit. p. 233). Pulotu Katoa, a god who comes in for considerable notice from Collocott (op. cit. p. 162), seems to have been a very important deity in Tongatabu. According to Watkin (61), this god [821]
caused storms because of his displeasure over the introduction of Christianity. [798]

[Tongatabu Island]

Pulotu Katoa was a weather god controlling drought, hurricane, and rain. 776
His sanctuary was at Kolonga, in northeastern Tongatabu, and his priest bore [821]
the title of Vakaahi. The site of his temple was called Haateiho and the [778]
temple itself was called Faletoonga (House-of-rites). The last Vakaahi died [793]
about 1878. I was able, however, to interview his son's son, Tangatailoa,
and obtained from him the following information:

> Vakaahi said that when the spirit of Pulotu Katoa entered him he felt that it 776
> completely filled him, and he felt that it was the god who spoke and not himself.
> The god inspired him only at the tract Haateiho. When there was a drought the 793
> Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Havea chiefs came from west Tongatabu to Mua, where they [787]
> interviewed the Tui Tonga, preparatory to paying a visit to the temple of Pulotu
> Katoa. The offerings which were brought to the god were fine mats, tapa, and [782]
> other forms of wealth. These were kept in a special storehouse near the priest's
> residence. Most of them were never used, but were allowed to decay. What the
> priest might need he took, however. One Tui Tonga bestowed upon the priest Vakaahi [643]
> two pieces of land in Lapaha. They were called Ahotalakoloa and Faletoonga.
>
> It is said that Takai, the chief of Pea, Tongatabu Island, once had an argument with the god Pulotu Katoa, while the god was incarnate in his priest. The argument centered around the ability of the god to create a hurricane. As a test Takai built a house and the god promptly blew it down. Then Takai built a second house of hard wood called *ngesi*. This was built very strongly with posts all around. The god tried in vain to blow it down. The remains of this house which was called Fakaveleatenge are still to be seen in Pea.

Another story refers to an occasion on which Fae, the younger brother of 776
Takai, and his successor at Pea, besought Pulotu Katoa for rain to break a 793
drought: 782

> Fae called at Pea an assembly of the priests of all of the gods of Tongatabu. 821
> Each priest besought his god for rain, but to no avail. Then Fae suggested that they [622]
> all proceed to Kolonga to beseech Pulotu Katoa for rain, at his shrine. This was done.
> Vakaahi, the priest instructed the visitors to prepare kava for the god stating that he
> would supply the water. The kava was chewed and placed in the bowl. Although it
> was a clear, hot day, a cloud appeared over the bowl and rain fell and filled it. Moreover, the rain continued to such an extent that it was up to the waists of the chiefs and priests in the kava circle. Fae insisted that they should not move, lest the god become insulted.
>
> When the rain was over they set out for Pea, but Fae decided to remain at Ahau in Mua. Before the departure of the visitors Vakaahi's wife gave the priests and chiefs fresh tapa garments to replace the wet ones. Vakaahi asked Fae before his departure where he would spend the night, for he intended to have the rain cease until Fae had reached his destination. Fae replied that he would remain at Ahau in Mua for the night. The rain was withheld until he reached Ahau. The rest of the party went on to Pea, but in a heavy rain, for just as soon as Fae had reached his destination the rain commenced to fall again, as was foretold. Fae's purpose in stopping at Ahau was to visit the priest of the god Taufaitahi. Fae had a house of his own at Ahau.

It is to be noted that Farmer (23) states on the authority of early 776
Methodist missionaries that Hikuleo was the most important deity of Tongatabu and the one for whom the *inasi* ceremony was held. Yet modern informants stress Pulotu Katoa and have little to say about Hikuleo. I suspect

[Eua Island]

that the two deities may be connected or perhaps identical. This opinion 776
was expressed by the informant Rose Fatafehi, the son's daughter of the Tui
Tonga Laufilitonga.

A purely local deity is a cannibal god reputed to have dwelt in a cave [266]
called Anapoutaha, near Maufanga, Tongatabu.

DEITIES OF EUA ISLAND

The following scraps of information which were received about the deities of Eua Island supplement the information Collocott has already presented:

Although there is a certain amount of localization of gods in Eua, there
seem not to have been gods for each district. The god or goddess Tafakula
seems to have been generally worshipped and was appealed to for favorable
seasons for the crops. The origin of this deity is set forth by Collocott (9,
pp. 236, 237). He regards the deity as a female. A modern Eua informant [825]
knew of no sacred animal for Tafakula; she manifested herself only through [773]
a priest. Reference is often made to Tafakula in the stories concerning the 823
origin of geographic features (26, p. 88). Connected with this deity was a 776
great axe-shaped rock in Eua called Kitekihaamoa (visible to Samoa). The
Samoans are said to have been displeased at the visibility of this rock from 173
their country so they came and burnt it, and it fell down in strata from which 823
it was easy for people to take pieces from which to make axes. The base
of this rock is said to be still visible on the weather shore of Eua and is called
Toa Makahunu. It is said to vary in color, being in part white, yellow, red,
and black. Tafakula was also known in Haapai and Vavau. 776

Another deity of Eua Island was Lefelefevalu whose house stood on a
mound beside the road from Tufuvai to Haatua. The mound is said to be 776
the goddess transformed. She was a *taupoou* (virgin). Two lovers (*manaia*) 773
tried to approach her during the night but were unable to reach her before 823
daybreak, and were transformed into two smaller mounds which are to be
seen to-day on the ridge back of the mound Lefelefevalu. The two lovers
were called Ponahiva and Fasikiato, names which are applied to the two
mounds. It is said that dawn broke when the two had reached the tract
called Fakaahuahu (near the present race course).

[539]

Ko Ponahiva mo Fasikiato,	Here are Ponahiva and Fasikiato,
Lefelefevalu tu'u mei lalo.	Lefelefevalu stands below.
Ko Kopoka api kou kumia ngako,	Kopoka is the tract where is eaten the fat rat,
Tapuhia moe luo ki toke,	Tapuhia is the place of the hole of the eel,
Kokafa e api kai tole.	Kokafa is the tract where vagina is eaten.

The names Lefelefevalu and Ponahiva are said to refer respectively to eight female organs and nine male organs.

[Lifuka Island]

South of the mound Lefelefevalu is a stone called Anganganıofae, which 776
is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head 773
of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 823

DEITIES OF LIFUKA ISLAND

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary 776
on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been 778
especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. [821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with
cane (*kaho*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in
this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no
one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house.
They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house 776
just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food 778
that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon 782
their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig.

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo 776
and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them 787
whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of 484
the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return [782]
from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet
with mishap.

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing 776
they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird 825
of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today 226
the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds.

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. How- 776
ever, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's 825
house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appear-
ance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The [782]
people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particu-
larly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself,
but merely the messenger of the god.

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, 776
being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest 821
was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary be-
tween the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and [793]
the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed [787]
by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people.
The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract
of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief.

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 793
1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was 115
another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the 778
village of Holopeka.

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaahau 776
set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he 797
escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by 798
Taufaahau. 793

[Lifuka Island]

An informant, Josiah Paluto of Pangai, Lifuka, gave me the following account of the god Ngaohaa: 776 [115]

The priestess much consulted by the chiefs of Pangai, Lifuka, was an old woman named Melaia who resided at Holopeka, on a tract that is situated in the hereditary lands of Tui Afitu, who lives in Vavau. The priestess resided in a heathen temple by herself and she was very powerful (mighty), "just like God"; for she was able to accomplish many things. She served the god Ngaohaa, who was also the deity of Fonoifua Island, which likewise belongs to Tui Afitu. [It seems likely that the god was Tui Afitu's tulelary deity.] 776 793

If she said it would rain, rain came. If she said it would blow hard, it did so. The people used to go to consult her. If a voyage was about to be undertaken and the priestess said it would blow, the voyage was abandoned for that day; but she would direct the people upon which day to sail, as the wind would be favorable on that day. If oil-making was to be done by the chiefs, the priestess would be asked if the weather would be fine or wet. If she said it would be fine, the oil-making was undertaken, but if she said it would be wet, the oil-making was deferred. 776 793 821 484 793 821

If a chief's child was sick, the child and a woman would be taken to the priestess and a finger cut off of the woman and offered as a sacrifice. The priestess would then be asked about the child's chances of recovery. The priestess would reply: "You must await the god's appearance." As they sat and waited they would see the priestess tremble and suddenly the god would appear in the form of a gecko (*moko*). The priestess would exclaim: "The god has appeared and you may return in peace, as the chief's offspring will live." The signs were easily read and depended upon the appearance or non-appearance of the god. 776 793 787 755 [782]

At other times chiefs would go to the priestess to consult as to future events. Melaia would say: "Wait here until the god appears." Presently he would appear, but the first thing the chiefs would notice would be the trembling of Melaia, who at the same time would bring up green vomit. Afterwards Melaia would say: "Chiefs and people, listen well to me. The god did damage last night. He ate man. Now these are the instructions to you. You chiefs can leave this place and rest. Come back tomorrow. In the meantime, the god and I will hold a consultation as to the reason of these recent happenings." 776 793 787

On one occasion Melaia consulted the god, who said to her: "This is what you must tell to the chiefs and people when they come tomorrow: One of the Tui Tonga's vessels left last night, but met with disaster enroute. A matapule of the Tui Tonga was coming on an errand for him; namely, to take away the Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter. As the vessel is wrecked, the message has not been delivered and the Tui Tonga's matapule is lost, he who is the son of Paku. He and many others were swallowed by a man-eating shark (*tenifa*). When the shark was opposite Holopeka it jumped ashore. Then the gecko went and ate the shark." Afterwards the gecko vomited through Melaia and it was green blood he vomited. The loss of the Tui Tonga's vessel had been unknown to the chiefs until Melaia informed them.

This was the answer that Melaia gave to the people the next day, saying: "This is what has happened regarding what you wanted to know."

Another informant, Ana Maau of Holopeka, had this to say regarding Ngaohaa: [115]

The people prayed and made obeisance to this god. There was a house for the god in the town of Holopeka. The situation of the house was called Tave, and the holy place (*potu tapu*) was called Pava. It was strictly prohibited for anyone to enter the place in which was the god. A basket was placed in the shrine. In it were a throwing club and a whale's tooth, which were wrapped in a piece of tapa (*fetaaki*) smeared with turmeric on the outside. 776 778

Should people come to pray to the god they remained outside and expressed their [782]

[Lifuka Island]

> wants. Were the god complaisant to a sick person, he would be taken into Melaia's 776
> house, who would then gently massage the patient and he would recover. When 778
> people came to make supplication to the god they would wreathe themselves about the 782
> neck with *ifi* (chestnut) leaves and veil themselves with white tapa. Loud talking and [757]
> noise were strictly forbidden close to the god's premises in Holopeka. [784]

Ngaohaa was also the principal deity of Fonoifua Island. The chief 776
Taifonoifua, as well as Tui Afitu, was under the protection of this god, who 793
manifested himself only through his priestess, a woman named Fipe. The [825]
god Ngaohaa was probably represented in the shellfish *pava,* like certain
other gods who had fish or shellfish as their representatives. Pava was also [778]
the name of the house or holy place of Ngaohaa, located on the tract Tave.
As usual the presence of the god became manifest by the trembling of the [787]
priestess, who was usually in a reclining position when the god entered her.
Old informants who knew the last priestess said that she was an old woman. Although the deity became manifest in a priestess, he was nevertheless conceived of as a god, not a goddess. The information is not altogether clear as to whether the name Ngaohaa refers only to the god or also to the family to which the priestess Fipe belonged. This family is of matapule rank and some members of it are now living on Oua Island.

Finger sacrifices to this god were resorted to in trouble or sickness. The 776
finger joints cut off were taken to the priestess, who pronounced the will 782
of the god in the matter which was pending. Voyagers sailing from Haapai
to Tongatabu, being delayed at Nomuka Island for weeks on account of 776 484
head winds, went to Fonoifua to beseech the aid of the god Ngaohaa for 782
favorable winds. It is said no offerings were made, but this hardly seems
believable. The premises of the god on Fonoifua comprised a Tongan 776
house of ordinary type, surrounded by a fence of living *puko* stakes such 778
as are to be seen commonly in Tonga to-day. This fence was built and 793
kept in repair by the Fonoifua people, who guarded it, in order that no [417]
harm might befall the priestess. The house itself was on a mound and was [794]
occupied only by the priestess. The rest of her family are said to have dwelt in other houses within the fence.

A god named Uluenga (Head-covered-with-turmeric) had a house at 776
Holopeka, Lifuka Island. The following information about Uluenga was 778
imparted by Ana Manu of Holopeka:

> The priest of the god was named Havea. The shrine (*fakafaanga*) was a basket [793]
> containing three articles, namely, a throwing club, a whale's tooth, and a *paango lafo*
> (round portion of bottom of the coconut shell used in a game something like deck billiards). These articles were wrapped in white tapa, which was smeared with turmeric. The god had his house on the premises called Haalupo. The holy place or
> temple was known as Uhaimahu (Rain-in-time-of-plenty). It was not permissible for
> people to enter into the holy place. Also loud talking was prohibited in the god's [784]
> premises.

[Lifuka Island]

In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would 776
place around their necks wreaths of *ifi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They 782
would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick 755
person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside
where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the [757]
priest and would recover.

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person 776
would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the car- 778
riage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. 784
753

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled.
His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided 776
in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and 793
slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with [787]
him in the night time. [595]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called 776
Haa Fakanapa. 782

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his [778]
premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication
to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside [516]
of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole [778]
called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [823]

DEITIES OF FOA ISLAND

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people [755]
prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of
another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished
piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover.

The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as [793]
Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, [778]
a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric.

DEITIES OF HAAFEVA ISLAND

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being asso- 776
ciated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The 778
spring is called Matahiva. [823]

DEITIES OF FOTUHAA ISLAND

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa,
but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived
was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, [821]
the people bringing coconuts and wreathes (*sisi*) and making kava in front [782]
of the god's house.

The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the 776
kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that 793
the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking 787
821

through the priest, would reply, "Very well, you may prepare for rain. Fix the leaky 776
roofs, bring food, and prepare everything for the rain. In four or five days it must 793
rain." On one particular occasion the sixth day dawned without a cloud in the sky, 787
but by three o'clock in the afternoon the rain clouds had assembled and the rain had
begun. The rain lasted for the period which the god had predicted. The Fotuhaa 821
people always followed this procedure whenever they wished rain.

When the missionaries were about to come to Fotuhaa, the god informed the peo- 776
ple that he was going to leave and to take up his residence on the islands of Kao and [797]
Tofua. He knew in advance of the coming of the missionaries. The informant, a
Fotuhaa man, seemed to consider the god and the priest as practically identical. At [793]
least he designated both by the term *taula tevolo*.

This same mode of identifying priest and god was common to most all of [793]
the informants I interviewed concerning the gods.

DEITIES OF HAANO ISLAND

The god of Tui Haa Ngana, the ruler of Haano Island, was called Feinga Uteo (To-earnestly-desire-sugar-cane). Nothing was learned about the attributes or functions of this god. The sanctuary of Hikuleo on this island has been discussed earlier.

Another god of Haano, and one quite prominent also in Tongatabu Island, was Haele Feke.

The sanctuary of this god in Haano was located on the tract which was owned by [778]
the Tui Kanokupolu and was under the care of the matapule Kioa. Haele Feke was [787]
thought to know beforehand what was about to occur. The coming of the god was
indicated by an octopus (*feke*) coming from the sea to the tract where the priest lived. 776
When an octopus thus came, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule Kioa brought tapa and 825
coconut leaf mats (*takapau*). The mats were placed on the ground and the tapa on top
of them, so that the incarnation of the god might rest upon them. The octopus in
which the god became incarnate might be either a white or a brown octopus. The [793]
priest of the god was himself named Feke (Octopus). After the message of the god
had been delivered the priest took the octopus from the pile of tapa to the water. The 776
coming ashore of the octopus was regarded as a harbinger of coming events and such a 787
visit was followed by some anxiety on the part of the people. On one occasion a num-
ber of sick people died a few days after the visit of the god. It was then believed that [763]
the visit was ominous of their forthcoming death. It is said that the house of the [793]
priest was half a mile from the beach and on a site called Fotuamua. It seems inconceivable that an octopus could travel such a distance overland. It would seem more likely that he was received at the beach by the priest. The Tongan informant, from whom the above information was obtained, was unable to say whether the god Haele Feke was male or female.

DEITIES OF MOUNGAONE ISLAND

There were two brother gods in Moungaone. Moso was the name of the elder, 776
Pusipapanga the younger; their father was Tutumatua; the mother, Finetaunganoa.
Toke was the priest for both gods. Their incarnations were human in form and manifested themselves in one house on the tract Nukutuli. They lived in a rock on Moun-
gaone called Mosomaka, which was about ten feet high, round and hollow and could
be entered. It was tapu; people dared not go near it under penalty of death. The [784]
god Moso was the same as Moso in Samoa. The priest Toke shook when inspired and [171]
[787]
[793]

told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest 776
shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present [787]
Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the [793]
two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

DEITIES OF NOMUKA ISLAND

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people [782]
prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little [755]
finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but 776
could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living 821
in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind 505
quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was
set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that 776
Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, [266]
a shellfish which is not eaten by the people. [784]
[262]

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

DEITIES OF UIHA ISLAND

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information,
Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent
described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as [825]
his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a [778]
tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there 776
and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the 793
people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people
would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they
would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest 782
to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. 776
The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other 755
words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well. 605

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god 776
Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not worshippers 784
might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the [262]
spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If [785]
they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in another
direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god [825]
was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and
talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests 776
of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn 793
the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the [787]
god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered [763]
by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of [782]
cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one [304]
of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat"
of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely [782]
consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

eat everything because his god was in him. To Haveakai, and to other Tongan gods, a 776
huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized 793
root was called *konga kava*. 782 [276]

The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract 776
Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was 793
kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and 778
then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place
where it was kept.

This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people 776
prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian 782
chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and [301]
pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. [516]
No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did. [565]

The bird of the god is the fruit dove *kulukulu* (*Ptilopus porphyraceus*) and the 776
spirit of the god entered the *kulukulu*. If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise [825]
of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shivered [787]
ered and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the [763]
point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu [782]
and that offering was accepted, the person recovered.

Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumoetoto.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it. The [793]
things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was [778]
the *kaleva* (*Eudynamis tahitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated [825]
dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person [782]
near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumoetoto [755]
and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made [763]
the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacrifice [984]
fice to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit outside. [778]
This god belonged to Tuita Toluafetupu and his family and was regarded as very
sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to
enter, the god's premises.

Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived [793]
in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa
Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaanga*) and container of his sacred objects [778]
of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe, Globicera pacifica*) which he [825]
would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the
pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he [755]
and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks [782]
and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine.

This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the [782]
young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. [784]
For the same reason the name Manumataongo Polau Faivaka was never called.

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face [787]
to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the [276]
ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish
(*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava,
he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb.

All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place. [784]

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

which was presided over by a priestess named Hena, and the other was 776
established in the tract called Olotaane. The name of the priest was Hala- [793]
tapu.

DEITIES OF VAVAU

I have but little to add to Mariner's account of Vavau deities. Two [825]
prominent deities were the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa, who sometimes appeared as two beautiful women or again as two herons, Sisi being a white or piebald heron, Faingaa being a gray heron. Both the white and gray birds belong to a single species which is dichromatic in coloring. There is a story (26, p. 196) which relates to these goddesses in their human form.

At the village of Toula, Vavau, there stands to-day a large smooth boulder 776
on a grassy flat. There were formerly two of these boulders, but one has 823
been broken by the villagers to use for their ovens. The two stones were
said to represent Sisi and Faingaa, who often resided therein. A Toula [825]
informant said that when the goddesses left the boulders they assumed the
form of herons, and in that guise they went on long flights, catching and
eating human beings who came in their way.

The following list of gods of Vavau was supplied by Tapueluelu, the 776
mayor of Neiafu:

1. Talaiai Tupou, a male deity.
2. Tui Haa Fakafanua. The god became incarnate at times as a man who went about fighting the other gods. His priest in Vavau was named Faainu.
3. Haele Feke. The sacred animal of this god was the octopus.
4. Fehuluni. In Vavau, Fehuluni is considered as bisexual; appearing sometimes as a man, sometimes as a woman. This deity is said to have no sacred animal. There was, however, a priest to Fehuluni in Vavau. Aa Island was the god's residence (see p. 294).
5. Taufaitahi, a male deity who appeared in a certain shark.
6. Fakailoatonga, a male deity who might appear either in a shark or a kingfisher. His priest was Toki, for whom William Mariner was named. This deity was the god of my informant's father, Naufahu, the son of Finau Fisi. [Popua, a goddess of Tongatabu, was the patron deity of Tapueluelu's mother, who was Funakitoutai of Nukualofa. Funakitoutai's parents were from the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. Apparently the worship of Popua was never introduced to Vavau.]

Tapueluelu did not know of the god Aloalo. He said that Tui Tofua was strictly a Haapai god and Pulotu Katoa a Tongatabu god.

Of gods of other islands of the Vavau group but little was learned. A
goddess named Latutama presided over the island of Okoa and was said
to be worshipped there only. Her sacred animal was the shark. She was [825]
served by a priest who occupied a house in the tract called Kaukiola. The [793]
volcanic island of Late, to the west of Vavau, had as a god Tau[moefolau].
The informant was certain only of the first syllable of this name.

As to the particular deities which the various Vavau chiefs worshipped, [565]

Tapueluelu knew but little. He said that the people of the lineage Haa 776
Ngata Tupu worshipped Fakailoatonga. He said that commoners of the 565
lineage, as well as a great chief like Ulukalala, paid their addresses to this [613]
deity. The chief Luani worshipped Tui Haa Fakafanua and the chief
Tui Lakepa presumably worshipped Taliai Tupou.

Alomafao was a Samoan god whose favorite diet consisted of the inhabi- 776
tants of Tonga. In a great battle with the son of a Tui Haa Takalaua this 648
god was killed and in turn was eaten by the chief and his followers. The 266
oven where he was cooked may still be seen near Utungake, Utungake
Island, Vavau.

Deities of Niuatoputapu

The most famous deity in Niuatoputapu is Seketoa (26, p. 83), a god 776
who manifests himself in the form of a fish, and according to many ac- 825
counts is still seen to-day. It is said that Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu can call Seketoa when at sea (16, p. 56). Not only do natives report the appearance of the fish who is supposed to embody the god, but many white people have seen the creature. The two following accounts were given by Catholic priests. The first was written in September, 1917, by Father J. B. Mace, S. M.

> At the time of my last visit to Niua Toputapu, in June last, it was my good fortune, an exceedingly rare one, to get acquainted with a Tongan divinity, a fish called Seketoa. Here is its origin.
>
> Seketoa was a chief of Niua Toputapu, who was to become Maatu, that is king. 776
> On that account one of the influential families, Haaila, had conceived a mortal hatred 825
> of him, and resolved that he should not be king. Now it happened that a member of
> that family, Tupa by name, went out to gather shellfish, which he allowed to rot. He 773
> did that because the younger brother of Seketoa suffered from elephantiasis and an- [164]
> other contagious skin disease.
>
> One evening he rubbed his legs with the decayed shellfish and at night went on [757]
> to the hut where Seketoa slept. Seketoa awoke and thought it was his brother who
> had entered. So he said, "Why have you come to me? Do you not know that your disease is contagious? And would you communicate it to me?" But the other, who was armed with an iron-wood lance, made no answer, but pierced Seketoa through and fled. Seketoa rose, but was unable to extract the wood which had broken close to the wound. He therefore went to the neighboring hut where the women were and asked them to bring out a light. He was then able to draw out the end of the lance.
>
> Then, having called his brother to him, the very one who was infected with the contagious disease, he said to him: "My will is that you become king of this island; as for me, I shall go to the sea to succor my brothers in distress." And at his bidding he was wrapped over in coconut leaves and cast into the sea.
>
> The brother of Seketoa became Maatu, that is king of Niua. He communicated his [753]
> disease to his subjects. And since that time a large proportion of the people are [164]
> afflicted with elephantiasis and other skin diseases.
>
> After being cast into the sea, Seketoa transformed himself into a fish whose color and dimensions it is impossible to determine. His peculiarity lies precisely in this, that he assumes an infinite variety of sizes and colors, sometimes suddenly. The mark by which he is recognized is the scar he bears in his side. Sometimes, though seldom,

he appears as a small fish, no longer than a man's hand. At other times he is a real 776
giant, not less than 5 or 6 meters long. 825

Truly strange feats are told of him. Here is one which is of special interest to 773
us, as it occurred some fifteen years ago.

One of my fellow-priests, the Rev. Father Berger, who died in 1905, was then residing at Niua Toputapu. He had spent several weeks in the island of Tafahi, to carve out a large *lali*, a wooden bell, such as are used in the various stations of our Vicariate Apostolic to call the faithful to church. The large piece of timber, enormous in size, had been placed upon a raft made of bamboo, which was towed by two native rowboats.

When hardly a hundred meters from the shore our Catholics noticed that it would be impossible for them to reach their destination, the weight of the cargo was forcing the raft under water.

On account of certain remnants of superstition, of which unhappily our Catholics have not entirely rid themselves, such an accident would have augured terrible evils whose consequences might prove disastrous to religion. In their minds a church without a bell is a body without a soul, and therefore the loss of their bell in the depths of the sea meant that defections were to be feared. But just when they expected the *lali* to sink, Seketoa appeared. He slipped beneath the raft, and raised and carried it to the shore of Niua about four miles away.

I have heard twenty times the narration of the fact from eye-witnesses. My fellow-missionaries know it, and the Rev. Father Berger, it is said, has left a relation of it in writing.

That famous *lali* still exists. It is at the station of Vaipoa. It is the largest known. The natives call it "Seketoa's *lali*."

I might relate many another interesting detail, but come directly to what con- 776
cerns me. 825

We were about fifteen people aboard an old boat. We had just left Niua Toputapu and were near the island of Tafahi, when a native cried out, "Seketoa! Seketoa!" In a second all were afoot. I had often heard of the famous sea-god, but never yet had had the good fortune of seeing him. This time it was not difficult to examine him at leisure, for he almost touched the boat for a whole hour without once disappearing. He was a splendid fish, measuring, so far as I could judge, fully 5 meters. He followed us as a dog follows his master. What struck me most was his change of colors, occurring suddenly and passing from dark gray to sky blue—then he was truly admirable. His head was rather large, but his mouth was very small.

As soon as we sighted him, one of the natives hurriedly cast him a kava root, which fell scarcely a half meter from him; and without further delay other young men began busily to beat a second root to prepare a beverage in his honor. As soon as the kava was ready, it was duly distributed. Naturally, the first cup was for the "divinity" that swam in our wake. Its contents were poured into the sea. For a whole hour the pagans that happened to be aboard never ceased to address him compliments, and wishes, and prayers. It was a sight at once laughable and painful, sad and touching, so great were their fervor and conviction.

At last, after having raised himself erect upon his tail almost to the surface, the god-fish left our ship and disappeared.

In reality, what is Seketoa, that fish which appears so seldom, always unaccompanied, which is unafraid of man, whose color varies so, and which is so helpful to man? How is it that it was never noticed in the groups of Central Oceania other than Niua? Fabulists and naturalists offer an explanation, that, for instance, of Lafontaine of old in the fable of "The Monkey and the Dolphin." Seketoa, at least just as he appeared to me, might be a dolphin. His change of colors, which is so striking, is not an unheard of thing—the sea-spider, they say, enjoys the same peculiarity. That explanation, however, I accept only with reservations, in the case that concerns us; since it explains but partly the role of Seketoa. Here is another.

> Seketoa, who according to all versions belongs to the royal family of Niua, may 776
> well be a mere "invention" of one of the kings of Niua, framed for the purpose of 825
> deceiving his subjects and of forestalling any future revolt on their part against his family. The fear of displeasing Seketoa, the sea-god and ancestor of Maatu may have secured the latter's authority and prevented the natives tired of his domination from quitting the island in frail canoes in search of new lands.
>
> Those who may feel satisfied with this explanation might confirm it by saying that 776
> elephantiasis and diseases of the skin prove that the punishment occasioned by the mur- 825
> der of Seketoa is always upon the population. That such diseases exist and are the 753
> plague of the country I know from experience. I remember a kava in which I took 164
> part in Niua, while I was there some years ago on a protracted visit. We sat nine in all. With the exception of the two girls that were preparing the drink, we were all afflicted with elephantiasis. I think, however, that the marshes of the island were rather a more efficient cause of it than Seketoa.
>
> However that may be, and although I may be called a simpleton for it, I will add 776
> that those conjectures concerning Seketoa deserve no credit, though I am disposed to 825
> believe that in his manifestations there is something mysterious and disquieting. Such as have dwelt a certain number of years in our islands know how difficult it is to dislodge the devil from his haunts. Now, at the close of the last century, he was absolute master of Niua Toputapu. If he was forced to yield ground, he did so reluctantly; and at all events was careful to leave deceitful snares behind him. And what can his apparent help prove in the case I have related of the *lali* of our Catholics? Absolutely nothing, if not that all means are good enough for him, so long as he can induce souls into error and ravish from God some of the honor and confidence which are His due.

Once when Father Thomas, S. M., was near Niuatoputapu, he saw Seketoa about his boat for more than two hours. He describes him as a large fish with changing colors. On another occasion Seketoa saved one of the members of the mission from drowning. Father Thomas, together with some natives, was proceeding on a raft which began to sink. When hope was lost, Seketoa appeared beneath the raft and buoyed it up until they reached shore safely.

The chief Maatu spoke of two rocks between Niuatoputapu and Samoa, 776
called Fatukau and Fatukalapu, which were deified. They were the home of the god Fatuulu:

> Fatuulu, in human form, used to come to Tafahi Island and give commands. His
> voice was heard to Niuatoputapu Island. A man who used to be his mouthpiece was
> named Toumaama, meaning "man near god (*tou*) spreader (of god's words)." He was [793]
> the priest in the time of Ngongo (p. 285). There is a place on Tafahi to be seen now where
> Fatuulu stood. They never ate fish in Niuatoputapu until the god gave permission. If [784]
> anyone ate before the god lifted the tapu that person died immediately on the first [262]
> mouthful. This applied to all fish. Toumaama notified the people for the god. When [787]
> the god came, Toumaama would tremble like a leaf, and would neither eat nor drink.
> The god came and went as he pleased. The tapu was put on or lifted as the god
> liked. The presence of the god is still evidenced by the fact that certain small fish [226]
> (*kaloama*) immediately leave if proper form is not observed in catching them.
>
> When the god appeared in the priest, he uttered commands as to killing of pigs. 776
> Thunder and lightning accompanied the god as he walked over the ocean. The priest 793
> then became possessed, for the god came and entered into the priest. The face of the 787
> priest was all illuminated, his eyes staring. The people would hide when the god [252]

appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest 776
always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, how- 793
ever, but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their 787
priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who [778]
stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the
fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa [825]
Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu. [613]

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name. 776

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he con- 776
quered Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's 346
house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole
just under the eaves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu him- 776
self; that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different 787
from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered
by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The dif-
ference between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time
and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Tou-
maama. Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's [793]
god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. 776
If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled
who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick 782
person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints [304]
placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground [516]
outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on
the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also 776
to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god 782
has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then 793
they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home. 755

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house 782
all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a
sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace [292]
of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. 778
People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were [784]
war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries,
were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoa did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish 776
form took place so recently. Seketoa had no house. He was always a fish after his 793
suicide. (26, p. 83.) 825

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be stran- 793
gled. The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In 165
those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other 776
gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The [825]
pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the
god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted 776
something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be 782
given for the demand.

PRIESTS AND POSSESSION

Tongan priests and priestesses suggest Turkic shamans, inasmuch as 793
they become inspired by the gods, by lesser spirits, and by the spirits of the 787
ancestors of chiefs or of recently deceased chiefs. The resemblance to the 171
shamans applies particularly to those Tongan priests who became inspired 793
by the spirits of deceased human beings, who, it was believed, came from 787
Pulotu to convey to the living certain messages. The resemblance becomes 775
even clearer when it is recalled that the Tongans apparently regard the spirits of chiefs and gods as being essentially alike. In fact, at the present time both gods and ghosts are called *tevolo.* The term *ulusino* refers to possession by a god or spirit. Baker defines *ulusino* as "to be possessed by evil spirits; to dwell in the body; to be one with man, applied to the gods."

If the spirit that manifested itself in a priest or priestess was of 793
human origin, it was invariably that of a great chief, such as the Tui Tonga, 787
rather than the spirit of a person of inferior rank. It is said that those 775
mediums who became animated by the spirits of dead Tui Tonga had no 643 [565]
special house of worship. They would seem not to have been regular priests who were already dedicated to the service of some god, but rather individuals who suddenly became inspired by the spirit of the deceased. Mariner (40) gives examples.

Tongan priests and priestesses further resemble shamans at least super- 793
ficially, in their supposed ability to cure illness, not, of course, through their 787
own unaided efforts but through their intercession with the gods. The sick 756
and infirm were brought to the houses of these priests when the gods were [171]
besought to cure them. Sacrifices were offered and oracles obtained through [782]
the priest who became inspired by the god, the oracle usually foretelling the course and result of the illness.

Priesthood appears normally to have remained in particular families, and 793
it appears that either men or women might become inspired. Priests are [428]
known by the terms *taula otua, taula eiki, taula tevolo* (devil), *toumama,* [462]
faahikehe, and apparently *feaa.* The word *toumama* means in general "the people or worshippers of any given god." The term *feaa* given by Farmer (23, p. 128) may be but an abbreviated form of *faahikehe,* a term also meaning god, spirit, ghost. Presumably *faahikehe* was applied only to a possessed priest.

Apparently it is permissible to regard the Tongan deities as somewhat 793
in the nature of a North American shaman's familiar, except, of course, 776
that the American shaman's familiar or guardian spirit does not actually 171
enter him and speak through him. In Tonga it was impossible to obtain information about guardian spirits other than family gods.

Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo,* are believed to be 787
caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making 753
him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are [755]
employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of [757]
the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting [776]
the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo"
(The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the dis- 273
comfort caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visi- 787
tation.

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes 793
a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits [885]
manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through [857]
children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a
priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood [428]
passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some [787]
other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga
of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of [643]
Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some
other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed
by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests
of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to
have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is at- [797]
tested by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui 643
Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fata- 793
fehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, not to be a priest, in
spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the
high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did
appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu
Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied 793
only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data 124
to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama*
refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for
priest, namely, *fakahaelcanga.* No other informant, however, gave this term
and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua.* Ana Manu of
Haapai gave the term *fakafofonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had 778
in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. [793]
Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. [613]
One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appear-
ance of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated
virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at [688]

the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were [688]
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form, although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting [171]
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering [276]
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, [726]
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called [524]
mesini, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name 773
apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa* refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778
grandiloquently as *lotoalahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua, the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was suggested by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them (66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was wor- 776
shipped by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of 613
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her [593]
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, [825]
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

lineal lineages. Thus, it is proper to speak only of the gods of chiefs and 776
of lineages not of the gods of localities. Often more than one god was 613
attached to a lineage. Thus the head of the Haa Takalaua might be under
the protection of a great god like Finautauiku. All members of the lineage
were likewise under that god's protection, and in addition, certain members
of the lineage might have lesser gods as their patrons.

Aside from Tangaloa Tufunga, the patron of carpenters, I could learn 776
of no occupational deities. The attachment of a god to the head of a family 463
might give the appearance of occupational deities. Thus, the head of a 592
matapule family, which practiced carpentering, or functioned as undertakers,
might have a certain deity as his patron, but as the patron of the family
rather than of the occupation.

Not only did the priest of a lineage or family act as a medium between 793
the lineage and the gods, but also as a medium between the lineage and the 775
spirits of its dead. Offerings were made to these spirits by the family 769
through the priest. It was thought that these ancestors could cause illness, [613]
a belief which doubtless led to the making of propitiatory offerings. How- [753]
ever, other more direct and retaliatory means were sometimes resorted to.
The grave of the offending ancestor might be broken open, the bones taken
out and beaten, and imprecations uttered. To avoid sickness caused by the [753]
spirit of the deceased relative or ancestor, Tongans did not pass through [764]
or near graveyards at night. It was thought that the spirits of ancestors 775
sometimes became visible. Thus, at Tatakamotonga in Tongatabu, a light,
supposed to be Tukuaho's spirit (*faahikehe*), is sometimes seen at the spot
where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was murdered in 1799. Not only 776
families headed by chiefs, but also those headed by matapule, had patron 565 592
gods. Some families of commoners had a household or patron deity.
The family of the great matapule Motuapuaka had the god Haele
Feke as its patron. This god became incarnate in the octopus and [825]
there was a tapu against Motuapuaka's people eating that animal. A Meth- [784]
odist minister named Malupo, who is a member of Motuapuaka's lineage, [262]
even to-day gets a headache when he eats octopus. This god sometimes 776
manifested himself in the priest, who conveyed verbally the messages of the 793 787
god, and upon the withdrawal of the god shook so violently, that people
must rush to him and hold him, in order that he might not injure himself.

The patron deity of the Tui Tonga is reported by Farmer (23) to 776
have been Hikuleo. The patron deity of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the 643
great chief Tungi, was Finautauiku and the officiating priest was Moheki-
fiehua. The patron deity of the Tui Kanokupolu was Taliai Tupou whose
priest was called Totohoumafisi. Tui Ahau was by some informants de-
clared to be another manifestation of Taliai Tupou, by other informants
a separate deity. Tui Ahau was regarded as a patron of the Tui Kano-

kupolu. A deity named Malua Taufa was also mentioned as a patron of 776
the Tui Kanokupolu. The priest Totohoumafisi resided not in western 643
Tongatabu, but at Tatakamotonga, adjoining the Tui Tonga's capital of [793]
Lapaha. The tract upon which Taliai Tupou's temple was situated, and [778]
wherein Totohoumafisi resided, was called Kavaui. The nearby residence
of the Tui Kanokupolu at Tatakamotonga, as well as at his residence at Kolovai in the Hihifo district, was called Langakali. The patron deity of the 776
lineage Haa Fakafanua, and of the chief of that lineage who was called 613
Fakafanua, was the gecko god Tui Haa Fakafanua. He is today referred [825]
to in the inelegant phraseology of "Fakafanua's devil". His principal seat is at Maufanga, Tongatabu, where Fakafanua resides.

The patron deity of the chief Nuku, the head of the Haa Latu Hifo, was Pulotu Katoa. His priest was Vakaahi. Mofutaetau was a patron deity of the chief Tamale who resided at Niutoua, Tongatabu. The god Taufaitahi was the patron of both Taufaahau, afterwards King George I, and of the great chief Tungi. His priest is named Kautae, the incumbent in 1921 having been appointed by the present Tungi. The chief Valu of Utulau, Tongatabu, was under the patronage of the god Kaifakaau.

None of the priests of the gods seem themselves to have actually officiated 793
at sacrifices, thus differing very markedly from the priests of the Aztec 782
gods of Mexico who were the executioners of the sacrificial victims. Sacrifice in Tonga seems always to have been made by the supplicants. In the sacrifice of neither an infant nor an older person, did the priest garrot the victim with the strangling cord; this was done by the victim's own relatives. The same was true of finger sacrifices.

The term *momoi* means to present an offering or sacrifice. The one who offers the sacrifice is called *moihu*, a term which also has the significance of mediator and as such also applies in a way to the priest.

HUMAN SACRIFICE

Amputation of a little finger was a widespread practice in the eighteenth 782
century, and was noted by Tasman (30, p. 27) also in 1643. In 1921 but 304
one person was living who had undergone this sacrifice. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, had witnessed the sacrifice of a little finger to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua.

Cook recounts (18, vol. 1, p. 222):

> A still more singular custom prevails in these isles: We observed that the greatest part of the people, both men and women, had lost one, or both their little fingers. We endeavored, but in vain, to find out the reason of this mutilation; for no one would take any pains to inform us. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, or sex; nor is it done at any certain age, as I saw those of all ages on whom the amputation had been just made; and, except some young children, we found few who had both hands per-

> fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of 782
> opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near rela- 304
> tion. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: 782
(1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) fol- 165
lowing the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or [622]
anciently perhaps burned alive, (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when [768]
the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the [764]
great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of cer- [346]
tain temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great [396]
double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in 782
the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often con- 782
sisted of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior 622
rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called 165
tuputalinafi. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is 755
described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) de- [643)
scribes others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabu, father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's *fahu*) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse
of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice [787]
was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted [763)
Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410) a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu.*

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the 768
end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, 177
vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier 589
method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). 622
Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot [165]
say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micronesia and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

mentions strangling as a form of suicide preceding the custom of disemboweling. 622 768
Some wives of the Tui Kanokupolu were strangled at their lord's death 589
(See p. 90.). Mariner relates how his patron Ulukalala II insisted that his [177]
daughter, a widow of the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava, be spared. It seems 643
doubtful if the *moheofo,* or chief wife of the Tui Tonga, was strangled. 768 589
Tupoumoheofo, widow of the Tui Tonga Pau, certainly was not strangled. [644]
The Female Tui Tonga was not strangled at the death of her brother the
male Tui Tonga, because she was his superior in rank.

Cremation alive of commoners captured in war is attributed to an early 727
Vahai chief of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and is said to have taken
place before 1799. The victims were not eaten. The place where the cremation [266]
is reputed to have taken place is still called Umutangata (Oven-of-man).

The *fakafeao* was a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault 782 764
with a deceased Tui Tonga, or some member of the Tui Tonga family. 643
When one of the Tui Tonga family was buried, many presents were brought [165]
by all of the chiefs of Tonga. These were interred in the vault with his
body. The matapule acting as undertaker (*haatufunga*) was the only [767]
living person permitted to enter the vault and come out of it alive. His duty was to place the gifts, as well as properly to dispose of the lowered body. The ranking chief presiding over the funeral affairs would direct his matapule to bring one or two men (commoners) to act as *fakafeao.* Such a man was forced to enter the vault and sit in a corner, and the stone cover was lowered into place and the grave mound erected over it. Or the cover might be suddenly lowered at the command of the presiding chief while the *haatufunga* was still within the vault arranging the gift materials, trapping him to serve the interred as *fakafeao.*

I have a note from the venerable Tamale concerning the painting of the [302]
fakafeao's head with turmeric, which gave rise to the descriptive designation of *uluvali* (painted head) for such doomed individuals. Tamale said that the victims were selected from the Tui Tonga's mother's family, in other words, from the standpoint of the Tui Tonga, from the inferior side of his family. This note may refer to the *fakafeao,* or to other individuals sacrificed at a Tui Tonga's burial besides those interred alive. The term *fakafeao* also applies to the bodies of matapule or other retainers buried at the time of natural death in the earth of the mound outside of the great stone vault.

Perhaps a rationalization is the statement that to have opened the vault once closed would have been to imperil the life of the new Tui Tonga, for the vault was opened only to receive the dead, and the opening up again would be to receive the body of the new Tui Tonga. Hence arises the saying, "Pulu hoo tuku" (Go easy with your letting down). The *haatufunga*

would choose a friend of his own to superintend operations on the end of 764
the rope by which the stone slab was lowered into place, and his saying 643
to this friend, "Pulu hoo tuku kau moui," was a request to let down gently in 782
order to give him a chance of life. The name of an undertaker Mailau is preserved as having been so shut in a vault. In the ceremonies following burial the matapule of the chief, either successor to the dead man, or the head of the family before, sat on the chief's right hand and the undertaker sat on his left. On this occasion, since Mailau was in the vault and unable to take his position and perform his duties on the left of the chief, someone went each morning and called to him the work that had been done, and enumerated the ovens of food that had been presented. For eight days the unfortunate man in the vault called out the appropriate thanks, but on the ninth morning there was no response from below, and presuming that Mailau was dead, the chief proceeded to the appointment of his successor.

Burial alive of a victim beneath a house post may have been an occa- 782
sional practice in Tonga. One instance only came to light and that in con- 346
nection with the erection of the Falemee, which was a temple, presumably [165]
to Hikuleo, on the island of Haano, Haapai. Dr. S. W. Baker in a lecture given on November 2, 1866, made the following statement about it:

> I have stood in the old Fale Mee at Haano, which is the last *fale otua* (temple of their god) still standing in Haapai. At the foot of the principal post there is buried a man, who was said to be the best singer in all Tonga. He was offered a living sacrifice to the god at the building of the temple, as an act of dedication.

The launching of great vessels over the bodies of commoners was as- 466
serted by the chief Ata in reply to a leading question. He said that he 682
had heard such a tale from the chief Fulivai of Vavau. [394]
The information was volunteered by another informant that a chief once killed one or two men who were aiding in the launching of a great vessel, in order to stimulate the remaining men to greater effort. Takai, the one-eyed chief of Pea, Tongatabu, on one occasion killed the first man of a crew that was tugging half-heartedly on the ropes by which a great stone slab was being moved from the weather shore to Pea.

One informant told of the title Tupou Angataha which was an office 643
dedicated to sacrifice: 687

> A Tupou Angataha had proven a traitor in war to the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga [probably before his appointment]. As a punishment Laufilitonga ordained that a Tupou Angataha should die every other day. The duty of selecting each new appointee was placed in the hands of Tupou Vakehekehe, a chief of the Haa Ngata. Each new Tupou Angataha was proclaimed by the matapule at the kava circle of Laufilitonga. The Tupou Angataha appointed one day was executed the next day by the club or the strangling cord. How many victims were thus appointed and executed was not known. The last appointee fled from Tongatabu to Haapai and not only escaped execution himself, but put an end to the series.

SANCTUARIES

778 According to one prominent informant, all Tongan god-houses were sanctuaries to which a fugitive might flee. There seem, however, to have been certain sanctuaries which were particularly noted as places of refuge (*hufanga* or *fale hufanga*) (p. 300). A sanctuary which was violated by pursuers of a fugitive was spoken of as "leaky." For a detailed discussion of the physical features of sanctuaries, see McKern (42).

By far the most famous sanctuary in the whole kingdom was Fanakava, which, however, differed from the others in that it was only a green (*malae*) upon which there were no buildings, but only a few *ovava* trees. Fanakava was situated near the present Catholic graveyard of Loma in Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's residence in Tongatabu. Adjacent to the green of Fanakava was the tract called Fiehua in which was situated the house of the god Finautauiku. This house was also a sanctuary for fugitives.

Fanakava was the only place of its kind in all Tonga, being not merely the green of the Tui Tonga, but possessing peculiar traditional status as a place of refuge under the power of the Tui Tonga. No god was associated with it, nor was there a priest or other person associated with it in any official capacity. The green, however, was sometimes used by the Tui Tonga for kava parties. It is said that Fanakava was not even surrounded by a fence, but was a wholly open green. There is reputed to be also a Fanakava [775] in Pulotu, the unseen world, of which the earthly Fanakava in Tongatabu is a duplicate.

In the island of Haano in Haapai is a tract called Fanakava occupied by the temple of the deity Hikuleo (p. 291). This and the fact that there is a mythical Fanakava in Hikuleo's realm of Pulotu raises the question as to whether the Fanakava in Lapaha was not really associated with that deity, especially since Hikuleo was the reputed patroness of the Tui Tonga. The word Fanakava occurs quite often as a place name in Tonga (25, p. 56). [103]

[346] Most sanctuaries had enclosing fences, within which was situated the house of the presiding deity, the house being occupied by the officiating priest or priestess.

776 778 Another especially famous sanctuary was that of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, at Maufanga, Tongatabu, one of the three principal sanctuaries which had the reputation of being non-leaky. By one informant this sanctuary with its presiding deity was regarded as subsidiary to the sanctuary of the god Finautauiku at Lapaha. It was said that the Lapaha god, who was a chief amongst the gods, sent the lesser deity, Tui Haa Fakafanua, to preside at Maufanga and to establish there a sanctuary. With the exception of two or three commoners who were buried within the sanctuary at the orders of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, possibly as sacrifices, people were not buried within the enclosure of the sanctuary, according to the matapule

Kama, who was residing in Maufanga in 1921. Kama said also that there 778
were no carved images within the sanctuary, and that no god other than Tui [776]
Haa Fakafanua presided there.

When Vahai's army came to Maufanga (about 1800), all the people had fled to 778
the bush, leaving one cat, which Vahai took. He burnt the houses and the temple 669
and the sanctuary of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua. Later when the chief Fakafanua [797]
refused to become a Christian, Taufaahau also burned Maufanga, including temple
and sanctuary. Fakafanua had removed his people to Pea, as he thought he could not [722]
withstand Taufaahau at Maufanga. He removed all in a double vessel (*kalia*) to Pea
at the suggestion of the chief Lavaka of Pea. This was presumably on the occasion
of the siege of Pea in 1852.

Another famous sanctuary, with which is connected a remarkable story 778
of devotion (p. 300), was that of the god Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga. Other sanctuaries of less importance but still worthy of mention were situated on the island of Ofu, Vavau, at Makave, at Feletoa, and at Tofoa, all in Vavau. The sanctuary at Makave bore the high sounding name Tongamopulotu (Tonga and Pulotu). All of these Vavau sanctuaries had surrounding fences and each had within it the house of the presiding deity and priest.

SACRED ANIMALS

Of the various sacred animals of the Tongan deities, only one, the flying 778
fox, seems still to maintain a certain degree of sanctity, and in only one 825
specific locality, the village of Kolovai, in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. 776
They are regarded as connected with the chief Ata rather than with the whole Haa Ngata Motua. Ata stated to me that the flying foxes and the flying fox god Pekapekaatama were not always connected with the Ata chieftainship, but that they were formerly sacred to the matapule Ula. They were transferred to Ata in the time of the great-grandfather of the present Ata. Ata thinks this transfer took place after Christianity had been established and was made "just for fun." Collocott, however, thinks that the transfer had been made in pre-Christian times.

Collocott (9, p. 230) gives a brief account of the flying fox god. The [604]
chief Ata may not shoot the flying foxes, but Tungi and Albert Tupou, who are *fahu* to Kolovai may do so if they wish.

At this time it is difficult to say to what extent similar tapus for other sacred animals were observed in antiquity. A shellfish called *fuhu* was said also to be sacred to Ata, being at times the incarnation of a god, whose name I did not learn.

Other sacred animals of importance were the white tern sacred to Aloalo, the gecko sacred to Tui Haa Fakafanua, the shark sacred to Taufa, the octopus sacred to Haele Feke, the dog sacred to Pulotu Katoa, the fruit dove sacred to Kafoiaatu, and the herons sacred to Sisi and Faingaa.

Tasman (30, p. 32) mentions the respect paid to the sea snake: "I have 778
seen one of these persons take up a water-snake which came floating by 825
his prow, lay it upon his head with great reverence, and then put it into the 776
water again."

Neither the large green tree lizard called *fokai*, nor the pretty little skink called *pili*, seem to have been sacred to any god.

MANA

The word "mana" in Tongan means "miracle, thunder; to bewitch, to 778
cause something to happen to another." Apparently the Tongan concept [171]
of mana differs from the Melanesian concept, inasmuch as the power is
not believed to be resident in stones and other natural objects which can
be placed in a plantation or on the reef to secure success in horticultural
or fishing operations. To be sure, if a man's yams grow well and his pigs 778
multiply, it is said that he has mana, but the mana is due to the favor of a 776
god, or gods, not to an impersonal supernatural power. Ghosts and de- [775]
parted relatives were never the source of mana in Tonga, but only the [784]
tupui otua or original gods. Conversely, loss of mana is due to conduct
displeasing to a god.

A son can inherit his father's mana only by following his father's con- 778
duct. Should the son err, the mana may leave him, being bestowed upon [428]
another man. To-day it is thought that mana attaches to a good Christian,
especially a clergyman (*faifekau*). A man, poor but a good Christian, who
is quickly blessed with plenty, has had mana bestowed upon him by God.
A person who fails to achieve success does so because of the non-bestowal [777]
of mana upon him, which is no more visible than is a god, its presence being
manifested by an abundance of world's goods. One informant gave the term
mofi (to astonish, to cause fear) as the word describing the power of a god,
which is probably to a large extent equivalent to mana.

One informant took pains to emphasize that faith in the gods, not offer- [776]
ings, was the necessary prerequisite to the acquisition of mana. Other in- [782]
formants said that prayer and sacrifice to the gods were necessary. A per- [777]
son who is endowed with mana is called a *monuia* (lucky person), a term
based on the stem *monu* (lucky).

The term *manahi* (obviously based on the stem mana) means anger. If 778
a father were angry ("wild") at a son for two or three years, the son would 753
be likely to sicken and die. The father, however, could make him well again [593]
by forgiving him and touching the son's body with his hands. Presumably
the same result would follow from the anger of any superior relative.
Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

> If Maatu's younger brother or children vex Maatu and he is angry with them, he 778
> will say as follows, "All right. You stay and just wait and you'll know something," 753
> meaning, something bad will happen later on. In a couple of weeks one is sure to fall 554
> sick and die, and then it will be said that that is "the *manai* (verbal form of mana)
> of Maatu." Thus they would be punished for presumption. Then perhaps another [593]
> will get sick. They will come to be reconciled to him, asking forgiveness and apologizing. Then he will say, "All right. I am good tempered again." After his saying that the sick one will recover. The process could not be reversed because Maatu is the higher in rank. The proof that that is true is that if one were to drink from
> Maatu's coconut, his neck would swell up. Maatu might cure him by *amohi*—stroking [755]
> the affected part. The stomach might swell too. This can be removed by the angry person touching with his hands the affected part, or blowing on it. [*Moemoei* consists of gently pressing the affected part with the feet. This was always done by a chief (p. 118).]

Weapons were placed in a temple in order to acquire the mana of the 778
god. John Havea said that when a weapon has mana, it is the "abode of a 411
spirit (*faahikehe*)" and it confers prowess and might on the user. A mana-charged club loaned to another would take its virtue with it. The method of lending was to lay the weapon across the open palm of the recipient's hand, the owner crushing and rubbing a piece of banana stalk on the weapon over the open palm of the other man's hand. This act was called *fanofano*. Vahai gave to Takai his own martial courage (*toa*) by doing *fanofano* to Takai.

> Vahai's club was so full of mana that it could not lie still and was always moving (*futefute*) as it reposed in the house. On one occasion a man was sent to fetch from the house Vahai's club, which was wrapped in a mat. Entering, he could see no club, but only the bundle of mat, which kept moving, and he thought it to be a child. Returning he said there was no club, but only this child. Vahai told him to go and bring it, which he did, it being the mana club. Vahai's club gave warning of war planned against Vahai, by moving. The movement was caused by the "mana of the god."

The ceremony of *fanofano* was also performed to transfer the ability 778
to effect a certain cure, which includes not only the prescription, but also the 755
mana to perform it.

GHOSTS AND SOULS

The modern Tongans seem to distinguish between ghosts and souls. 775
Ghosts are called *faahikehe* and more rarely *ata* (shadow); souls are called 774
laumalie for a chief, *mou* for a commoner, and *lakoifie* for the Tamaha, Tui Tonga, and Tui Pelehake.

Baker defines *laumalie* as "spirit, soul, life," and my informants seem 774
to use it in these senses and to regard it as invisible during waking hours, but as appearing in dreams. According to modern Tongan belief, the *lau-* 775
malie is in God's keeping after death and stays in heaven. It may appear to a [787]
relative in a dream and when so appearing is believed to give warning. In [565]
modern Tonga no discrimination is made as to the destiny of souls on the [178]
basis of rank, as Mariner says was done in heathen Tonga.

The following translation of an old text refers to the destiny of souls 775
in ancient times, but without reference to rank:

> It was said by the people in olden times, that when this body died it [evidently the soul and not the physical body is meant] went at once to Pulotu. When they [the souls] got there, Hikuleo (the ruler of Pulotu) chose some as posts for his fence, and some as supports for the log on which tapa is made, and some were taken as posts for the gate of Hikuleo's fence, etc."

Souls in Pulotu were thought to have earthly appearance though they
are only shadows. The souls or spirits of chiefs (including the Tui Tonga)
were thought to go to Pulotu, identified with the Underworld (Lolofonua)
by some modern Tongans. The soul of a commoner was supposed to appear 775
as an insect on a tapa or mat specially spread after the burial. The tapa 825
was spread in the house where the commoner died and the watchers sat 565
about until an insect appeared thereon, when the mat was carefully folded
and tied near the ceiling of the house and never again examined. This
appearance of the soul of the deceased was called *fakahaele laumalie*. The
souls of chiefs never appeared in insect or other animal form.

Now and then the soul of a very great man might manifest itself 775
through a priest. Ideas about reincarnation of the deceased were rare,
though a story is told of a dying man who told his weeping children that
he would return as a white man to care for them. Another account relates
that a woman's soul, incarnate in a rat, came to visit her child. Another [825]
woman's soul was said to be incarnate in a large lizard (26, p. 108). Normally, only the gods, and not the souls of men, became incarnate, in animals. The souls or spirits of men might return to this earth, however, as indicated in a narrative and poem recorded by Collocott (16, p. 96).

The term for ghosts (*faahikehe*)—also applied to the gods, to the soul, 774
and (or) the spirit—is a generic term for spiritual beings and means lit- 775
erally "different side or different half of anything divided" (in contrast to 776
human beings). Baker defines *faahikehe* as "the name for all the Tonga 196
gods; an evil spirit." One informant likened a *faahikehe* to an image in a
mirror, describing it as something seen but incapable of being grasped. One
informant gave the word *otua* (god) as an occasional term for ghost. The [793]
word *faahikehe* is also applied to the priest, apparently when possessed by [787]
the god. This usage prevailed in Mariner's time (41, vol. 2, p. 80), as well
as to-day.

Some sickness is believed to be due to possession by a ghost. The treat- 775
ment is to drink an infusion of certain leaves called *lautolu* and to have the 753
infusion massaged on the body as well. When the ghost is thus driven out 787
the patient cries bitterly, "because sorry to part with the ghost." The 755 757
infusion may be used as a prophylactic against possession.

While I was in Tongatabu, a girl, who with others was shellfish gathering 775
on a reef, fell down with some sort of seizure. She declared that 787
the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her in the face, an attack
called *ta i faahikehe* (struck by a ghost). It was said that ghosts some- 775
times conversed with living relatives.

An informant of Uiha Island saw near a cemetery the ghost of a man named Nau, wearing a white head cloth and a wreath about the neck. The ghost was walking ahead of the informant, who attributed the apparition to the work of a "bush devil" (presumably Mariner's *otua pauu*, which apparently correspond with the Samoan *aitu*).

Two ghost stories pertaining to ancient persons of high rank follow.

Folokomanu is the name of a grave mound on the outskirts of Pea, Tongatabu, said to be the royal tomb of Fatafehi, the daughter of a Tui Tonga. The royal tomb Loamanu is said to be the burial place of her father and the other members of his family.

The ghost of this woman, Fatafehi, is said to have appeared to several people in modern times. On one occasion two men of Pea were returning home from a sojourn in Mua. On the road, half way home, they met a very beautiful woman, a stranger to them. They marveled that she was dressed as women dressed in olden times. After greeting her they asked her where she was going. She answered, "I have been at Folokomanu and I am going to Loamanu." Then she disappeared. Then they knew that she was not a woman, but the ghost of Fatafehi who is buried in Folokomanu.

On another occasion a Caucasian Methodist minister is said to have been bathing in a cistern (*lèpa*) behind his house, when he saw a beautiful woman sitting close by watching him. Astonished, he reproved her severely for gazing at him while he was undressed for the bath. She answered with dignity that she was not bothering him; she had come there to bathe and was waiting for him to finish. Then he asked her where she lived. She answered that she lived at Folokomanu. A few days later the minister, while talking to King George II, asked him where was situated the village of Folokomanu. The King replied that Folokamanu was not a village, but a royal tomb. Then the minister told his story, upon which the King said, "That was undoubtedly not a woman, but the ghost of Fatafehi who is buried at Folokomanu."

At Longoteme, Tongatabu, stands the stone langi called Loamanu. A Female Tui Tonga is said to be buried there. A few years ago there lived an old man in Longoteme, Fonua by name, whose farm bordered the terrace of the langi. The old man was of an enterprising disposition and resolved to make use of the strip of land lying between the actual boundary line of his tract and the stone terrace of the langi. Therefore, when he planted his yams, he planted some on this virgin territory, an area that had never been so used since the construction of the langi. While he was so engaged, there appeared a beautiful woman standing upon the langi, who spoke to Fonua, saying: "You commoner, you thought to plant your yams on my grave, but you have planted them upon your own grave." Then she disappeared and the old man fell dead where he had been working. His son, coming unawares upon the scene, witnessed the tragedy. It is supposed that the woman was the spirit or ghost of the Female Tui Tonga who is interred there.

In addition to terms for the soul and ghost of a deceased person the 774
Tongans have a term for the double or apparition of a living person, which appears at a place distant from the person. The term is *tuuola*, analyzed by one informant as *tuu*, to stand, and *ola*, life.

There seem to be two mutually exclusive ideas as to the nature of ghosts 774
and doubles. One idea is that they are emanations from, or constituent 775
parts of, mortal man, like the various spiritual parts of man conceived by the ancient Egyptians. The other conception is that they are spirits or devils which by passing through the body in a grave or through a living person assume the likeness of the person. This conception makes both the ghost and the living apparition appearances taken on by evil spirits embodied in human form, rather than emanations from, or constituent parts of, the human body. It seems likely that spirits thus appearing in the form of some known person should be classified with Mariner's *otua pauu* (41, vol. 2, p. 104), although no modern informant so classified them. One informant said that it was a spirit from Pulotu that might thus take on human form by passing through a grave. It is said that when a person sees a 775
ghost he shakes all over and his hair stands on end, but no sickness follows. Ghosts are declared not to partake of food, and food offerings were said [769]
not to have been made at graves. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the belief that Pulotu is a land well supplied with the necessities of life.

At the death of a person it is believed that the ghost of a dead relative may come to take the deceased. If a ghost is seen when a chief is ill, it is thought to be a relative come to give medicine. People fear ghosts because they may take life.

A ghostly experience of the influenza epidemic in 1918 was related. Fusipunga of Lifuka, a man who worked in the government labor gang and who had withdrawn from the Free Church to join the Mormon Church, is said after death to have haunted his wife and his friend Albert of the Free Church. His ghost prevented his wife and friend from sleeping, coming at night and shaking them. It was thought that Fusipunga had done wrong and hence could not rest in peace. There were those who said that his great sin was quitting the Free Church and joining the Mormons, also subleasing his land to Mormons for the erection of their church.

To lay a troublesome ghost the grave is opened and the bones broken or moved. This is done especially when it is believed that the appearance of the ghost is responsible for other deaths in the family. No special term was mentioned for this act, only the term *liliu* (to change, to move) being used.

In connection with the excavation of skeletal material on the island of [172]
Kao, Haapai, by McKern and me, ghosts manifested themselves. Natives [126]
who encamped near the burial place, which was the floor of a great bubble of lava, said that they heard "a man and a woman" crying at the spot the night following the removal of the bones. A Lifuka informant had heard similar wailing following the removal of bones from a cemetery, but attributed it to the "blood" of the buried person rather than to a ghost. This belief about sentient and rational "blood" was said by another informant to be a modern innovation.

Soul catching was practiced under certain circumstances: If a murder or 774
theft was committed and the perpetrator of it was not known, the people 685
assembled at the place of the crime and fanned around it to drive the per- 682
petrator's soul to the house of the local priest. The priest had a net prepared 793
at his residence with which to catch the soul of the culprit. Finally it was captured in the form of a butterfly or other insect and wrapped in tapa. Then the priest made known to the people the man who committed the crime. The relatives of this man cooked pigs, yams, and other food, which they brought to the priest together with tapa and mats. They besought the priest
to return the culprit's soul. If the priest was obdurate, the man died. [761]

Perhaps related to the concept of death through soul capture is the be- 761
lief that a chief or superior relative can pray a person to death. The 782
father's sister's prayer is the most efficacious. The term *hufi* denotes one 754
who prays another to death as well as the act of praying to death, although the word has the broader meaning of "intercession." Praying to death is said to have been frequent. Some god is appealed to: "Oku ou kele atu. . . . ofa ke mate. . . ." (I beg you [the god] that [So and So] shall die). The term *fakamalaia* means to curse, to anathematize, to cause a curse. *Kape* and *tatao* are malevolent charms of which Mariner (41, vol. 1, p. 424; vol. 2, p. 226) gives examples.

So far as could be learned, the Tongans did not conceive of plants and 771
animals having souls. In fact one informant, familiar with Fiji, contrasted [171]
Fiji with Tonga in this regard. The only indication of animism is in cer- [538]
tain animal tales in which the octopus, rat, and ant are endowed with con-
versational abilities (26, pp. 206, 207). The fact that the gods used animals [776]
as their temporary incarnations, "the boat of the god," was of course no manifestation of animism.

Independent of the *tuuola*, or apparition idea, is the belief that the soul can leave the body while the person is in an unconscious state and can wander at will, as for example to Pulotu (26, pp. 153-155). The *tuuola* is visible and the appearance is reported by an observer; the disembodied soul's adventures are not observed by another, but are subjectively recorded.

The notes which follow were recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley, while he was residing in the Haapai Islands of Lifuka, Foa, and Haano:

> You know the girl Hina? Well, when she was but a tiny thing her mother Topinisa was taken ill and gradually got worse and in no very long time she was taken to a new and hastily constructed house to end her days, as is our custom. One day whilst Hina was sleeping in her hanging bed, her father Ungakotu, now dead, was lying on his sleeping mat with a bamboo pillow under his head. He was not asleep, however, and presently he saw the head of a big rat. It was neither a *kuma papalangi* (European rat) nor a Tongan rat, appearing over the top of one of the posts that support the roof. He watched and gradually it crawled down the post with its eyes fixed on Hina's bed. Hina's father gently shifted his position and resting

his head on his left shoulder caught hold of his bamboo pillow with his right hand 774 ready to strike the rat as soon as it came within reach. Slowly, but with a seeming purpose, the rat crept down the post and suddenly with a swing of his pillow Hina's father hit the rat fair and square. He got up to look for it but nothing could be found, not even a blood stain and yet he struck the rat. At the same time the wailing (*tangi*) announcing death arose in the house where Hina's mother was.

"Well, Latu," I asked, "what had the rat to do with it?" He gave me a withering glance of contempt, lit another match, and answered in tense tones. "That rat, Tama, was the spirit of Hina's mother coming to bid her child farewell."

The other day a man called Fine was riding from Pukotala to here (Haano) 775 and just inside this town he had to pass the graveyard known as Hokihoki or Tukia, where his cousin, Tukia, the son of Vake—mentioned elsewhere, lay buried. The pony took a sudden fright at something and started to bolt, with the result that Fine got knocked off and rendered unconscious. His version of the accident is as follows, "I was coming along gently from Pukotala and just as I was passing Hokihoki, Tukia rose up, caught hold of the bridle and dragged the horse along, when suddenly he gave me a blow on the side of my head and I knew no more. I must have done Tukia some injury when he was alive or have spoken evilly of him since he was dead, but I do not remember." The people here firmly believe that Fine was knocked off by ghosts, and in broad daylight too.

In July 1909, William Maealiuaki, Governor of Haapai, was taken sick in Lifuka. The so called medico wasn't sure if it was paralysis or heart disease! But anyhow, one midday the Governor called out that somebody had entered the window and was pulling the mosquito curtain down. His wife rushed into the room, but nobody was there, but standing on the grass plot in front of the house was a man dressed in guardsman's uniform. The figure had its back to the woman and as she moved forward it vanished. Since Maealiuaki's death the natives have it, that evil spirits were the [761] cause of his death. This same vision also scared a woman who should have gone to the funeral and remained there afterwards with the widow, as is the Tongan custom, but neglected to do so. On the day of the funeral she was surprised to see a man standing at her doorway; half frightened, she closed the door in the intruder's face, only to see it appear immediately at the door on the other side of the house. That decided her, she packed off post haste to the funeral.

When I told the natives in the town of Fakakakai of the Governor's death, they 763 said, "The mist on the water this morning was a sure sign." And so it holds in 821 Tonga: to see a mist on the sea in the early morning forbodes the death of some high chief.

DIVINATION

A number of terms apply to divination. To forewarn, to premonish is 787 *talakeikapa*. The predicting of future success or failure by appropriate incidents taken as signs is *talotalo*. For instance, a medical practitioner calls to treat a sick boy, finds him asleep. "Oh!" says the practitioner, "his sleeping is my *talo*. I shall cure the boy." The ability to foretell, a sort of inward light, is *kikite*. It differs from mana, but is allied to dreaming (*misi*) in character. Something (a spirit or god, one informant thought) comes to the diviner (*tongafisi*) and tells him what will happen tomorrow or next week or what is happening at the time in some distant place. Apparently *kikite* also applies to the prophecies by the priest of a god who is believed to enter the priest and speak through his mouth. It applies to the prophetic principle in the omen birds as well. It was said by one informant that the *kikite* "talk" like a skink, that is, that they speak with a sort of squeak or lisp or whisper. One informant stated that *kikite* prophesy, but *tongafisi* tell what is taking place at the present moment at a distant place. 787

The term *tongafisi* refers to both the observation of signs and omens as well as to the interpreters of these. People who did not have a god of whom to make inquiries would seek signs in animal movements, the blood of animals, and the flow of blood from sacrificed finger joints. For no blood to flow from the finger joint was a very bad sign, no doubt for the sick person. Hepatoscopy was apparently not practiced.

One famous *tongafisi* was reputed to be able to determine the approximate location of a vessel at sea by feeling of the water. He would then announce, "Samoa sea," "Niuafoou sea," or whatever it might be. The term *kikite* seems to apply to the ability of the *tongafisi* to predict, as when a blind man informed the king the time at which his pet bird, long overdue from Ata Island, would get back.

The term *tongafisi* was analyzed by one informant as *tonga* (south), *fisi* (to have idea about). If this is the true etymology it possibly refers to the reputed discovery of Ata Island, ninety miles south of Tongatabu, by the famous *tongafisi* Hama, of Eua Island, whose achievements are recorded by Collocott (16, p. 52). Two other achievements of Hama were the reporting to the people of Eua the progress of a club fight in Tongatabu, many miles away; and the reporting to the Tui Haa Takalaua of the daily location of his beloved pet tropic bird, which had strayed away to Samoa, but which returned as Hama predicted.

Modern informants have translated Hama from the realm of mortals 776
to that of the gods, as the following remarks by one of my Lifuka in- 787
formants show:

> The god Haele Feke tried to kill Hama the *tongafisi* of Eua, because Hama had the goddess Tafakula as a friend. Hama was the first *tongafisi* because he informed Tafakula when Samoan gods were trying to steal Kao Island. Hama was a "god and man" (*otua mo tangata*) because he knew everything that would happen. Hama, however, succumbed like ordinary mortals. Everybody made presents to him, because of his wonderful powers.

Discovery of a wrong-doer and thereby often the cause of illness, was made anciently in Tonga through the medium of coconut spinning. This casting of lots was called *taniu*. The following tale about Ofa, the son of the chief Takeleveka of Eua Island, is a good illustration of the method: 787

Ofa went to Tongatabu, where he lived at or near the residence of the Tui 787 Tonga. A child was born to the Tui Tonga by one of his concubines. After a time the Tui Tonga sailed to Haapai and left the mother and child in the care of Ofa. But Ofa [837] and the woman became too fond, and when the Tui Tonga returned from Haapai, he [763] found the child ill. Recourse was had to spinning a coconut to discover by whose fault the child was sick, and the lot fell on the Tui Tonga and the concubine. On again spinning the coconut between these two, the concubine was indicated. She admitted her intimacy with Ofa. The child recovered and the Tui Tonga said to name him Takeleveka, after Ofa's father. This child, though the son of a Tui Tonga, was adopted as the son of Ofa.

Another good example of divination by coconut spinning is given on page 298.

In the account of Peter Vi (3) concerning the introduction of Christianity into Haapai, the following example of divination is mentioned, as presaging the favorable or unfavorable reception of Christianity by the Haapai chiefs. Peter Vi was proceeding from Tongatabu to Lifuka Island, [797] about 1830, to give Christian instruction and was doing so at the wish of Taufaahau, the Tui Haapai, who later became King George I. "And we cast lots. If we arrived at Haafeva and Haveahikuleo [Tuuhetoka] was sitting with torn mats around his loins as a sign of mourning, we were to know that the chiefs of Haapai were very angry. And when we arrived we saw that Tuuhetoka had mourning mats on."

The following account was furnished by Mr. W. H. Murley:

In July 1909 a small boy was sitting by himself in a house in Futu in Niuafoou [731] [Futu had been demolished by a hurricane in April, 1909] and a man whom he had not previously seen entered and asked the small youth if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The boy replied that he did not, that he was yet young and without learning. The man answered, "Then you will know, for in the month of September your people will not be able to sit down to eat, for something dreadful will occur." With that the man turned to go and the boy saw with startled eyes that the man had wings. He walked a little, then lifted himself and flew out of sight. The boy has been most strictly cross-questioned but he still sticks to his original story. As a consequence people are leaving Niuafoou whenever the opportunity occurs.

The island in the middle of the lake has been split in halves through earthquakes. I will leave this space open so that should anything of importance occur in confirmation of the boy's vision or whatever it might be, I will write it down.

In September 1912 volcanoes burst out in Futu in all directions and the aspect in that part has been changed. Nobody was killed and the eruption lasted only a week or so.

OMENS

Many omens require no priest nor diviner for interpretation at the present day, though anciently the priests and diviners may have been consulted about them. The omens include sneezing, the movements of animals, and certain meteorological and celestial phenomena.

If a girl with absent lover sneezes frequently it is a sign she is loved. 787
The girl will say to herself: "He loves me." In addition, if anyone 827
sneezes it is regarded as a sign that someone is talking about the sneezer
or that someone is in love with the sneezer, and a common comment of
bystanders is, "Kuo ofa mai" (there is love for this one). Sneezing at
times presages misfortune. Thus, if a woman making tapa sneezes and [763]
some one is very ill in her family at the time, it is a sign that the sick person
will soon die. Sneezing when asleep is also an omen of death. If the 763
sneezer lies on his right side, the death will be on the father's side of the 787
family, if on his left side on the mother's side of the family, if on his back 827
it is a sign of the sneezer's own death. The evil portent of sneezing on the
eve of an important undertaking is well illustrated by Mariner (41, vol. 1,
p. 440).

Shadows seen in a cave called Anafakaata, at Haasini, Tongatabu, are 787
portentous of either health or death. Upon entering this cave usually a 763
number of shadows of the visitor is seen. If only one or three shadows 822
appear, it is a sign that death is near to the one so shadowed; if two or
four shadows appear, good health is assured. Shadows are not commonly
ominous.

The appearance of an illuminated vessel at night was anciently, and 787
still is, regarded as an omen of the death of a person of rank. Such a 763
ghost vessel is called a *vakaloa*. In the first half of 1921 an illuminated "steamer" was seen off Lifuka Island a few nights prior to the arrival of the regular passenger steamer. It is said to have been seen by many people. It was probably a real steamer, but at any rate a few months later the ailing wife of the Governor of Haapai died. Mr. W. H. Murley relates that on the night previous to the death of Maealiuaki, the Governor of Haapai, a man called Osai and his wife were fishing on the island Uoleva (the adjoining island south of Lifuka) when suddenly they saw a sailing boat bearing up from the southeast and lighted with various colors. They waited to see no more and promptly fled into the bush.

Very loud thunder accompanied by much lightning presages war or other 787
dire disaster. Thunder in December foretells the approach of the *o* fish. 821
Thunder during a heavy windstorm which people apprehend might turn into a hurricane, is a sign that it will not. The last two statements seem to be in the nature of empirical observations rather than true omens. There was said to have been no individual who especially interpreted the thunder and lightning omens. An old poem refers to "thunder giving omen of war" and to Toutai (Navigator) Ula's "thunder from the west."

A land fog presages the death of a high chief. Such a fog is said to [763]
have preceded the death of the late king, George II. Murley, quoted above, [622]
mentions an ominous sea fog.

Certain natural phenomena, though not being regarded as ominous, sometimes 787
caused alarm. Earthquakes were believed to be caused by the movements [823]
of one of the Maui who is thought to support the earth. The apparent 821
movement of the sun to the northern tropic was observed, though not the
motive for alarm or ceremony. When the sun was farthest north the season
was called *faahi tau momoko* (cold season). It marked the beginning
of the year and the time of yam planting. When the sun was at the southern
tropic the season was called *faahi tau mafana* (warm season).

An expected eclipse of the moon which occurred in October, 1920, though [787]
causing no alarm, was regarded as indication of strong wind in a few days.
The moon eclipse is called *mate mahina* (death of the moon). Similarly an
eclipse of the sun is called *mate laa*. Apparently the infrequency of sun
eclipses is one reason why they cause alarm. One occurred in 1918 and
was evidently the first seen by many people. Although they had been
forewarned by a visiting astronomer, intense alarm prevailed. The informant
who had never seen one before, and who was in the bush at the time,
ran for his village as fast as possible. He said the ancient belief was that [776]
the sun was a god and was angry with people and showed anger by going
out. Evidently some of this belief still survived in 1918.

The activities of certain birds and lizards were believed to be especially 787
pregnant with indications of forthcoming events. The Tongans, even to-day, 825
take cognizance of these movements to an extent that suggests the Malaysian
observation of animal movements. The gecko (*moko*) is everywhere
in Tonga an omen animal. It is regarded particularly as a barometer of 787
impending weather conditions. If it remains quiet, good weather is indicated, 825
if it is very active, a storm is imminent. This little lizard, sacred 821
to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, was taken aboard vessels anciently as a
barometer. Another weather indicator is the frigate bird (*lofa*), rare in
Tonga, whose appearance presages a gale or hurricane. The barking of dogs 787
at night without evident cause is a sign of the presence of ghosts. Dogs bore 825
place and personal names anciently and were fondled and talked to by their 231
masters (usually chiefs). There was no belief that it was dangerous to [775]
address conversation to a dog. [521]

Birds played by far the most important part as omen givers. The 787
calling of the owl (*lulu*) immediately after lamplighting is a sign of a 825
pregnant woman in the house, and if the owl calls over a house in the 763
middle of the night, it is a sign of impending death. If the gallinule (*kalae*) [843]
cries close to a house, it is also considered a notification of impending
death. A number of *fuleheu* birds (*Ptilotis carunculata*) flying together in
a particular formation is called *fata* (bier) and is a sign of death. Another
evil omen of the *fuleheu*, called *sipa*, consists in a number of them sounding
the note of alarm. If a cock crows, soon after the time when the fowls

have gone to roost, that is a sign of death, but if another cock answers him, 787
it is all right and nothing will happen. The cocks will crow when they 825
are going to roost, but the ominous crowing is after that, when no sound [763]
is expected from them. Later on again if the cock crows, that is called *uua hausia* (dewy? crowing) and has nothing ominous about it. When a number of fowls make the clucking (?) noise called *kotoko*, passing on from one place to another, the sound being taken up by successive groups of the birds, that is called *kotoko folau*, and is a sign that boats or ships are about to arrive.

There are many omens also connected with the kingfisher (*sikota*). If 787
a kingfisher flies towards a person or flies continually about him, it is 825
bad luck and he should turn back. If it flies in the direction he is going, 777
or across his path, it is good luck. The following incident reported by W. H. Murley is characteristic of Tongan behavior:

> Whilst sitting in the house the other mid-day deep in conversation with a middle-aged Tongan, a young kingfisher (*sikota*) flew into the room, completed a circle of it and disappeared out of the other door, simultaneously with the Tongan's rising and shifting his quarters to the veranda. On my asking the reason of his getting out of the house the Tongan (Latu by name) replied, in most impressive tones "Tama, that is a bird of ill omen and brings spirits with it. Take care that some harm does not befall you ere long." I only laughed and said I didn't believe in such things. "Yes," he went on, "You may laugh but I tell you that evil spirits come with rubbish and lizards and rats, as well as with kingfishers."

The poem by Fusitouone mentions certain evil bird and insect omens 787
in the following terms. 825
538
539

In the morning we go for our walk;
And strikes behind the kingfisher,
And ticks in the day the *pakia* insect,
And squeaks down the evil owl,
And the rail cries on the road;
We two will return accursed.

DREAMS

Dreams (*misi*) seem to have been of little importance in forecasting 787
events. 828

The following scanty, and in part contradictory, data refer to the interpretation of dreams, so far as they bear on the future:

> A dream is often regarded as a warning by a spirit of some impending disaster. [763]
> Thus, a dream that a person falls overboard and drowns, is likely to come true. The dream, however, may not augur death for the one dreamt about, but for one of his family. To dream of a neighbor's house burning down is believed not only to presage [763]
> such a burning, but perhaps one or two deaths besides. At times dreams go by opposites. Thus a dream in which one appeared very happy might presage his death.
>
> The kind of dream that comes true is one in which a person (alive or dead) comes and tells the dreamer something that is quite clear and distinct. When one

sees many things in a muddled dream they do not come true. The period that elapses 787
between a dream and its fulfilment is variable—it may be a week or it may be several 828
months.

A sickness called *fafanga*, which is manifested by a "bad stomach" and results in [753]
"doubling up" or even death, is caused by dreaming that a man comes and feeds the dreamer pork, fowl, and other rich food.

A sickness called *takini*, painful urination, is believed to be caused by the frequent [753]
dreaming of sexual intercourse. The belief is that the visitant of the dreamer is a [831]
spirit (*tevolo*). [776]

MAGIC

Most of the extant magical practices are to be found in the formulas 789
of the *faitoo* (doctors). Material presented here includes odds and ends 755
of magical practices not largely concerned with curing. Malevolent magic 754
is still practiced. Spoken words were believed to be effective too. Thus the term *talatukii* means to curse, to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect.

Any medicine man or woman was called *faitoo*. The house of a *faitoo* was called 756
falehangatamaki. One informant said that this house was only that of a *faitoo* who treated boils and skin eruptions, and this statement is probably correct, as *hangatamaki* means any sickness or disease appearing upon the surface of the body. When confronted with a sickness about whose diagnosis he was in doubt, a *faitoo* passed his hands over the diseased part, repeating a formula which named every possible disease known and directed the medicine to cure any one or all of them. (See p. 343.)

When collecting the bark of the *tava* and *siale* (*Gardenia*) for medicine the collector always observes which part is towards the setting sun and collects the bark [757]
from that side. It is believed to be particularly efficacious, though no reason was given.

One informant stated that his father had buried his umbilical cord and 789
planted a coconut over it. As the tree flourished, so would the individual. 825
I could get no corroboration of this as a practice. No other account of [846]
tree planting was obtained. Possibly fear that the tree might be killed and the person suffer make people reticent.

The story of the turtle Sangone mentions the magical stopping of growth 789
and retention of childhood by striking a child on the top of the head (26, p. 50).

When a child's milk tooth is extracted it is thrown on the roof of a 789
house, so that the second tooth will grow quickly. At the same time this 856
rhyme is said:

Hinehina matailaila	White with spots	[539]
Omai hoo nifo kovi mooku	Give me your bad tooth	[538]
Kae o atu hoo nifo lelei moou.	But have a good tooth for yourself.	

That there is a ceremonial or lucky number in Tonga I did not definitely 777
ascertain. That there was, or is, such a number seems likely and it may

be ten. Ten heads as trophies, or ten enemies slain, was the aim of each 777
warrior. Ten sharks taken relieved fishing-canoe owners from further ceremonial observances. Ten constituted the winning number of points in dart-throwing (*sika*) and bowling (*fakateka*).

The term *tukutuku taumuli* is to make a new boat lucky. Whether it is an actual object or merely a ceremonial act, I did not learn.

Fishermen doubtless had many magical practices in connection with 789
their profession. The following is a fisherman's call, bidding the fish to 226
partake of the bait:

E kai mai, kai mai,	O, eat there! eat there! [539]
E tuona, faona, kai ho'o feke kuo osi mama,	O pull, stretch, eat your masticated octopus, [538]
E tuona, tuo tuona, faona mai kai ma,	O pull, pull steady, stretch there, eat there
Kai mai e.	O eat there!

Whether the call is used for shark fishing, I cannot say, but at any rate, the fishermen talk to the shark, directing its actions and soliciting its help. Often the shark is called Hina and is perhaps identified with that deity (26, p. 183).

The sea slug (*mulione*) when taken, is split in half along its lateral edge and the upper half thrown back into the water with the belief that a new slug will grow from it.

Weak children, when weaned, are fed on rats and cats to get back their 789
strength, as these animals are said to be long lived and hard to kill. The 825
same idea is involved in the use of the word *kuma* (rat) as a personal 855
name for a child who nearly dies at birth. The name Kuma is believed [262]
to preserve his life.

To-day there is a certain amount of belief in witchcraft. A wizard or 754
witch is called a *fakalouakau* (*louakau*, leaf; *lou*, leaf; *akau*, a tree or medicine). It seems likely, therefore, that interpreted literally *fakalouakau* means a person who operates with leaf medicine. The accounts of two informants which I obtained in 1920 stress the use of leaves in witchcraft.

An informant in Lifuka Island, Haapai, said that the sorcerer operates with different kinds of leaves rolled in a ball and wrapped in tapa, the ball being placed in the dwelling house or somewhere in the plantation of the victim to encompass his sickness and death or to cause his crops to fail. As the leaves in the ball rotted the victim was believed to sicken.

The second informant (or rather, pair of informants, a man and wife), 754
interviewed on the island of Nomuka, Haapai, said that the aid of a *tevolo* 776
was necessary for success in witchcraft. A man who became a wizard went into the bush and prepared a bamboo tube in which he put the leaves. The informant said that if a person steals up close to the wizard he will hear

him talking to the *tevolo*, and if surprised at his work in the bush he will 754
either make a wizard of his unwelcome visitor or else cause him to sicken [776]
and die. The informant also said that if a sorcerer is reported to his fel- [682]
low townsmen he may be killed by anyone who wishes, and his relatives [683]
dare not avenge his death.

The two Nomuka informants said that although people were bewitched by means of leaves in the possession of the sorcerer, that there were other ways of accomplishing the result, as follows:

> The sorcerer may carry leaves of the various sorts, usually pulverized, inside of a bamboo tube, the powdered material to be placed in cigarettes for the victim, or the sorcerer may carry the tube of pulverized leaves under his belt ready for use. Perhaps he sits beside his victim laughing and smoking in apparent friendliness and when opportunity offers points the cane secretly at his victim. This is enough to cause the victim's
> death in a day or two. Another method is to bury the bamboo tube, with the poison
> in it before the victim's door or under his bed. A sorcerer discovered in the act would [683]
> be killed at once. Sometimes the sorcerer takes a cigarette butt thrown away by the
> victim, and puts it with the deadly leaves, and buries it whole where the victim perhaps is planting yams.

Sorcery of this nature is said to be non-effective against Caucasians, [609]
because they eat more salt than Tongans. The two Nomuka informants [186]
knew of none of their relatives being bewitched, but said that they had
heard of witchcraft among other people.

> Once a person is bewitched only the sorcerer can save him. The victim may suspect the sorcerer and visit him or get his relatives to, in order to beg for mercy. If [755]
> the sorcerer relents he either exposes the bamboo tube to the sun or he changes the contents of the tube. If he makes a mistake in changing the leaves, he, as well as the victim, dies.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following anecdote concerning an attempt 754
at causing death by supernatural aid, at Lifuka Island, Haapai, about 1915. 597
685

> Whilst busy packing bananas, the other day, a native named Malakai came running into the yard and asked whether his stepson Lisala was there and if he had been packing bananas. On being told that he had filled a couple of cases and had gone to get more bananas, he demanded wildly to see the stalks of Lisala's bunches and on somebody's pointing them out he declared that they were stolen from his plantation. Taking one of the stalks in his hand and waving it around his head dramatically, he announced his intention of going and placing it in the church, in order to cause the sudden and painful death of his stepson. While he was declaring thus, his wife—the mother of Lisala—came on the scene, and pleaded forgiveness for the wayward son. At last the mother's entreaties prevailed and the two went off together. Immediately after their departure Lisala came out of hiding from the back of the copra shed and calmly filled up another case with stolen bananas.

SICKNESS FROM SUPERNATURAL CAUSES

Misdeeds on the part of a member of a family are believed to result in 753
afflictions for one or more other members of the family, as illustrated by
the two following modern occurrences. (See also 11, pp. 136-142.)

> 753 [164] A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster.
>
> [835] A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned.

[837] On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.)

[828] Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.)

> [825] [821] To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow.
>
> 753 776 787 (761) If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity.

[755] Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words.

753 775 In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man.

> A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Ahana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

763 775 Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following:

> [165] A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death."

The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of 763
anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead rela- 775
tive several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead 764
from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases
whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them
up. This method is looked upon as infallible. 763

When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so 753
that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually 768
burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection. 593
Anyone else may do so with impunity.

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize 763 784
what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would 764
ensue. 262

OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *lea tuki* (*lea*, speech; *tuki*, a super- 626
stitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be ac- 763
cursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the admin- 695
istering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death.
The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-
seated that swearing falsely results in death.

695
While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding 626
school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put 685
on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of them- [763]
selves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have [783]
averted such a fate by confession.

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and 675
a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact 779
is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is 782
regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of
the book holders.

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother 782
be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148).
The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that
waves."

TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things 784
inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things [171]
which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast.
Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern
practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus
placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction.
Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu

breaker. An example of such a tapu is the placing of a shark, or other 784
fish, emblem upon a tree in a plantation, with the penalty that the tapu
breaker will be devoured by a shark or other savage fish, the representative of a god such as Taufaitahi. I noted these tapu signs, as well as those
used by medical practitioners in both Eua and Nomuka islands.

The tapus placed by medical practitioners consist of leaf or coconut fiber 784
(*kaka*) bundles containing pulverized leaves, which are attached to trees or 753
hung on sticks or fences. (I saw one on a barbed wire fence.) To defy
this tapu is to become afflicted with boils or some other ailment. The tapu
tree is called *taungatapu* (tapu roost), and this practice by which thieves are
said to be accursed is called *tuki*. The following note by Mr. W. H. Murley
refers to this practice of *tuki*:

> All Tongans are more or less doctors (of a sort), but every family has a specific for some particular disease—there is no general doctor amongst them. For in- 756
> stance, one family will have the gift of curing wounds or stopping bleeding merely 759
> by touch. Others again are specialists in strains and so on. But nearly every disease
> that they cannot describe as either a break, strain, wound, or cramps comes under the 753
> general heading of *hangatamaki*. The nearest translations are "boil and ulcer," but
> the term is applied to both internal and external complaints. For example, rheumatism and ordinary boils on the skin are both classed as *hangatamaki*. Each particular 756
> kind has its separate doctor and although another person might use the same specifics 759
> the effect will not be produced. All this preamble is necessary to explain the tapu. 784
> If a farmer is tired of having the coconuts stolen off his plantation and is desirous of
> having them tàpu, he will go to a man who has the reputation of curing a certain 756
> *hangatamaki*, say styes on the eyes, and beg him to go along to his plantation (*api*) 753
> and tapu the coconuts. With this end in view the doctor will make up a few packages 685
> containing odds and ends and hang them in conspicuous positions on various coconut
> trees. From that time on the plantation is tapu and should anyone, even the owner,
> take coconuts away, or even touch one he will be afflicted with that particular *hangatamaki* and will have to go to the one who put on the tapu in order to get cured. When
> the sufferer is cured he will bring along a substantial present to the doctor in payment
> for services. The tapu is only taken off at the wish of the owner, who, accompanied
> by the one who put it on, goes and takes down the packages from the various trees.

The term *sausau* was given by one informant as another word that 784
applies both to the concrete object attached to the tree or other property 753
and to the curse or malediction accompanying it and falling upon the tapu 685
breaker, who becomes subject to the curse of the one who put up the tapu
badge. By another informant *sausau* was listed as one of several tapus
and "sickness." The others are *tapuofe* (to bend under a load), *mahangalei* (twins, one of each sex), *kahipapalangi* (*kahi*, goiter; *papalangi*, [164]
European), *hulupa*, and *kahitoto*.

According to Methodist informants, a Free Church minister in Faleloa, 784
Foa Island, Haapai, at the time of my visit was engaged in the lucrative
side line of tapuing coconut trees against rats, banana patches against horses,
and yam plantations against pigs. White calico consecrated by contact with [778]
the Bible was the tapu emblem employed. The reputation for efficacy

which this clergyman enjoyed is further exemplified by the following anec- 784
dote: A married couple failed to produce children. They besought the 784
aid of this clergyman and brought to him a pig. Still they were not blessed 842
with a baby. Their neighbors said that the pig was not big enough. Apparently the procedure is the same as in heathen times.

Anciently, a priest might tapu a banana tree with its fruit by hanging a 784
reed (*kaho*) on it. It was tapu for anyone to eat bananas from the tree 793
under fear of sickness or death. The people regarded the priest "almost like a god." If he said a man would be dead tomorrow, the man died. If a person were sick or fell from a tree, or had other bad luck, it was regarded as evidence that he had stolen tapu bananas.

Peter Vi (3) tells of the following as taking place about 1830:

> There was little food at Haapai [Lifuka], because there was a tapu on the yams, [261]
> and the pigs, etc., because they were preparing for the feast of the marriage of the Tui Haapai [Taufaahau] and Asipau.

It is said that if a commoner eats or drinks of the coconuts that grow 784
on the top of the walled mound Siamafuauta, or rests there, he or she will 565
become afflicted with goiter or some other sickness. This is because it is [753]
a chief's place and supernormally guarded by the Tui Tonga's tapu. This belief is still prevalent among the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Maufanga, Tongatabu.

It was tapu for a woman to step over a growing yam vine, presumably 784
lest the plant be blighted. The term *hinakaiunga* refers to gray-headedness as a punishment for eating crab.

It was tapu to eat or drink the remains of the meal of a person higher [565]
in rank, a sore throat or swollen stomach being the probable result. [753]

The following account was recorded by Collocott on January 29, 1921. 784
It reveals the tapus connected with superior relatives. 604

> The girl Ika is suffering from a pain in her jaw; there seems to be a wisdom tooth growing. Amongst other measures for relief she went to her father's sister and told her about it, lest she should in this aunt's house have eaten something she should not, such as, remains of the aunt's food. The latter lady told her that there could be nothing of that, and that the trouble could be accounted for materially. Ika is named after [553]
> the mother of her father and after this sister of her father—[the name Ika was given by the grandmother herself during her lifetime] and this naming gives her great immunities, in fact, seems to confer on her all the immunities that would be enjoyed by the older Ika herself were she still alive, but the girl's own inclination clearly is to use very sparingly her privileges. The aunt has given her food and drink left by her (Ika's) father, but she has not ventured to eat or drink them. She frequently goes to this aunt's place and eats there, and used to sit outside the house when eating or drinking, but the aunt, independently apparently of the efficacy of the name Ika, has got her to come inside and take her food, just like one of her own family. It was this practice that seemed to lend color to the girl's fear that her toothache was caused
> by improper eating. Had a broken tapu been the cause of Ika's tooth trouble the aunt [755]
> could have cured it by stroking the spot. Incidentally, Ika mentioned to me that the 784
> penalty for using the comb of one who is tapu to me is that my hair turns gray. 827
> 302

For an inferior person (petty chief, matapule, or commoner) to walk 784
by a chief's house smoking is an affront; also riding horseback, carrying 565
an umbrella, wearing a turban (*fau*), or having a garland (*sisi*) around the
neck, although a *sisi* around the waist is permitted. Conversation must stop [521]
in passing a chief's house. Breaches are subject to punishment by thrashing, [689]
often by the chief himself. The conception of a supernatural punishment
seems not to be entertained.

The Hihifo district of Tongatabu is tapu. No one is allowed to sing or 784
to yell, either in settlements or in the bush. Drums may not be beaten. 643
People must not run about in the town, and all must wear ragged mats (*taovala*) as signs of humility. These rules are enforced because of the Tui Kanokupolu and are observed in Hihifo whether the Tui Kanokupolu is in Hihifo or in Nukualofa. Again no supernatural punishment followed a breach of these rules.

OCCUPATIONAL CEREMONIAL

Christianity has been too long established is Tonga to permit of much 789
information being obtained to-day concerning religious practices for the
furtherance of various occupations. Apparently the greatest of all cere- 789
monials of this character was the *inasi*, or Harvest Festival, which obvi- 527
ously had as its aim the perpetuation of agricultural welfare. It was in [782]
honor of Hikuleo, but the offerings were brought to the Tui Tonga, whom [776]
Farmer (23, p. 129) says was the high priest of this deity, a statement
which cannot be verified to-day. Cook (19, p. 336) witnessed an *inasi*
ceremony at which the Tui Tonga presided. The *inasi* is also described by
Wilson (65, 66) and by Mariner (40,41).

Boat building, fishing, pigeon snaring, and presumably even rat shoot- 789
ing were preceded by ceremonial observances, but what these ceremonies [396]
were I did not learn except in the most casual way, as the following frag- [226]
mentary notes indicate. Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 59, 60) describes observances [223]
in connection with shark fishing. [224]

Just what ceremonies were performed at the launching of a vessel I did not learn. 788
Before a new vessel could be boarded by a woman, however, a ceremony called *hopo-* 562
kivaka was performed. This took place at or after the launching and was usually 396
performed by a woman, though sometimes by a man.

The first shark caught in a new fishing boat (*tafaanga*) is called *tokiolin*. A cele- 226
bration in honor of this event bears the same name. When five sharks have been 788
caught in a *tafaanga* another ceremony occurs, called *fakatoululoto*. When ten sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga*, a third ceremony takes place, called *fakatouluhoko*. Thereafter sharks may be caught without further ado.

In pigeon snaring a man stood on the lookout for the pigeons at the mound. At 788
their first appearance in the distance, looking only as big as the *nono* (defined by Baker 223
as an insect and by the informant Havili as an insect smaller than an ant), dances

and rejoicing were started on the mound. This went on whilst the approaching pigeons 789 grew successively as large mosquitoes and as flies; but when they appeared as large 223 as the *misi* bird (*Aplonis tabuensis*) the rejoicings were stopped. The chief man of the hunt took no part in these rejoicings, but sat quietly where the kava was served, and was said to be paying his reverence to the mound by his silence and non-participation.

A sport in which people formed a long line through the bush and then moved 224 forward straight ahead, each man shooting with bow and arrow whatever came in his 526 way was called *lautele*. Everything that was shot counted, according to one account even butterflies or flies. When they had come to the spot set as the end of the beat, they counted trophies and the man who had most won. The place where the sport was to be held was announced beforehand, and if a human being strayed into the place he was liable to become a trophy for one of the hunters.

MYTHOLOGY

The Tongan mythology, in general, resembles Samoan mythology rather 773 than that of New Zealand and eastern Polynesia. Propinquity of the two [171] groups would lead one to expect this. It deals both with the great gods and the lesser gods. No migration tales enter into Tongan tradition, for people are regarded as created in Tonga, not elsewhere.

The subject of Tongan mythology has been quite fully covered by Collocott and me (26), and these works give references to myths published by other writers.

The following myth was recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley: 773

> On the eminence called Toloke [in Haano Island] in the very old days stood a 539 god house and the keepers (there was no priest, as was often the case) were two old men, one blind, the other deaf. Now, Kui was the name of the blind one and Tuli that of the deaf. As the house was in need of a new pillar, they set to work to chop down a big toa tree. After infinite labor (they had only stone axes) the tree came crashing to earth. Whilst they were felling it a man named Mafi, who lived on the other side of the island, heard the blows of the axe and as his house, too, was needing repairs, he thought that it would be a saving of labor if he could by some means steal it. Mafi was a giant amongst men, although men were giants in those days.
>
> Creeping softly up to where the immense tree was lying he carefully hid himself, patiently watching his chance. Presently it came. He heard Tuli tell Kui to stand by the tree, lest [illegible] should be stolen as he was going to get another axe. When Tuli had gone Mafi stepped out of his place of concealment and, imitating Tuli's voice, said: "Kui, feel about to know whether the tree has not been stolen."
>
> Kui replied, as he put his hand on it, "No, the tree is still here."
>
> Then Mafi stepping gently seized hold of the butt of another log about the same size and, pulling out the freshly chopped tree, substituted for it the log. Then he again said, "Kui, is the tree still there?"
>
> "Yes," answered the blind man. Then Mafi commenced to drag his tree to the sea, and he had only got to the edge of the reef when Tuli came in sight and promptly gave chase. Mafi then grabbed the small end of the tree and started to run along the reef, the tide being out, dragging his stolen property after. Round the point of the island he went with Tuli after him, but Mafi got to his house first. Although the tree has long since rotted, Mafi's house is scattered to the four winds, and not a sign remains of the god house, yet the track where the tree was dragged is plainly visible in the reef, like a long trench from Toloke to the other side of the island.

THE ADVENT OF CHRISTIANITY

Thomson (54, pp. 200-203) has well portrayed the situation in Tonga 797
during the period of the conversion to Christianity. As he points out, [622]
resistance to the spread of Christianity came not from the heathen priests but from the chiefs, who apparently realized that Christianity struck at the root of their time-honored privileges.

I shall not attempt to trace the spread of Christianity but shall merely [128]
refer to certain interesting incidents in connection with its introduction—incidents which to some extent reflect the religious attitude of the Tongans.

As far back as the fifteenth century there is traditional record of skeptic- 771
ism as to the power of the gods. I refer to the tradition concerning the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, who cried, "The gods are fools!" when he was wounded in battle. Mariner dwells upon the skepticism and irreligion of his patron Ulukalala II, who even went so far as to order the priest of his god strangled, but who was prevented from having the execution carried out by his own sudden death, an event which no doubt restored the prestige of the gods in the minds of many Tongans.

Stories are current that certain of the old gods gave oracles concerning 776
the advent of Christianity and the destruction of the old order. At Pea, 787
Tongatabu, it is related that the house of one god miraculously disappeared 797
overnight, because the deity was provoked over the coming of the new religion.

The narrative of Peter Vi (3) refers particularly to the part taken by 797
Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) in the destruction of the heathen 798
places of worship. That he was actuated entirely by Christian motives 669
seems unlikely. In any event, murders and wholesale slaughters of the
heathen were indulged in in the name of Christianity. The fortresses of [727]
Ngeleia and Hule were captured and their inhabitants slaughtered (pp. 215, 216). The events related below refer to the period just before and just after 1830. Taufaahau was then the Tui Haapai. He had not yet succeeded to the rule of Vavau, or to the rule of Tongatabu. About 1829 the following event took place:

> It was said that Taufa, the Tui Nomuka, was coming to Malupo (of Uiha Island) to get reeds for making spears for Tuita and Lolohea. Taufaahau was to be held while they killed the Christians. Taufaahau was informed of this on the day of the feast of the gods called Tautaulotufonua. The feast was held at the gates of the fortress and boxing and wrestling games, etc., were held. [The killing of the Christians was prevented.]
>
> There were many priests and god houses at Haapai, and Taufaahau said to Peter Vi and some others, "Let us go to the priestess of the god house at Holopeka." When we arrived there we found that she had gone to Faleloa. As we went along the road the king rooted up a big banana plant and carried it along. Peter Vi asked: "What is that for?"
>
> Taufaahau replied, "Something to hit the god with."

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[ca. 1830]

And Peter Vi said, "It might kill her; then we will have a bad reputation." Then 797
the king cut the head off the banana plant and we went on to the place. The priestess 798
was frightened, as though she had her suspicions. 669

Taufaahau said to her, "Don't let this scented flower cause the lad (god) pain." The old woman came near and began to shake and get very red. We had arranged to cut a big banana leaf for making the drinking cup, so that the old woman should have a long drink and bend her head far back. When the banana leaf cup was nearly empty, the king was to give her a big blow. It was done while she had her head turned back to empty the cup. The blow landed on her jaw and she fell over dead. The name of the god, and of the priestess also, was Haehaetahi.

Taufaahau persevered in his treatment of the sacred things of the gods at Haapai: the clubs, the kava bowls, and the whales' teeth. The god houses that would burn were burnt, and the things that could be cut were cut, and the things that could be smashed were smashed.

Taufaahau said one day to Peter Vi, "Come and we will go for a walk in the 797
country." We went, and there were standing the sea gods called Tuutuumata, Kahi- 798
tanga, Sausau, and Hafuli. There were many gods and we covered them up and took them to Velata [in Lifuka Island], where a sugar-cane grew, on which was hanging a sea god. Taufaahau brought it and made fire of that which was hanging on the sugar-cane stick and into the flames he put the gods which he had brought. Then we left and went to Pangai [in Lifuka Island], and went to the seashore to have a bath, and there were some sticks for making houses lying there in the sea, and we undid them and swam with them to the ocean. Then he called all the names of the ferocious and mischievous gods of the sea and he sang a chant with their names: "Oh, Taufaitahi (Sea-squall)! Oh, Filimamo-haehaetahi (Fish-that-tears-or-cuts-the-sea)!" He kept repeating the call. And he got tired of calling the sharks (these are names given to the shark-god) which were very ferocious at this place.

One day we went to Haano and the vessel was sailing along, when suddenly a big shark came near in the part of the sea called Olovaha. Taufaahau raised his iron spear and said, "If it is the god Taufaitahi then the spear will not hit him, and if it is only a shark then we will get him." He threw the spear and missed. Then he came and threw Paul Tapu into the sea, also Peter Vi. We swam then to Fakakakai to bring his spear, but the vessel had gone on to Haano. We got a girdle of banana leaves to put on, then we went to Haa Ngana, and met Taufaahau who was returning from the kava ring as we got there. He laughed and said, "I thought that the sea god had eaten you."

After the entertainment at Haapai, Taufaahau [of Haapai] and Ulukalala [of Vavau] arranged that they should each build a boat for a race, and in the year 1831 Taufaahau sailed to Vavau and a fleet of fourteen vessels went with him, and Peter Vi went and took with him a letter from the missionary. The fleet anchored first at Falevai and service was held there. The sabbath was spent there and then we sailed for Koloa and anchored and that was the day that the entertainment of the races was held. I went in the evening to Ulukalala with a present and a letter from the missionary and I read the letter to him. A woman entered whose name was Tukuau, and she gave a great shout at the door, saying: "It is lies, O King." Ulukalala gave me a piece of native cloth, and I departed.

After I had given Ulukalala my advice about becoming a Christian, his face was still smiling, as though he was in a good temper. When Palepau came, Ulukalala said to him, "Why, it is laughable what this man says. He says that the gods whom we serve are not real."

I thought that the matapule would be angry. But he said to Ulukalala, "Who is that man?" and he replied,

"It is Peter Vi," and he asked:

"And what do you think? Has there ever been any wisdom in our land that has been received from the priests of the gods? No, because whoever was a fool went

[ca. 1830]

> and became a priest of the gods." Just then a report was brought that Fakailoatonga 797
> was dying, and I still gave Ulukalala advice. 798
>
> When it was afternoon I told him, "I will go now to the sea, while you get ready your night dance," and he replied,
>
> "All right."
>
> And that night while the dance was being held Fakailoatonga died, and his body was taken to Makave. The next morning Taufaahau called me: "Come Peter, and we will go to the chief's funeral at Makave." And we went. After the funeral of the chief we went to plait baskets for carrying the sand to the grave.

The Vavauans embraced Christianity with great fervor. In 1835, there 797
was an outburst at Haakoka, Vavau; the people, becoming frenzied with 786 579
religious fervor, ran amuck. Many persons were killed.

Undoubtedly the Tongans of to-day are among the most devout of Chris- 795
tians, having accepted Christianity with a very full faith. The following 771
quotation from a manuscript by Mrs. Rachel Tonga, a devout Methodist, is typical of the faith which they held. After describing the ancient belief as to the Water of Life called Vaiola, Mrs. Tonga proceeds: "But it is all nonsense. The only healing water is the blood of Jesus. Whoever believes in him will be healed. Whatever may be our sins, if we believe in his blood we will become healed."

HISTORICAL CONCLUSION

In this conclusion no attempt is made to summarize the contents of this 175
work. The probable periods of Tongan history are set forth below in 105
tabular form. It seems to me that four periods are distinguishable. The first is a pre-dynastic period before the coming to the throne of the dynasty of Tui Tonga, which terminated in 1865. The second period, which I have called the classic period, for during this period Tongan culture developed distinctive features, is further characterized by the expansion of the Tongan dominions. The third period is one marked by the decline and disintegration of the Tui Tonga's power. The fourth period is one of renaissance and European acculturation, with the Tui Kanokupolu supreme. The earlier dates given in the tabulation are only approximate.

I. Predynastic Period (before 950 A. D.; possibly beginning about 500 A. D.).
  Shell heaps probably the only cultural remains, though these continue to be formed down to our day.
  No legends that can be definitely connected.
  Shadowy reference to displacement of early rulers by Ahoeitu about 950 A. D.
II. Classic Period (950-1450).
  Tui Tonga I (Ahoeitu)—23 (Takalaua).
  Ahoeitu (1): Of divine origin.
  Tuitatui (11): Fijian and Samoan contacts prominent.
  Takalaua (23): Assassinated about 1450.
  Achievements of period: (a) Subjugation of Samoa, etc.; colonies probably established in Ellice, Tikopia, etc. (b) Development, or appearance, of great terraced stone tombs. (c) Trilithon erected.

- III. Period of Decline and Disintegration (1450-1845). 175
    - Appointment of first Tui Haa Takalaua (1470). 105
    - Appointment of first Tui Kanokupolu (1610).
    - Vuna's campaign against Vavau (1700).
    - Death of last Tui Haa Takalaua (1799).
    - Rebellion of Ulukalala against Tui Kanokupolu (1799).
    - Beginning of European contact.
        - Shouten and Lemaire (1616).
        - Tasman (1643).
        - Cook (1773, 1777).
        - London Mission (1797).
        - Methodist Mission (1822).
        - Catholic Mission (1842).
- IV. Renaissance and European Acculturation (1845——).
    - George I becomes Tui Kanokupolu in 1845; his life 1799-1893 (the "Grand Old Man").
    - Death of last Tamaha (1852).
    - Death of last Tui Tonga (1865).
    - Accession of George II (1893).
    - Establishment of the British protectorate (1900).
    - Accession of Charlotte (1918).

The parallels in the social organization of Tonga and the remainder of 105
Polynesia and Micronesia are obvious. Beyond Oceania, Tongan social or- 171
ganization suggests that of ancient Japan. The general course of political development in the two countries is also superficially parallel, though Tonga is but a miniature replica of Japan in this respect, the Tui Tonga corresponding to the Mikado, the Tui Kanokupolu to the Shogun. In both countries society was patrilineal; the patrilineal groups traced descent for many generations, sometimes back to a god; and each patrilineal group had a patron deity; the members of the patrilineal groups were of unequal rank. In both countries great chiefs were buried in megalithic vaults in mounds. Both countries were characterized by lack of priestly rule. There are certain general resemblances in mythology and worship: Tongan and Shinto mythology are strikingly similar in tenor. The parallels are such as to suggest the possibility that the social organizations of Polynesia, Micro-
nesia, and Japan are genetically connected. It seems predictable that fur- 177
ther evidence will reveal two streams of influence into Polynesia, one from southeastern Asia via Malaysia, the other from Japan via Micronesia; the former bearing features of the theoretical Indo-Oceanic culture, the latter bearing the traits just enumerated.

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TABLE 15. GENEALOGY OF ATA (PYLSTAARTS) ISLANDERS

- 1 Motuapuaka M
  = 2 Tapuasi
  (both of Tongatabu)
  - 3 Otulau F
    = 4 Tamaifuna of Tungua
    - 5 Laufilitonga M
      = 6 Latuhehea
      (or Lavaki) of
      Tongatabu
      - 12 Tongamu'i F
        = 13 Moala
        of Tongatabu
        - 35 Mu'a F
          = 34 Hahuai Fonovalu
          - 93 Julia Ulaleia F
            = 124 Pailiua of Eua
            = 92 Tamaifuna
          - 125 Moalafoina F
            = 126 David Taufa of Eua
            = 127 Kavafusi
          - 128 Momea F
          - 129 Tu'uakitau M
            = 130 Charlotte of Tongatabu
          - 131 Paletina M
            = 132 Tokilupe of Utulau, Tongatabu
          - 133 Ala M (to Peru)
          - 134 Atamahina M
            = 135 Toaloma
          - 136 Fapaaola F
            = 137 Lotui of Eua
          - 99 Julius Moala M
            = 78 Mary Vatekina
        - 43 Aisea Veamatahau M
          = 44 Mary Finau
          - 135 Toaloma F
            = 134 Atamahina
          - 138 Sioriana Kino M
            = 139 Siliika of Eua
            = 140 Pulu of Eua
          - 141 Kolomaile F
            = 142 Ben Fonua of Vavau
          - 143 Tu'uhole M
        - 45 Fehu M
        - 46 Tu M
          = 47 Lilio
          (daughter of 9 but not
          of 8)
          - 127 Kavafusi M
            = 115 Moalafoina
          - 144 Vaimanalu M
          - 145 Ninu M
            = 146 Tokilupe of Utulau, Tongatabu
          - 147 Tapuhau F
        - 48 Siafau M
          = 49 Vika
          - 148 John Masu M
            = 149 la Hiauma, Tongatabu
        - 50 Tea M
          = 51 Keeta of Eua
        - 52 Paula F
          = 53 Na of Eua
        - 54 Mangisi F
        - 55 Hoheahina F
        - 38 Veangailahi F
          = 36 Taualoto
          - (See nos. 121-123)
        - 56 Louisa Hehea F
        - 57 Simon Kupenga M
          = 58 Sara Nofo
          - 150 Mafi M
      - 14 Tupouata M
        = 7 Maata Pilikamama
        - 40 Fale F
          = 41 Aisea Kaipue
        - 59 Selaima Hao F
          = 60 white man
          - 105 Samia Taukile M
            = 104 Julia Lauhau
        = 15 Kesaia Lepolo
        - 61 Kalesita F
        - 62 Fotumali F
        - 63 Langa'akumai M
          = 64 Ula of Hiutua, Tongatabu
          - 151 Vaihola F, of Tongatabu
        - 65 [illegible]

[End Table (A)]

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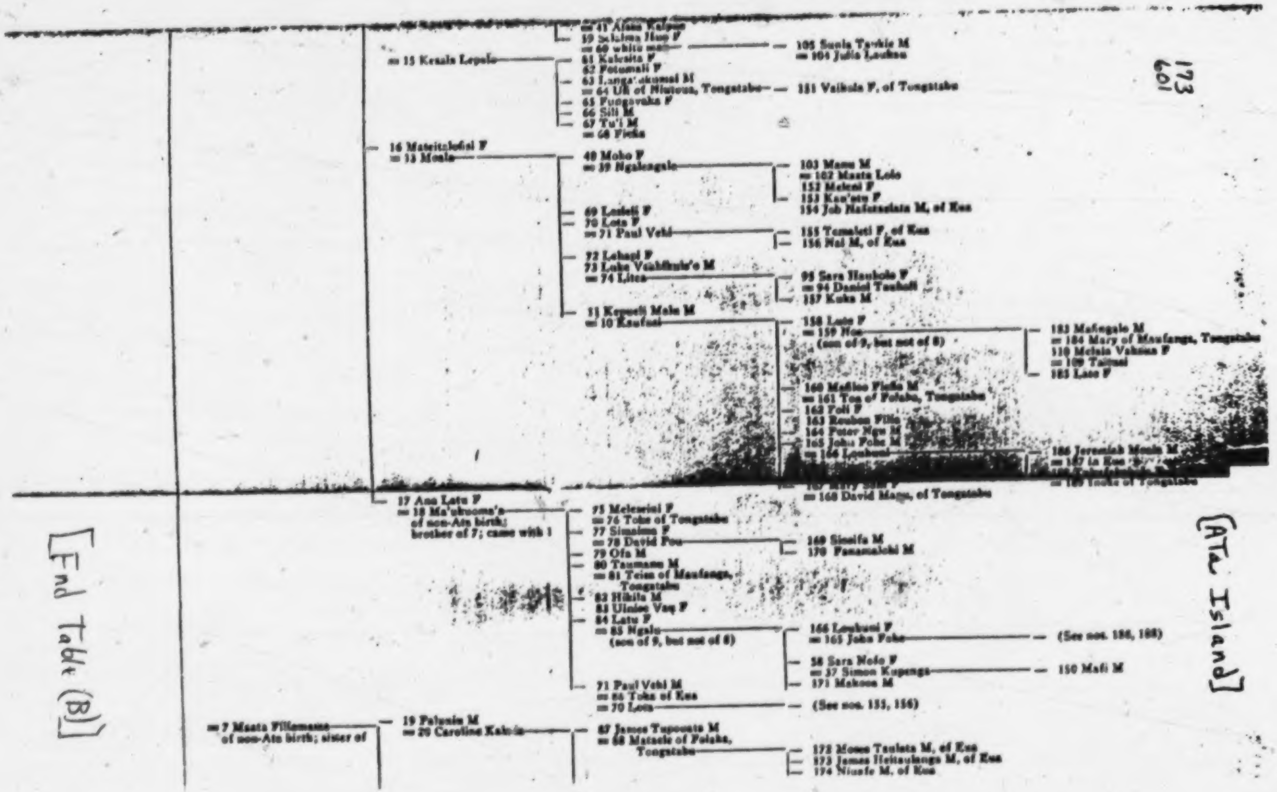
= 41 Alesa Kaipau
59 Salaima Ilua F
= 60 white man
105 Sunia Taukie M
= 104 Julia Laukau
= 15 Kauala Lepolo
61 Kalesita F
62 Fetumali F
63 Langa'akumai M
= 64 Uli of Niutoua, Tongatabu
131 Vaihola F, of Tongatabu
65 Fungavaka F
66 Sili M
67 Tu'i M
= 68 Fiefia
16 Mateitalofai F
= 13 Moala
40 Moho F
= 39 Ngalongalo
103 Manu M
= 102 Maata Lolo
152 Meleni F
153 Kau'atu F
154 Job Nafutaalata M, of Eua
69 Lesieli F
70 Lota F
= 71 Paul Vehi
155 Tomaleti F, of Eua
156 Nai M, of Eua
72 Lehani F
73 Luke Vaahifaule'o M
= 74 Litea
95 Sara Hauhola F
= 94 Daniel Taufahi
157 Kuka M
11 Kepueli Mala M
= 10 Kaufusi
158 Lute F
= 159 Noa
(son of 9, but not of 8)
183 Mafingalo M
= 184 Mary of Maufanga, Tongatabu
110 Melaia Vahisea F
= 109 Taitusi
185 Lose F
160 Mafileo Fiefia M
= 161 Tua of Folaha, Tongatabu
162 Foli F
163 Reuben Fifita
164 Peter Ngu M
165 John Fohe M
= 166 Loubani
186 Jeremiah Moala M
= 187 [illegible] Eua
= 189 Inoke of Tongatabu
167 Mary Sisi F
= 168 David Mapa, of Tongatabu
17 Ana Latu F
= 18 Ma'ukoomo'a
of non-Ata birth;
brother of 7; came with 1
75 Meleseini F
= 76 Toke of Tongatabu
77 Simaima F
= 78 David Pou
169 Sioeifa M
170 Panamalohi M
79 Ofa M
80 Taumanu M
= 81 Teisa of Maufanga,
Tongatabu
82 Hikila M
83 Uluiea Vaa F
84 Latu F
= 85 Ngalu
(son of 9, but not of 8)
166 Loubani F
= 165 John Fohe
(See nos. 186, 188)
58 Sara Nofo F
= 57 Simon Kupenga
150 Mafi M
171 Makoaa M
71 Paul Vehi M
= 86 Toka of Eua
= 70 Lota
(See nos. 155, 156)
= 7 Maata Fifiemama
of non-Ata birth; sister of
19 Palenia M
= 20 Caroline Kakala
87 James Tupouata M
= 88 Mataele of Folaha,
Tongatabu
172 Moses Taulata M, of Eua
173 James Heitaulanga M, of Eua
174 Niuafe M, of Eua

[End Table (B)]

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[Ata Island]

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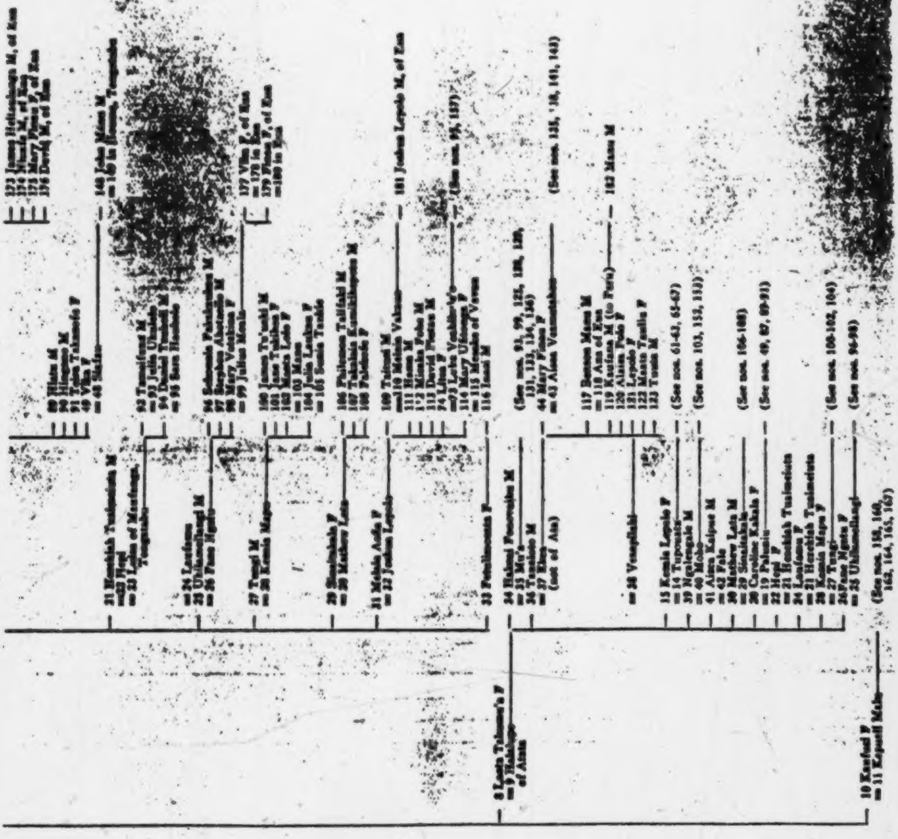
173 James Heltaulanga M, of Eua
174 Niuafe M, of Eua
175 Mary Finau F, of Eua
176 David M, of Eua
89 Hiata M
90 Hingano M
91 Taisa Takanofo F
49 Vika F
= 48 Siafau
148 John Manu M
= 149 in Houma, Tongatabu
21 Hezekiah Tuaimeiuta M
=22 Hepi
= 23 Loisa of Maufanga, Tongatabu
92 Tamaifuna M
= 93 Julia Ukaleto
94 Daniel Taufoli M
= 95 Sara Haukoto
= 24 Laufanu
25 Uhilamoifangi M
= 26 Fane Ngutu
96 Solomone Fakahaukau M
97 Stephen Abotaelio M
98 Mary Votekina F
= 99 Julius Moala
177 Vika F, of Eua
= 178 in Eua
179 Finau F, of Eua
=180 in Eua
27 Tungi M
= 28 Kemia Mapu
100 James Tu'uaki M
101 Jane Tukiban F
102 Manta Lolo F
= 103 Manu
104 Julia Laukau F
= 105 Sunia Tuakie
29 Sinaitakala F
= 30 Mathew Lata
106 Philemon Talifaki M
107 Tukulaio Kumikihapoto M
108 Palokofe F
31 Melaia Aofia F
= 32 Joshua Lepolo
109 Taitani M
=110 Melaia Vakaua
181 Joshua Lepolo M, of Eua
111 Hosea M
112 Mioaka Poha M
113 David Piutau M
74 Lita F
=73 Loba Veahiho'u'o
114 Mary Ulitonga F
= 115 Mosake of Vavau
(See nos. 93, 157)
33 Petulimoana F
116 Inasi M
8 Loata Takanoa'a F
= 9 Hakaluge of Atata
34 Hahani Fonovaiba M
= 35 Mu'a
36 Tauaiole M
= 37 Ekea (not of Ata)
(See nos. 91, 99, 125, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 136)
44 Mary Finau F
= 43 Alosa Veamatahau
(See nos. 135, '38, 141, 143)
117 Benson Manu M
= 118 Ana of Eua
119 Kaufana M (to Peru)
182 Manu M
120 Alaisa Polo F
121 Lepolo F
122 Manta Taulia F
123 Tuuta M
= 38 Veapilahi
15 Kemia Lepolo F
= 14 Tupouata
(See nos. 61-63, 65-67)
39 Ngalengale M
= 40 Moho
(See nos. 103, 152, 153)
41 Aisea Kaipue M
= 42 Fale
30 Mathew Lata M
= 29 Sinaitakala
(See nos. 106-108)
20 Caroline Kakala F
= 19 Palunia
(See nos. 49, 87, 89-91)
22 Hepi F
= 21 Hezekiah Tuaimeiuta
24 Laufanu F
= 21 Hezekiah Tuaimeiuta
28 Kemia Mapu F
= 27 Tungi
(See nos. 100-102, 104)
26 Fane Ngutu F
= 25 Uhilamoifangi
(See nos. 96-98)
10 Kaufusi F
= 11 Kapueli Malu
(See nos. 158, 160, 162, 164, 165, 167)

[End Table (c)]

GLOSSARY

afonua--the fence which surrounds some villages to prevent the pigs from straying into neighboring plantations and uprooting plants (p.177)

alofi--the kava ring (p.95)

anga--the ordinary shark (p.297)

angahala--fault; a habit or mode of action which is amiss; prostitution (p.183)

api--field either with or without an enclosing fence (p.175)

api-kolo--town lot (p.175)

ata--shadow (p.327)

eiki--chief (p.38)

eikimotu (eikitaupotu, eikitoho)--a chief of highest rank (p.123)

enga--turmeric (p.185)

esi--special rest places or mounds, with a shade tree on or beside them, built for chiefs (p.126)

faahikehe--gods, spirits, ghosts and apparently priests (p.289); the abode of a spirit (p.327)

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faahinga--"family in the bilaterial sense, thus embracing people of more than one haa"; can also mean tribe, rank in society, or social stratum (p.38)
fae--literally "mother'; a term used in reference to the male and female attendants to the bride and groom at the wedding ceremony (p.192)
fahu--the privilege of taking the property of one's mother's brother or his children; or of anyone in a similar relation through lineage relationships (p.22)
fai--a stingray (p.304)
faifekau--a clergyman (p.326)
faitoo--doctors (p.338)
fakaapaapa--to reverence, to respect, to honor; a term often applied to the brother-sister tapu (p.21)
fakafahufahu--to act as an outlaw (p.23)
fakanofo--cermonial installation to office (p.157)
falalafa--a sham battle with coconut fronds (p.77)

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fakafalekakai--the burying of a child or dearly beloved relative in the dwelling house (p.201)

fakafeao--a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault with a deceased Tui Tonga or some member of his family (p.322)

fakafefine (fakafafine)--men who have the habits of women and do the work of women (p.204)

fakalouakau--a wizard or witch (p.339)

fakamalaia--to curse, to anathematize, to cause a curse (p.331)

fakataha--meetings of chiefs and matapules to discuss arrangements for various undertakings (e.g. a funeral feast) (p.181)

fale--house (p.15)

falefa--the four lordly attendants of the Tui Tonga (p.38); means literally "4 houses"; "comprised a sort of permanent court to the Tui Tonga" (p.63); each was a lineage head (p.64)

falefata--portable houses (p.71)

falefeao--an inferior dwelling house built near the faletolia of a dying chief and used as a dwelling by his attendants. (p.200)

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falehau--a public house maintained by any chief of consequence, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors (p.127)

fale hufanga--see *hufanga*

faletolia--a house like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought to be dying (p.199); also a house built over a chief's grave (p.200)

fanautaina--literally "child of the village"; a child born of a woman of a particular locality, begotten of a chief. (p.144)

fangafanga--a lock of hair worn by young firls until virginity was lost (p.186)

fanofano--the ritual associated with the loaning of a weapon charged with *mana* from the owner to the recipients (p.327)

fatongia--compulsory labor (p.181)

feke--octopus (p.308)

fekita--a manner of greeting among chiefs in which noses are pressed together (p.231)

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finemotua--a term for a non-virgin among common people (p.191)
finemui--the name for a virgin among common people (p.191)
folonofo--a supplementary wife or concubine brought by a bride to her husband (p.190)
fono--an assemblage of all the adults in a district to receive orders from a chief or a king (p.181); relish foods (p.97)
fonualoto--stone burial vaults (p.145)
fuakava--an oath (p.342)
fue--the fly whisk (p.126)
fulitaunga--the ceremonial preparation of Kava for the new Tui Tonga (p.62)
haa--named lineages (p.29)
haatufunga--the under taker (p.196)
haha--beating, as a form of punishment (p.183)
hai--leg and arm binding, as a form of punishment (p.183)
hamaua--to marry two wives at one and the same time (p.189)
hau (How)--a term applied to the Tui Haa Takalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu (p.85); ruling prince (p.41)
hia--sin; anciently it seems to have signified murder, or adultery with the wife of a man who was the equal or superior of the adulterer in

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rank (p.183)
hingoa--name (p.233)
hopa--bananas (p.127)
hopoate--used today with the meaning of stranger (p.111)
houeiki--the social class consisting of chiefs (p.108)
hu--the humbling ceremony (p.97)
hufanga--places of refuge or sanctuary (p.324)
ilamutu--the term of relationship used in *fahu* relations (e.g. between mother's brother and sister's son) (p.23)
inasi--the great annual ceremony of offering first fruits to the gods (p.76)
kainga--"all relatives to whom one can bilaterally trace a relationship;" kinsmen (Kaeppler, Adrienne, Rank in Tonga, Ethnology, 10, no. 2 (1971): 175)
kalia--a double sailing vessel (p.297)
kapafoli--to environ, to surround, to besiege (p.205)
kapasia--to be stormed, taken, besieged (p.205)
katoalu--coiled baskets (p.148)

katoanga mali--the marriage ceremony (p.191)
kau--a type of fish trap (p.147)
kauleo--the men who provide the supplies and construct the apparatus in a communal fishing enterprise (p.146)
kaumaatua--a petty chief (p.286)
kautaha--cooperative associations of women (p.147)
kikite--the ability to foretell, a sort of inward light (p.332)
kolo--fortress (p.204); currently the word kolotau is used to distinguish a fortress from an unfortified village (p.205)
koloa--wedding gifts consisting of manufactured articles, furnished by the bridegroom's people (p.192)
kongakau--a military regiment (p.206)
lakalaka--a Tongan dance in which the women were seated, the men standing (p.229)
langi--literally "sky"; the tombs of the Tui Tonga (p.77)
lanukilikili--the work of decorating the top of the grave and the accompanying feasting (p.201)

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laumalie--spirit, soul, life (p.327)
lepa--cisterns for conserving rain water for drinking purposes (p.178)
lotoa--a fenced enclosure smaller than an *api* and usually next to a dwelling (p.175)
lotoapi--a fenced *api* (p.175)
louuluotua--literally "hair of the gods"; a term applied to the hair on the head of a child when born (p.185)
lupe--pigeons (p.117)
mahanga--twins (p.186)
malae--a green or lawn, originally in proximity to the house or houses of a chief, used for meetings and recreation; now used to mean a chief's burial place or a lawn adjacent to any house (p.176)
malanga--agents or ambassadors to certain great lineages (p.32); stereotyped speeches (p.97)
mali--the present day term for cross-cousin marriage (p.190)
malo--"well-done, it is good"; a form of salutation (p.231)
mana--miracle, thunder; to bewitch, to cause something to happen to another (p.326)
manahi--anger (p.326)

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manaia--one who is unusually successful in love affairs--a term often applied to a chief's son (p.21)

matakali--a division of a haa (p.39); sometimes used for a village as a whole (p.39)

matanga--a military company (p.206)

matapules--cermonial attendants below chiefs and above commoners in rank (Kaeppler, Adrienne. Rank in Tonga, Ethnology, 10, no. 2 (1971): p.178; in general, a social class of chief's attendants (p.108)

mehekitanga--paternal aunt (p.20); father's sister (p.23)

moemoei--an act of obeisance in which the soles of the chief's feet are touched as a mark of reverence (p.118); also a method of curing a person in which a chief presses the affected part with his feet (p.327)

moheofo--the great royal wife of each Tui Tonga (p.59)

momoi--to present an offering or sacrifice (p.320)
monu--lucky (p.326)
mounga--a chief's burial mound (p.201)
mua--rank of a person one of whose parents was a chief and the other a matapule (p.109)
muitau--prostitute (p.189)
ngatae (*Erythrina indica*)--a tree used frequently to mark property boundaries (p.176)
ngaue--wedding gifts consisting of oven foods and kava, furnished by men of the bridegroom's people (p.192)
ngeesitaha--literally "half-shell"; a term applied to the offspring of a chief and a commoner (p.123)
pola--communal fishing (p.146)
polopolo--a cermony of sharing of the first fruits (p.104)
pongipongi--a ceremony in which presents of food and kava are given to the Tui Kanokupolu (p.106)
popula--slave, prisoner (p.111)

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pule--literally "ruler", a term sometimes used to refer to the head of the family (p.20)
pulepola--the leader in a communal fishing enterprise (p.146)
sausau--the concrete object of tapu itself or the curse or malediction accompanying it (p.343)
sia--any mound, artificial or otherwise, including grave mounds (p.201)
sinae--the lineages of the Tui Tongas (p.33)
sinifu--concubines (p.190)
takaifala--literally "rolling up mats"; a metaphorical reference to cross-cousin marriage (p.190)
takapau--coconut leaf mats (p.308)
takipo--the funeral lights which are burned at night about a corpse (p.200)
tala--the white tern, the so-called "boat" of the god Aloalo (p.304)
talakeikapa--to forewarn, to premonish (p.332)
talanoa--old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods (p.318)
talatupua--stories concerning the gods (p.318)

talotalo--the predicting of future success or failure by appropriate incidents taken as signs (p.332)
Tamaha--the daughter of the female Tui Tonga and Sororal niece of the male Tui Tonga; she occupied a position of highest rank in the kingdom (p.80)
tamaioeiki--men servants of the Tui Tonga who did the work in his house (p.74)
tamatei--execution, as a form of punishment (p.183)
taniu--the casting of lots in divination (p.333)
tanuanga--the mound over a commoner's grave (p.201)
tanungapola--communal fishing grounds (p.146)
taovala--an old mat worn over the regular vala in the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward show of respect (p.117)
tapu--a term used by inferiors to superiors in address, meaning "sacred to thee" (p.169)
tau--a large army (p.204)
tauaalo--work songs (p.95)
taula tevolo--priests (p.77)

taupoon (taahine)--a chief's virgin daughter (p.129)
tauvu--the special relationship which exists between two tribes or villages which worship the same god (p.47)
tefito--literally "root", "origin"; the ancestor (p.232)
tehina--younger brother (p.31)
tenifa--the man-eating shark--mud shark and tiger shark (p.297)
tofia--hereditary lands of chiefs and presently of certain matapules (p.175)
tope--a long lock of hair worn by small boys over the temple, and which was later cut off at puberty (p.187)
tongafisi--the diviner (p.332)
tongipou--the sororate (p.189)
tookie--a ceremony in which the proper representatives of chiefly families present *kie* mats to a great chief or king (p.107)
toua--general assemblage (p.95)
toumama--the people or worshippers of any given god (p.316)
toutai--a navigator (p.109)
tua--commoners (p.108)
tuasina--mother's brother (p.23)

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tufunga--skilled artisans of all sorts (p.144)
Tui--king or queen (Kaeppler, Adrienne, Rank in Tonga, Ethnology, 10, no. 2 (1971): 179)
tuitui--the detergent candlenut (p.192)
tukufatongia--the general making of presents to a chief (p.107)
tukuhali--the sea snake (p.291)
tulolo (punou)--a stooped or bowed posture assumed by a commoner in the presence of a chief (p.117)
Tuofefine--sister (p.21)
Tuongaane--brother (p.21)
tutua--a tapa board used in the preparation of this barkcloth product (p.298)
tuuola--the term for the double or apparition of a living person which appears at a place distant from the person (p.329)
ulumotua--literally "ancestor", but used in terms of the head of the family (p.20)
ulu oe kainga--the head of the household, the family patriarch (p.115)

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ulusino--to be possessed by evil spirits; to dwell in the body; to be one with man, applied to the gods (p.316)

uma--a manner of greeting among commoners in which noses are pressed together (p.231)

vaikaukau--a well or cistern for bathing (p.178)

vaka--a god appearing in animal form (p.289)

vala--a rectangular piece of tapa wrapped around the loins and hanging from the waist to the ankles or above them (p.116)

vaoeiki--a woman of the matapule class, appointed by the Tui Tonga to care for his household (p.74)

verifua--coconut milk (p.185)

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554
589
831
884

[For information on the status of virgins, see Category 836.]

565 Tonga OU9
613
622

[Since chiefs are a class based on descent (by primogeniture) from chiefly families, as well as an office, held only by some members of the chiefly class, see Category 565, for information on members of the chiefly class, and Category 622, for the office holders. Since office-holding chiefs were also lineage heads, see Category 613 for information on the lineage-related activities of chiefs.]

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855
858
882

[For information on the special status and treatment of the chief's son and daughter in Tongan society, see Categories 622 and 554 (Category 116, pp. 128-130).]

1: Gifford

272
824

[For information on kava preparation and drinking, see Category 276.]

1: Gifford

728
778

[For information on the voluntary exile of people to remote islands for political or military reasons, see Categories 166 and 727.]

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304

[For information on amputation of fingers as sacrifices to the gods, see Category 782.]

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[Since much of Tongan history is based on their own detailed oral accounts, see Category 173 for further historical information.]

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793

[For further information on the Tui Tonga, see Category 643.]

[For additional information on the Fono, an assemblage to hear a chief's or king's orders, see Category 621.]

[For information on the role of the matapules as ceremonial attendants to the Tui Tonga, Tui Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu, see Categories 644 and 565.]

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[For information on the matapules as a class of ceremonial attendants to the various hierarchy of chiefs in Tongan society, see Categories 644 and 624.]

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551
773

[For information on mythical ancestors, the founding of lineages, and further information on names, see Category 613, pp. 29-38.]

578
628
721

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[For information on interisland warfare, see Category 669.]

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554
565

[Since class differences are highly fluid and dependent on birth as well as achievement, both Categories 554 and 565 have been used. Information on relations between classes (chiefs, matapules, and commoners) are likely to be found in Category 565; while information on status based on individual factors, is in Category 554.]

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OU9 Tonga OU9

682
761

[For information on the execution of a chief's wives at his funeral, see Category 768.]

1: Gifford

192
104

[For a listing of Tongan kinship terms, see Category 601 (also Category 116, pp. 27-29.]

1: Gifford OU9 Tonga OU9

431

[For information on the presentation of gifts of food, mats, etc., to the great chiefs and the king, see Category 651.]

OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For information on seating arrangements in the formal kava circles, see Category 576, especially pp. 166-168.]

1: Gifford OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For a list of common Tongan personal names and their meanings, see Category 551, pp. 237-276.]

1: Gifford

OU9 Tonga OU9

798

[For information on warfare between Christian and non-Christian Tongans, see Category 669, pp. 208-225.]

646 Tonga OU9

[Information on the Fono, an assemblage of people to hear a chief's or king's order's, has been filed in Category 621.]

644 Tonga OU9

[For information on the role of the *matapules* as ceremonial attendants to the chiefs, see Categories 624 and 565.]

621 Tonga OU9

[For additional information on the Fono, an assemblage to hear a chief's or king's orders, see Category 623.]